

The OLD and NEW
TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEW S

AND

NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declension of the KINGDOMS

OF

ISRAEL and JUDAH

TO THE

TIME of CHRIST.

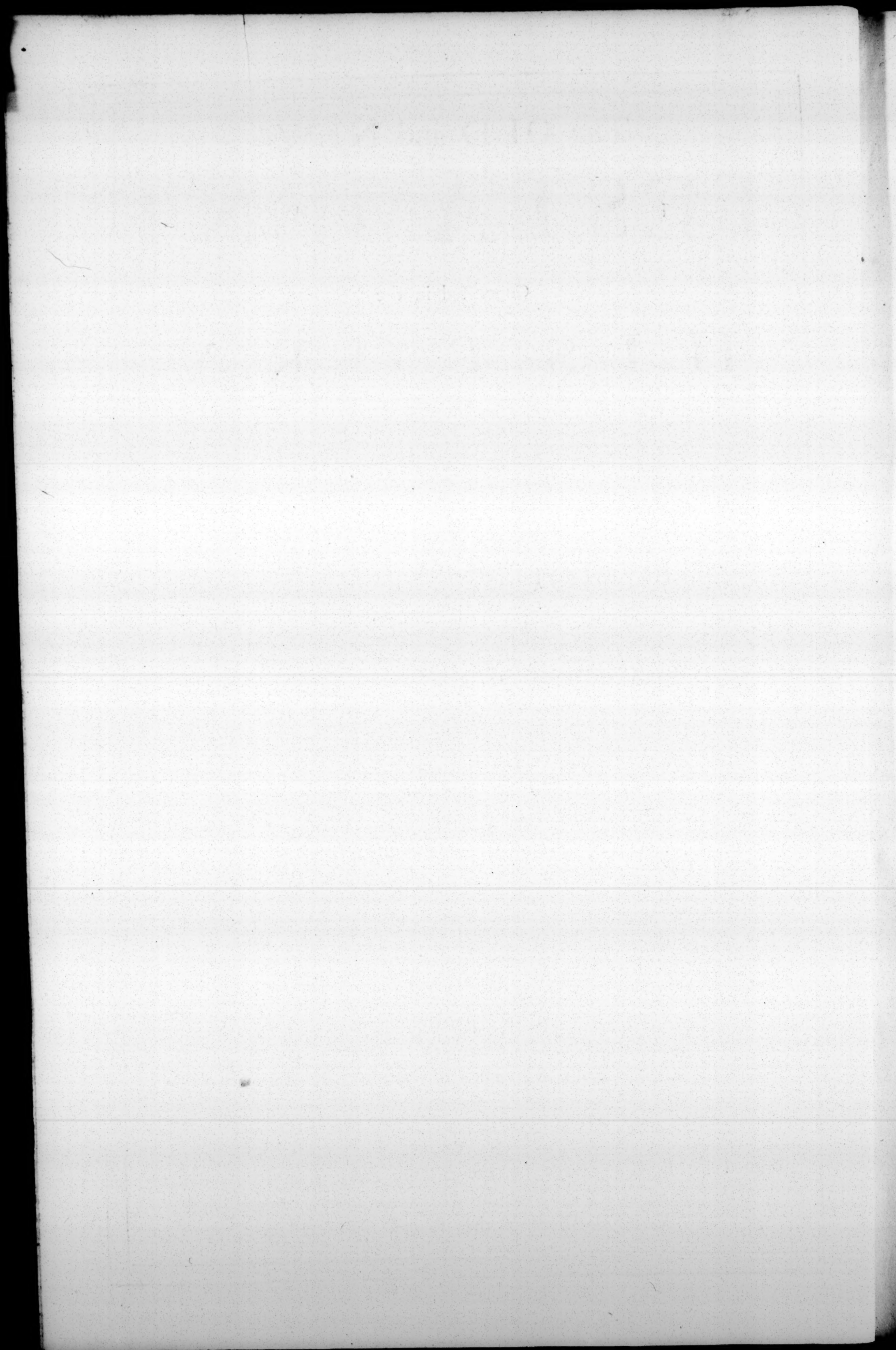
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PART I.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

D A N I E L

Earl of NOTTINGHAM,

*President of his Majesty's most Honourable
Privy-Council.*

My LORD,



I being by Your Recommendation to Your noble Father, that I was by him made Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, while he was Lord Chancellor of *England*; and it being also by Your Lordship's like favourable Recommendation of me to Her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same Church; I humbly offer unto Your Lordship this Product of my Studies, in a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours I have received from You. And if the Pub-

The Dedication.

lick receive any Benefit from it (as I hope some may) nothing is more just and reasonable, than that they should receive it through Your Lordship's Hands, who in having been so much a Patron to the Author have acquired thereby the best Title to all the Fruits of my Labours. What I now offer unto Your Lordship is only the first Part of what is intended. If God gives Life the second shall follow, and beg its Passage into the World under the same Patronage. The only additional Favour I am now capable of receiving is Your Lordship's kind Acceptance of this Expression of my Gratitude, which I humbly pray from Your Hands; and I am,

My LORD,

Your most Obedient, and

most Obliged Humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.



T H E P R E F A C E.



THE calamitous distemper of the stone, and the unfortunate management I fell under after being cut for it, having driven me out of the pulpit, in wholly disabling me for that duty of my profession, that I might not be altogether useless, I undertook this work, hoping that the clearing of the sacred history by the prophane, the connecting of the *Old Testament* with the *New* by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great use to many. What is now published is only the first part of my design. If God gives life the other will soon after follow; but if it should please him, who is the disposer of all things, that it happen otherwise, yet this history being brought down to the times, when the canon of the *Hebrew* scriptures was finished, it may of it self be reckoned a complete work. For it may serve as an epilogue to the *Old Testament*, in the same manner, as what after is to follow, will be a prologue to the *New*.

CHRONOLOGY and Geography being necessary helps to history, and good chronological tables being most useful for the one, as good maps are for the other, I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding such tables in the conclusion of
the

the work, as may answer this end, but also by digesting the whole into the form of annals under the years *before Christ*, and the years of the Kings that then reigned over *Judea*; both which are added in the margin, at the beginning of every year in which the actions hapned that are related. And as to the latter, since Dr. *Wells*, *Cellarius*, and *Reland* have sufficiently provided for it, both by good maps of the countries this history relates to, and also by accurate descriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. *Wells* hath done herein being written in *English*, will best serve the *English* reader, but they that are also skill'd in the *Latin* tongue may moreover consult the other two.

IN the annals I have made use of no other æra but that of the years *before Christ*, reckoning it backward from the vulgar æra of *Christ's* incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of *Christ's* incarnation, some placing it two years, and some four years before the vulgar æra. But where the vulgar æra begins, all know, that use it; and therefore the reckoning of the years *before Christ* backward from thence, makes it a fix'd and certain æra. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's incarnation, and that of the vulgar æra of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the 527th year of that æra that it was first brought into use. * *Dionysius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by birth, and then a *Roman* Abbot, was the first author of it; and *Beda* our countryman, taking it from him, used it in all his writings; and the recommendation which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common use among christians ever since, especially in these western parts. Had all christians calculated their time by it from the beginning of the church of *Christ*, (as it could be wished they had) there could then have been no mistake in it. But it being five hundred twenty seven years after *Christ's* incarnation, before this æra of it was ever used, no wonder, that after so great a distance of time a mistake was made in the fixing of the first year of it.

* See Scaliger, Calvisius, and other chronologers, in those parts of their works, where they write of the vulgar æra of *Christ*. And see also Du Pin's history of ecclesiastical writers. Cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 405.

THE æra from the creation of the world is of very common use in chronology; but this I have rejected, because of the uncertainty of it, must chronologers following different opinions herein, some reckoning the time of the creation sooner, and some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year for it.

THE *Julian* period is indeed a certain measure of time, but its certainty depends upon a reckoning backward, in the same manner as that of the æra *before Christ*. For it being a period of 7980 *Julian* years made out of the three cycles of the sun, moon, and indiction, multiplied into each other; and the first year of it being that, in which all these three cycles begin together, this first year can be no otherwise fixed, than by computing backward from the present numbers of those cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year in which the first year of every one of them meet together, which carries up the reckoning several hundred years before the creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore, altho' from that beginning it computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the present years of those cycles. For according as they are, all must be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the period. So that altho' in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a backward computation to tell us how many years since any thing was done from the present year. For in the numbers of the three cycles of the present year it hath a real and fix'd foundation for an upward reckoning, and so in any other year in which the said numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore this being the true and real use of the *Julian* period, the æra *before Christ*, for the times I treat of, serves all the purposes of chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For adding the years *before Christ* to those since *Christ*, according to the vulgar æra, it immediately tells us how many years since any action before the time of *Christ* was done, and the *Julian* period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at first sight. However, in the tables I have put the *Julian* period, and have reduced to it not only the years *before Christ*, but also the years of the princes reigning in *Judea*, and the neighbouring countries,

tries, and all things else that are treated of in this history; and hereby the synchronisms, or coincident times and transactions of other nations, may easily be known.

THE year I compute by in the annals is the *Julian* year, which begins from the first of *January*; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, tho' they were originally reckoned by other forms. The ^b *Greeks* before the time of *Meto* begun their year from the winter solstice, and after from that of the summer. The *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and ancient *Persians*, reckoned the first of the month *Thoth* to be always the first day of their year, which consisting of three hundred sixty five days, without a leap year, 'it begun every fourth year one day sooner than it did before, and so in the space of one thousand four hundred and sixty years its beginning was carried backward through the whole solar year. The *Syrians* and the *Phoenicians* begun their year from the autumnal equinox, and so did also the *Hebrews*, till their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*. But that hapning in the month of *Nisan*, in commemoration of this deliverance they afterwards begun their year from ^d the beginning of that month, which usually hapned about the time of the vernal equinox. And this form they ever after made use of in the calculating of the times of their fasts and festivals, and all other ecclesiastical times and concerns. But in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and such other affairs, which were of a secular nature, they still made use of the old form, and begun their year as formerly from the first of *Tisri*; which hapned about the time of the autumnal equinox. And from hence they began ^e all their jubilees and sabbattical years, and all other their computations of civil matters, as they still do the years of the creation of the world, and the years of their æra of contracts; which are the only epocha's they now compute past times by. Anciently ^f the form of the year, which they made use of, was wholly inartificial. For it was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but was made up of lunar months, set out by the phasis or appearance of the moon. When they saw the new moon then they began their

^b Vide Scaligerum, Petavium aliosque Chronologos in eis locis ubi de anno Græcorum agunt.

^c So it was in the time of the last Darius, but afterwards the Persians compensated for the loss of the leap year, by adding an intercalary month of thirty days every one hundred and thirtieth year.

^d Exod. xii. 2.

^e Levit. xxv. 9, 10.

^f Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hasshanah.

Maimonides in Keddush Hachodesh. Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

months,

months, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as the new moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was because the synodical course of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon) being twenty nine days and an half, the half day, which a month of twenty nine days fell short of it, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of thirty days; so that their months consisted of twenty nine days and thirty days alternately. None of them had fewer than twenty nine days, and therefore they never look'd for the new moon before the night following the twenty ninth day, and if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than thirty days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of these months their common year consisted. But twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, every one of those common years began eleven days sooner than the former; which in thirty three years time would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning, (as is now done in *Turkey*, where this sort of year is in use;) for the remedying of which their usage was sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; whereby they constantly reduced their lunar year, as far as such an intercalation could effect it, to that of the sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the sake of their festivals. For their feast of the passover (the first day of which ^s was always fix'd to the middle of their month *Nisan*) being to be celebrated by their eating of the paschal lamb, and the offering up of the wave sheaf, as the first fruits of their barley harvest; and their feast of *Pentecost*, which was ^h kept the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of *Nisan*, (which was the day,

^s Exod. xii. 3---20. Levit. xxiii. 4.-8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.
17. Deut. xvi. 9.

^h Levit. xxiii. 15, 16,

in which the wave sheaf was offered) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave loaves, as the first-fruits of theirⁱ wheat harvest; and their feast of tabernacles, which was always begun^k in the fifteenth of *Tisri*, being fix'd to the time^l of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth: The passover could not be observed, till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the pentecost till the wheat was ripe; nor the feast of tabernacles, till the ingatherings of the vineyard and olive yard were over. And therefore these festivals being fixed to these set seasons of the year, the making of the intercalation above-mentioned, was necessary for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. The rule for the doing of this was,^m whenever according to the course of the common year the fifteenth day of *Nisan* (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their paschal solemnity) hapned to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the paschal solemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other festivals with it. For according as the paschal festival was fixed, so were all the rest; that is, the pentecost fifty days after the second day of the paschal feast, (*i. e.* the sixteenth of *Nisan*) on which the wave sheaf was offered; and the feast of tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said paschal feast. For as the first day of the paschal feast was the fifteenth of *Nisan*, (the fourteenth, on the evening of which the solemnity began in the slaying of the paschal lambs, being but the eve of the passover) so the first day of the feast of tabernacles was on the fifteenth of *Tisri*, just six months after. To make this the more clear let it be observed, that the *Hebrew* months were as followeth, 1. *Nisan*, 2. *Iyar*, 3. *Sivan*, 4. *Tamuz*, 5. *Ab*, 6. *Elul*, 7. *Tisri*, 8. *Marchesvan*, 9. *Cisleu*, 10. *Thebeth*, 11. *Shebat*, 12. *Adar*. And these twelve made their common year. But in their intercalated years there was another month added after *Adar*, which they called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*; and then their year consisted of thirteen months. Supposing therefore their vernal

ⁱ Here it is to be observed, that in Judea the barley harvest was before the wheat harvest, and so it was in Egypt. For the barley was in the ear when the wheat and rye were not grown up. Exod. ix. 31, 32. ^k Levit. xxiii. 34, and 39. ^l Levit. xxiii. 39. ^m Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

equinox should have been on the tenth of *March*, (whereabout now it is) and that the fifteenth of *Nisan*, the first day of their passover, should in the common course of their year happen to fall on the ninth of *March*, the day before the equinox; then on their foreseeing of this they intercalated a month, and after their *Adar* added their *Veadar*, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as it hapned; at present we will suppose it to be of thirty days, and then the first of *Nisan*, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the twenty third of *February*, (as otherwise it would) must be carried on thirty days forward to the twenty fifth of *March*, and their passover to the eighth of *April* following. But the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the first of *Nisan* must then have hapned on the fourteenth of *March*, and the first day of the passover on the twenty eighth of the same month. And the next year after that, the first of *Nisan* must for the same reason have hapned on the third of *March*, and the first day of the passover on the seventeenth of *March*. And the next year after that, according to this calculation, the first of *Nisan* would have hapned on the twentieth of *February*, and the first day of the passover on the sixth of *March* following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month *Veadar* must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the first of *Nisan* which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before or fifteen days after the vernal equinox, that is within the compass of thirty days in the whole sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginnings of all their other months, and all the fasts and feasts observed in them. But this inartificial way of forming their months and years, was in use among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter, by those who had the care and ordering of it. For when they became dispersed through all nations, they were forced to make use of cycles and astronomical calculations, for the fixing of their new moons, and intercalations, and the times of their feasts, fasts, and other observances; that so they might be every where uniform herein. The first cycle they made use of for this purpose

pose ^a was that of eighty four years. By this they fixed their paschal feast, and by that their whole year besides. And the use hereof the primitive christians borrowed from them, and for some of the first centuries fixed their *Easter* in every year according to it. But this after some time being found to be faulty, *Meto's* cycle of nineteen years ^o was after the council of *Nice* brought into use by them for this purpose instead of the other, and the *Jews* following their example herein, almost about the same time came into the same usage also; and upon this cycle is founded the present form of their year. The first who began to work it into this shape, ^p was *Rabbi Samuel*, rector of the *Jewish* school at *Sora* in *Mesopotamia*; *Rabbi Adda*, who was a great astronomer, pursued his Scheme; and after him *Rabbi Hillel* about the year of our Lord 360 brought it to that perfection in which now it is, and being *Nasi* or prince of their sanhedrim, he gave it the authority of his sanction, and by virtue thereof it hath ever since been observed by them, and they say always is to be observed to the coming of the *Messiah*. According to this form ^q there are within the compass of the said nineteen years cycle, seven intercalated years, consisting of thirteen months, and twelve common years consisting of twelve months. Their intercalated years are the third, the sixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth, and the nineteenth of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over, they begin another, and so constantly according to it fix their new moons, (at which all their months begin) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be acknowledged, is very exactly and astronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity, that is to be found among that people. They who would thoroughly understand it may read *Maimonides's* tract *Kiddush Hachodesh*, which hath been published in a very good *Latin* translation by *Lewis de Veil*, under the title *De Consecratione Calendarum*, where he will find it very exactly and perspicuously described.

THESE having been the forms of the *Jewish* year, that is,

^a Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paschali Judæorum cyclo.

^o Epistola Ambrosii 83. ad Episcopos per Æmiliam constitutos. It was by the council of Nice referred to the church of Alexandria every year to fix the time of Easter, and they did it by *Meto's* cycle of nineteen years.

^p Juchasin; Shellsheleth Haccabala; & Zemach David: & ex iisdem Morinus in Exercitat. prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, cap. 3.

^q Talmud in Rosh Hashshanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh & Seldenus de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

the inartificial form used by the ancients in the land of *Canaan*, and the artificial and astronomical form now in use among the moderns throughout all their dispersions; according to neither of them can the days of the *Jewish* months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the *Julian* year. For in both of them the months being lunar, and the intercalations made of one whole lunar month at once, the days of those Months to the full extent of one full lunar month fell sometimes sooner, and sometimes later in the solar form. Since the *Jewish* kalendar hath been fixed by *Rabbi Hillel* upon the certain foundations of astronomy, tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that kalendar every day in the *Julian* year shall answer; but this cannot be done for the time before, because while they went inartificially to work in this matter by the phasis and appearance of the moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly; but often varied from the astronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times, of which this history treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any *Jewish* month mentioned either in the scriptures, or in *Josephus*, reduce it exactly to its time in the *Julian* year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compass of a month sooner or later. *Kepler* indeed holds, that the *Jewish* year was a solar year consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, and an addition of five days after the last of them; and our countrey-men, archbishop *Usher* and Mr. *Lydiat*, two of the most eminent chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the same opinion. Such an year I acknowledge was in use among the *Chaldeans*, from whom *Abraham* was descended; and also among the *Egyptians*, with whom the *Israelites* long lived. And I doubt not, but that before their coming out of the land of *Egypt* they also reckoned their time by the same form. For the time of the flood is manifestly computed by it^{*} in the book of *Genesis*, an hundred and fifty days being there made equal to five months, which proves those months to have been thirty day months. But that the *Israelites* made use of this sort of year after their coming out of *Egypt*, can never be made consisting with the *Mosaical* law. According to that their year must be

^{*} Chap. vii. 11. compared with chap. viii. 3. 4.

made up of months purely lunar, and could no otherwise, than by an intercalary month, be reduced to the solar form. And there being a necessity of making this intercalation for the keeping of their festivals to their proper seasons, by this means it comes to pass, that the beginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the *Julian* kalendar, but they fell always within the compass of thirty days sooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the clearer to the reader, I shall express it in this following scheme, wherein the first column gives the names of the *Jewish* months, and the second of the *Julian* months, within the compass of which the said *Jewish* months set over against them have always sooner or later their beginning and ending; and this is the nearest view that can be given of the correspondency of the one with the other.

1. <i>Nisan</i> ,	{ <i>March</i> , <i>April</i> .	7. <i>Tisri</i> ,	{ <i>September</i> , <i>October</i> .
2. <i>Iyar</i> ,	{ <i>April</i> , <i>May</i> .	8. <i>Marchesvan</i> ,	{ <i>October</i> , <i>November</i> .
3. <i>Sivan</i> ,	{ <i>May</i> , <i>June</i> .	9. <i>Cisleu</i> ,	{ <i>November</i> , <i>December</i> .
4. <i>Tamuz</i> ,	{ <i>June</i> , <i>July</i> .	10. <i>Tebeth</i> ,	{ <i>December</i> , <i>January</i> .
5. <i>Ab</i> ,	{ <i>July</i> , <i>August</i> .	11. <i>Shebat</i> ,	{ <i>January</i> , <i>February</i> .
6. <i>Elul</i> .	{ <i>August</i> , <i>September</i> .	12. <i>Adar</i> ,	{ <i>February</i> , <i>March</i> .

The thirteenth month called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*, answered most an end to our *March*, it being then only intercalated or cast in, when the beginning of *Nisan* would otherwise be carried back into the end of *February*.

I have in the series of this history, taken no notice either of the jubilees, or the sabbatical years of the *Jews*, both because of the uselessness, and also of the uncertainty of them. They are useless, because they help not to the explaining of any thing either in the holy scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the
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Babylonish captivity. And it is manifest from scripture, that the sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many ages before it. For the desolation, which hapned to the countrey of *Judea* under that captivity, is said in the second book of *Chronicles* (chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reason, that the land might enjoy its sabbaths, that is, those sabbatical years of rest, which the *Jews* in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter had deprived it of. And therefore if we reckon to this desolation only the fifty two years, that were from the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* to the end of the *Babylonish* captivity (in which the land was wholly desolated) this will prove the observing of those sabbatical years to have been neglected for three hundred sixty four years before that captivity. But if we add hereto the other eighteen years of that captivity, in which it was only in part desolated, and take in the whole seventy years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much higher, even to four hundred and ninety years before that captivity. And as to the jubilees there is no mention made of them any where through the whole scriptures, saving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their sabbatical years, saving only in the same law, and the place in *Chronicles* above-mentioned. There are indeed two other places of scripture, which some understand concerning them, (that is, 2 *Kings* xix. 29. and *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 8, 9, 10.) But both these passages do better admit of other interpretations. For what is said in the former of these seems rather to refer to the desolations of the war and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a sabbatical year, and so *Grotius*, and other learned men understand it. And what is said in the other by *Jeremiah* about the release of servants, doth not infer a sabbatical year, nor a jubilee neither. For every *Hebrew* servant ' was to be released in the seventh year of his servitude, tho' it were neither a jubilee, nor a sabbatical year, and therefore this instance infers neither of them. And those who undertake to interpret the law, which enjoins these jubilees, and sabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their observance. Some will have the reckoning both of

^c Exodus xxi. 2.

the sabbatical years, and the jubilees to commence from the first entering of the *Israelites* into the land of *Canaan*, and therefore place the first sabbatical year in the seventh year after that entrance, and the first jubilee also according hereto. But others say, that the land was seven years in conquering and dividing; and that the eighth year was the first, in which the *Israelites* began to sow, and reap in it; and that therefore the fourteenth year as the first sabbatical year; and according to this reckoning they put the first sabbatical year, and the first jubilee, seven years later than the former, and so the numbers of all the rest that follow. And then as to the time of the jubilee there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the seventh sabbatical year, then there will be two sabbatical years together: (for the year of jubilee was also ^r a sabbatical year,) and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be supported? And they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the year next after the seventh sabbatical year to have been the year of jubilee, tho' ^v they have the scripture on their side in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or *Shemittah* as the *Jews* call it) after that seventh sabbatical year, that is, whether the year of jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week or *Shemittah*. If the jubilee year were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in between the jubilee (which was also a sabbatical year) and the next sabbatical year after; whereas ^w the scripture saith, they were to have six. And if the first year of the next *Shemittah*, were the next year after the jubilee, then the *Shemittah's* would not always succeed in an exact series immediately one after the other, but after the seventh *Shemittah* the year of jubilee would intervene between that and the next, which disagreeeth with the opinion of many. However it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those, who thinking, that the sabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the seventh year after the former, have in that order

^r Levit. xxv. 11.^v Levit. xxv. 10.^w Levit. xxv. 3.

and series placed them in their chronological computations, without considering, that after every forty ninth year a jubilee year did intervene between the *Shemittah*, that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act most out of the way in this matter, who would confine *Daniel's* prophecy of the seventy weeks to so many *Shemittah's*, as if these seventy weeks fell in exactly with seventy *Shemittah's*, that is, that the first week began with the first year of a *Shemittah* or sabbatical week, and ended with a sabbatical year, which was the last of a *Shemittah*, and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number; and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out sabbatical years to suit their hypothesis's, and fix them to times to which they did never belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the seventy weeks to express seventy times seven years, that is, four hundred and ninety in the whole, without any relation had either to *Shemittah's* or sabbatical years. And were it otherwise, the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, besides the seventy *Shemittah's* must have contained nine years more for the nine jubilees, which must have hapned within the compass of the said seventy *Shemittah's*, and thereby make the whole number of those weeks to be four hundred ninety nine years, which no one that I know of hath ever yet said. And therefore since there is nothing certain to be known, concerning these sabbatical years and jubilees of the *Jews*, as to their ancient observance of them, and consequently there can be no use made of them for the explication either of scripture or history, I have not troubled the reader with them in the body of this history, and I wish I have not troubled him too far in saying so much of them here in the preface.

IN the series of this history having often endeavoured to reduce the sums of money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this present age, whether gold or silver; I think it requisite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be observed therefore, in order hereto, that among the ancients the way of reckoning their money was by talents. So the *Hebrews*, so the *Babylonians*, so the *Greeks*, and so the *Romans* did reckon; and of these talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into mina's and drachms; *i. e.* of their talents into mina's, and of their mina's into drachms. The *Hebrews* had besides these their shekels, and half shekels, or beka's, and

the *Romans* their denarii, which last were very near of the same value with the drachms of the *Greeks*. What was the value of an *Hebrew* talent appears from *Exodus* xxxviii. 25, 26. For there six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons being taxed at an half shekel an head, they must have paid in the whole three hundred and one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels, and that sum is there said to amount to an hundred talents, and one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels over; if therefore you deduct the one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels from the number three hundred and one thousand seven hundred seventy five, and divide the remaining sum, *i. e.* three hundred thousand, by an hundred, this will prove each of those talents to contain three thousand shekels. Each of these shekels weighed about three shillings of our money, and sixty of them ^{*} *Ezekiel* tells us made a mina; and therefore fifty of those mina's made a talent. And as to their drachms, it appears by the gospel of St. *Matthew*, that it was the fourth part of a shekel, that is, nine pence of our money. For there (chap. xvii. ver. 24.) the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every *Jew* (which was [†] half a shekel) is called *Διδραχμον*, (*i. e.* the two drachm piece) and therefore if an half shekel contained two drachms, a drachm must have been the quarter part of a shekel, and every shekel must have contained four of them, and so *Josephus* tells us it did. For he [‡] saith, that a shekel contained four *Attic* drachms, which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments. For according to the weight, the heaviest *Attic* drachms did not exceed eight pence farthing half farthing of our money, and an *Hebrew* drachm, as I have said, was nine pence; but what the *Attic* drachm fell short of the *Hebrew* in weight might be made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all countries, (which last the *Hebrew* drachm could not have) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the *Jews*. Allowing therefore a drachm, as well *Attic* as *Jewish*, as valued in *Judea*, to be equivalent to nine pence of our money, a beka or half shekel will be one shilling and six-pence, a shekel three shillings, a mina nine pound, and a talent four hundred and fifty pound. So was it in the time of *Moses* and

^{*} Chap. xlv. 12.[†] Talmud in Shekalim.[‡] Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

Ezekiel, and so was it the same in the time of *Josephus* among that people, for ^a he tells us, that an *Hebrew* mina contained two litra's and an half, which comes exactly to nine pound of our money. For a litra being the same with a *Roman* libra contained twelve ounces *Troy* weight, that is, ninety six drachms, and therefore two litra's and an half must contain two hundred and forty drachms, which being estimated at nine pence a drachm, according to the *Jewish* valuation, comes exactly to sixty shekels, or nine pound of our money. And this account agreeth exactly with that of *Alexandria*. For ^b the *Alexandrian* talent contained twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, and twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, according to the *Jewish* valuation, being twelve thousand of our nine pences, they amount to four hundred and fifty pound of sterling money, which is the same value with the *Mosaic* talent. But here it is to be observed, that though the *Alexandrian* talent amounted to twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, yet they themselves reckoned it but at six thousand drachms; because every *Alexandrian* drachm contained ^c two *Attic* drachms, and therefore the *Septuagint* version being made by the *Alexandrian* Jews, they there render the *Hebrew* word *Shekel* by the Greek *Δίδραχμον*, which signifieth two drachms, because two *Alexandrian* drachms made a shekel, two of them amounting to as much as four *Attic* drachms. And therefore computing the *Alexandrian* money according to the same method in which we have computed the *Jewish*, it will be as followeth. One drachm of *Alexandria* will be of our money eighteen pence; one didrachm or shekel consisting of two drachms of *Alexandria*, or four of *Attica*, will be three shillings; one mina, consisting of sixty drachms or shekels, will be nine pound; and one talent, consisting of fifty mina's, will be four hundred and fifty pound, which is the talent ^d of *Moses*, and so also is it the talent of ^e *Josephus*. For he tells us, that an *Hebrew* talent contained an hundred *Greek* (i. e. *Attic*) mina's. For those fifty mina's, which here make an *Alexandrian* talent, would be an hundred *Attic* mina's in the like method of valuation, the *Alexandrian* talent containing double as much as

^a *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. ch. 12.*

^b *Festus Pompeius. Dionysius Halicarnassensis etiam dicit talentum Alexandrium continere 125 libras Romanas; libræ autem Romanæ 125 continent drachmas Atticas 12000.*

^c *Varro æstimat drachmas Alexandrinas duplo superasse Atticasve Tyriasve.*

^d *Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.*

^e *Antiq. lib. 3. c. 7.*

the *Attic* talent, both in the whole and also in all its parts, in whatsoever method both shall be equally distributed. Among the *Greeks* the established rule was, ^f that one hundred drachms made a mina, and sixty mina's a talent. But in some different states their drachms being different, accordingly their mina's and talents were within the same proportion different also. But the money of *Attica* was the standard, by which all the rest were valued, according as they more or less differed from it. And therefore it being of most note, where-ever any *Greek* historian speaks of talents, mina's, or drachms, if they be simply mentioned, it is always to be understood of talents, mina's, or drachms of *Attica*, and never of the talents, mina's, or drachms of any other place, unless it be expressed. Mr. *Brerewood*, going by the goldsmith's weights, ^g reckons an *Attic* drachm to be the same with a dram now in use in their shops, that is, the eighth part of an ounce, and therefore lays it at the value of seven pence half penny of our money, or the eighth part of a crown, which is or ought to be an ounce weight. But Dr. *Bernard* going more accurately to work, ^h lays the middle sort of *Attic* drachms at eight pence farthing of our money, and the mina's and talents accordingly, in the proportions above-mentioned. The *Babylonian* talent, according to ⁱ *Pollux*, contained seven thousand of those drachms. The *Roman* talent ^k contained seventy two Italic mina's, which were the same with the *Roman* libra's; and ninety six *Roman* denarius's, each being of the value of seven pence half penny of our money, made a *Roman* libra. But all the valuations I have hitherto mentioned, must be understood only of silver money, and not of gold, for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to silver was among the ancients most commonly as ten to one; sometimes it was raised to be as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve; and sometimes as thirteen to one. In the time of King *Edward* the First, it was here in *England* at the value of ten to one, but it is now gotten at sixteen to one, and so I value it in all the reductions which I make in this history, of ancient sums to the present value. But to

^f Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. 10. cap. 6.
rum nummorum,
cap. 6. p. 437.

^g In libro de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum.
^h In libro de mensuris & ponderibus antiquis.
^k Festus Pompeius.

ⁱ Lib. 10.

make the whole of this matter the easier to the reader, I will lay all of it before him, for his clear view, in this following table of valuations.

Hebrew money.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
An <i>Hebrew</i> drachm,	0000	00	09
Two drachms made a beka, or half shekel,	0000	01	06
which was the tribute-money paid by every Jew to the temple,			
Two beka's made a shekel,	0000	03	00
Sixty shekels made a mina,	0009	00	00
Fifty mina's made a talent,	0450	00	00
A talent of gold, sixteen to one,	7200	00	00

Attic money, according to Mr. Brerewood.

An <i>Attic</i> drachm,	0000	00	07 $\frac{1}{2}$
An hundred drachms made a mina,	0003	02	06
Sixty mina's made a talent,	0187	10	00
A talent of gold, sixteen to one,	3000	00	00

Attic money, according to Dr. Bernard.

An <i>Attic</i> drachm,	0000	00	08 $\frac{1}{4}$
An hundred drachms made a mina,	0003	08	09
Sixty mina's made a talent,	0206	05	00
A talent of gold, sixteen to one,	3300	00	00

Babylonish money, according to Mr. Brerewood.

A <i>Babylonish</i> talent of silver, containing seven thousand <i>Attic</i> drachms,	0218	15	00
A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in gold, sixteen to one,			
	3500	00	00

Babylonish money, according to Dr. Bernard.

A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in silver,	0240	12	06
A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in gold, sixteen to one,	3850	00	00
	<i>Alexandrian</i>		

Alexandrian money.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A drachm of <i>Alexandria</i> , containing two <i>Attic</i> drachms, as valued by the <i>Jews</i> ,	0000	01	06
A didrachm of <i>Alexandria</i> , containing two <i>Alexandrian</i> drachms, which was an <i>Hebrew shekel</i> ,	0000	03	00
Sixty didrachms, or <i>Hebrew shekels</i> , made a mina,	0009	00	00
Fifty mina's made a talent,	0450	00	00
A talent of gold, sixteen to one,	7200	00	00

Roman money.

Four sestercius's made a <i>Roman</i> denarius,	0000	00	07 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ninety six <i>Roman</i> denarius's made an <i>Italick</i> mina, which was the same with a <i>Roman</i> libra,	0003	00	00
Seventy two <i>Roman</i> libra's made a talent.	0216	00	00

IF any desire a fuller account of the money of the ancients, he may read Mr. *Brerewood de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum*; Bishop *Cumberland*, of the *Jewish* measures, weights, and moneys; Dr. *Bernard*, *de mensuris & ponderibus antiquis*; and others that have written of this argument. It sufficeth for my present purpose, that I here insert so much as may serve for a key to those passages in the ensuing history, where any sum of money, or any quantity of gold or silver is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of *Zoroastres* by the western writers, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, the reader may perchance be surprized to find so much said of him in this history, and his time placed so much later, than is vulgarly reckoned. But how sparingly soever the *Greeks* or *Latins* may have been in speaking of him, what hath been wanting in them hath been sufficiently supplied by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, who have given us large accounts of him, and having placed his time, where truly it was, that is, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*

staspis King of *Persia*. Whatsoever we find written of him by the *Arabs*, is taken from the *Persians*. For it was not till after the time of *Mahomet*, that the *Arabs* had any literature among them, but the *Persians* had it long before. For we find in scripture, ^m that the *Persians* had books and registers, in which all the actions of their Kings, and the histories of their reigns were carefully recorded; and *Ctesias* ⁿ tells us the same, and that it was out of those books and registers that he extracted his history which he wrote of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* affairs, ^o in twenty three books. And *Persia* being the countrey which was the scene of all *Zoroastres's* doings, there it is that we may most likely expect the best account of him. And since he was there the founder, and great patriarch of the religion which was received, and reigned in that countrey from the time of *Darius Hystaspis* to the death of *Yazdegerd*, for near eleven hundred and fifty years; and consequently was among them (as he still is among the remainder of that sect) in the same esteem and veneration, that *Mahomet* is among the *Mahometans*; no wonder that much hath been said of him by their writers. And if those writers have been as ancient, as those of the *Greeks* and other nations, I know not why they should not have the same authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the *Roman* legends of their saints, and for the same reason, that is, to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to Dr. *Hyde's* book *De religione veterum Persarum*, for I understand not the *Persian* language. All that could be gotten out of both these sort of writers, concerning him or his religion, that carry with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together, as also every thing else that is said of either of them by the *Greeks*, or any other authentic writers. And out of all this put together is made up that account, which I have given of this famous impostor. And if the life of *Mahomet*, which I have formerly publish'd, be compared herewith, it will appear here-

^m Ezra iv. 15, 19. v. 17. vi. 1, 2. Esther vi. 1.

^o Photius in excerptis.

ⁿ Apud Diodorum Siculum, lib. 2.

by, how much of the way, which this latter impostor took for the propagating of his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them were very crafty knaves. But *Zoroastres* being a person of the greatest learning of his time, and the other so wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, though the other hath had the greater success in the propagation of his sect; the *Magians* scarce having ever enlarged themselves beyond the present bounds of the kingdom of *Persia*, and some parts of *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *India*, whereas the *Mahometans* have overspread a great part of the world. For which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty empires erected by them, that is, that of the *Saracens* first, and next that of the *Turks*, who having extended their conquests over many countries and kingdoms, have by the power of the sword subjugated the inhabitants to their religion, as well as to their empire.

To make this history the more clear, I have found it necessary to take in within its compass the affairs of all the other eastern nations, as well as those of the *Jews*, the latter not being thoroughly to be understood without the other. And as far as the *Grecian* affairs have been complicated with those of *Persia*, *Syria*, or *Egypt*, I have been obliged to take notice of them also. And without doing thus, I could not lead the reader to so clear a view of the completion of those prophecies of the *Old Testament*, which I have in the ensuing history explained. For how could the completion of the prophecy which we have of *Xerxes*, and his stirring up of all against the realm of *Grecia* (*Daniel* xi. 2.) be understood, without having an account of the war which he made against *Grecia*? Or how could the fulfilling of the prophecies, which were delivered of *Alexander*, his swift victories, and his breaking by them the power of *Persia*, (*Dan.* vii. 6. and *ch.* viii. 5, 6, 21. and *ch.* x. 20. and *ch.* xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the reader the whole series of those wars whereby it was effected? Or how could the verification of the prophecies, concerning the four successors of *Alexander*, written by the same prophet, (*Dan.* viii. 8. and *ch.* xi.

ch. xi. 4.) be fully evidenced, without giving a thorough narrative of all those transactions and wars, whereby it was brought to pass, that the empire of that great conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief commanders? The instance given in these particulars may serve to satisfy the reader as to all the rest.

To make all things the easier to the *English* reader, for whom I chiefly design this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any exotic words in the text. And where I have been forced in some places to insert *Hebrew* words, I have chosen for his sake to do it in *English* letters. All things else, that may be above a mere *English* reader, I have referred to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page, and in them I quote every thing in *English*, where the *English* reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he cannot, are the references and quotations in any other language.

SEVERAL have in *Latin* written by way of annals of the times, of which I treat, as *Torniellus*, *Salianus*, *Cappellus*, and others. But above all of this kind are Archbishop *Usher's* annals of the *Old* and *New Testament*, which is the exactest and most perfect work of chronology that hath been published; to which, I acknowledge, I have been much beholden; and altho' I have not always concurred with him; yet I have for the most part, especially in the ordering and settling the years, to which I refer the actions that are related. For I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the surest and safest clue I could conduct my self by, through all the intricate labyrinths of ancient times, and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I saw very good reason to do otherwise. But as to the other annalists I have mentioned, I have found it most an end only loss of time to consult them.

IF I have been too large in my explication of the prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the *Hebrew* scriptures, or in any other discourse of like nature, occasionally intermix'd in this work, the importance of the subjects must be my excuse. For the chief design of this history, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better understanding of the holy scriptures, both of the

Old and the New Testament, I have thought my self obliged in pursuit hereof to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any wise tend hereto. And if the reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praise, who hath enabled me under a very calamitous and broken state of health to finish this first part of my design, and still to go on with my studies for the compleating of the other.

Norwich,
Aug. 1. 1715.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.



THE



T H E
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 J E W S and Neighbouring Nations,
 F R O M T H E
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



B O O K I.



THE ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*, which had go-^{An. 747.}
 verned *Asia* for above thirteen hundred years, being
 dissolved on the death of *Sardanapalus*, there ^{*} arose
 up two Empires in its stead; the one founded by *Ar-*
baces Governour of *Media*, and the other by *Belesis*
 Governour of *Babylon*; who were the two principal
 Commanders, that headed the Conspiracy, whereby
 the former Empire was brought to an End; which they having on their
 Success parted among Themselves, *Belesis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and

^{*} Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 1. c. 3.
 VOL. I.

Arabia; and *Arbaces* all the rest. This hapned in the seventh year after the building of *Rome*, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred forty seventh year before *Christ*, i. e. before the beginning of the *Vulgar Æra*, by which we now compute the years from his Incarnation.

ARBACES is in Scripture called ^b *Tiglath-Pileser* and ^c *Thilgath-Pilnefer*; in ^d *Ælian*, *Thilgamus*; and by ^e *Castor*, *Ninus junior*. He fixed his Royal Seat at *Niniveh*, the same place where the former *Assyrian* Kings had their Residence, and there he governed his new-erected Empire nineteen Years.

BELEISIS is the same with *Nabonassar*, from the Beginning of whose Reign at *Babylon* commenceth the famous Astronomical Æra from him called the *Æra of Nabonassar*. He is by ^f *Nicolas Damascenus* called *Nanibrus*, and in the holy Scripture ^g *Baladan*, being the Father of *Merodac* or *Mordac Empadus*, who sent an Embassy to King *Hezekiah* to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness, which will be hereafter spoken of.

AND these two Empires God was pleased to raise up to be his Instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own People; the first for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and the other for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Judah*, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this History.

An. 742.
Ahaz 1.

IN the sixth year of *Tiglath Pileser* ^h *Abaz* began to reign over *Judah*, who being a very wicked and impious Prince, God stirred up against him *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah* King of *Israel*, who confederating together invaded his Land with a great Army, and having harassed it all over pent him up in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him.

THEIR design was ⁱ on the taking of that City to have wholly extirpated the House of *David*, and to have set up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal*. Who this person was, is no where said in Scripture, but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious *Jew*, who having revolted from his Master the King of *Judah*, excited and stirred up this war against him out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his Throne, and reigning in his stead.

BUT it being the will of God only to punish *Abaz* for his wickedness, and not the whole family of *David*, for which he had always for the sake of *David* expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief by blasting the whole design. And therefore he sent the Prophet *Isaiah* unto *Abaz* to encourage him valiantly to withstand the Enemy in the defence of the City, and to assure him, that they should not prevail against him. And for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some Ages after.

THE first was that the Prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that before that son should be of age to discern between good and evil, both these Kings should be cut off from the Land; which accordingly came to pass. For the Prophet ^k immediately after taking a wife, before *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived to the age of discerning between

^b 2 Kings xv. 29. & xvi. 7, 10.

^c 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

^d Hist. Animal.

lib. 12. c. 21.

^e Euseb. Chron. p. 46.

^f In Eclogis Valefii, p. 426, &c.

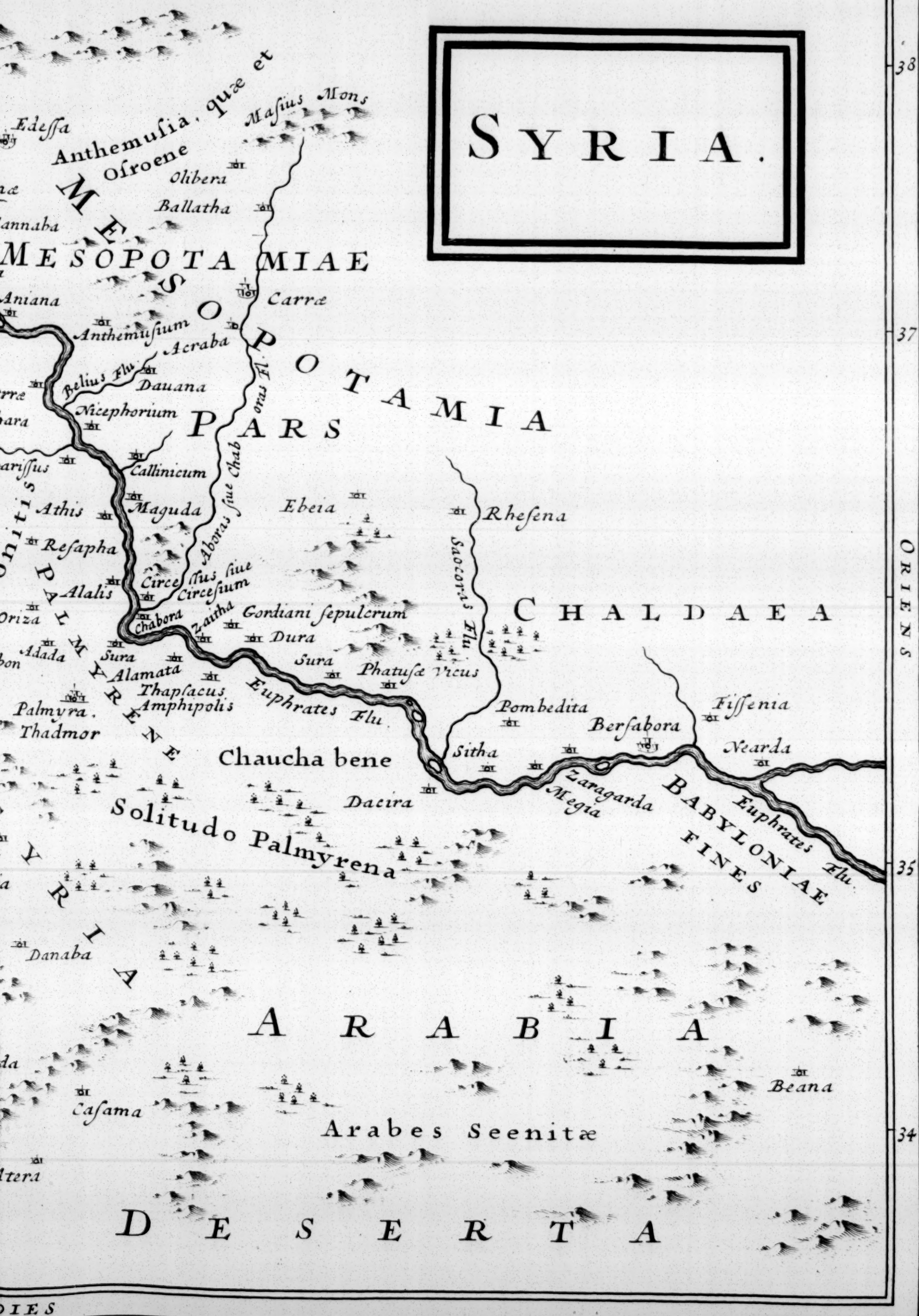
^g Isaiah xxxix. 1.

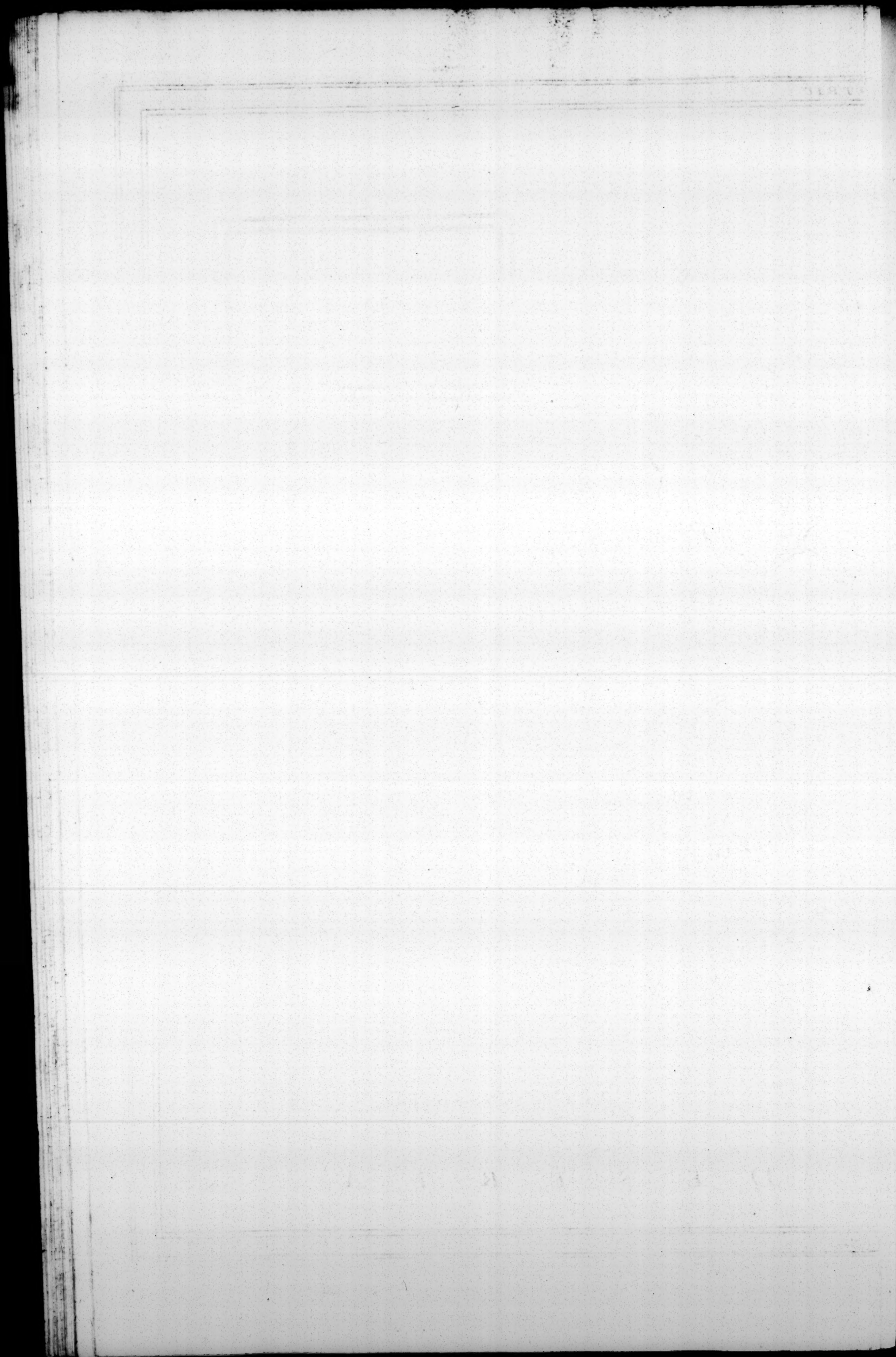
^h 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

ⁱ Isaiah vii.

^k Isaiah viii.







good and evil, both these Kings were slain, *Rezin* in the third year of *Ahaz*, and *Pekah* the next year after.

THE other sign was, that ¹ a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called *Emmanuel*, that is, God with us, the *Messias*, that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our Salvation. Which Prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding Spirits of the House of *David*; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them, that their House should stand, and continue, till this prediction should be accomplished, and the *Messias* born of their race in such manner, as was hereby foretold.

AFTER this the two Kings according to the words of the Prophet failing of their design were forced to raise the Siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprize which they had undertaken.

BUT ^m *Ahaz* after this, instead of being reformed by the Mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of *Israel*, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his Sons pass through the Fire to *Molech*, the next year after ⁿ God brought again upon him the same two confederated Kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who coming with forces better appointed, and counsels better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under *Rezin* King of *Syria*, the second under *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and the third under *Zichri* a mighty man of *Ephraim*; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his Kingdom at the same time. *Rezin* in his ravage having loaded his army with Spoils, and taken a vast number of Captives, returned with them to *Damascus*, thinking it his best interest there to secure what he had gotten. *Pekah* with his army marched directly against *Ahaz*, who had got together the main strength of his Kingdom to oppose this Invasion; and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies forces, but at length being encouraged by the departure of *Rezin* to give them Battel, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow *Zichri* taking the advantage led his forces to *Jerusalem*, and took the Royal City, where he slew *Maaseiah* the King's Son, and most of the chief Governours and great Men of the Kingdom, whom he found there. And both these armies of *Israel* on their return carried with them vast spoils, and above two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken Captive with intention to have sold them for bondmen and bondwomen. But a Prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their Brethren, whom God had delivered into their Hands, the elders of the Land fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the Captives to *Samaria*; whereon they were cloathed and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

AND the Land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty. For the

¹ Isaiah vii. 14. Mat. i. 23.

^m 2 Chron. xxviii. 2-----5.

ⁿ 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

Edomites and the *Philistines*, who next bordered on it, the former on the *South*, and the other on the *West*, seeing *Judah* brought thus low took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and by ravages and inrodes did all the mischief to the rest that lay in their power.

BUT *Abaz* continuing still hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this, which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways, but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the Temple of all the Gold and Silver that was found therein, and sent it to *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his Servant, and pay Tribute unto him.

THE King of *Assyria* having an opportunity hereby offered unto him, of adding *Syria* and *Palestine* to his Empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts, where having slain *Rezin* in battel, he took *Damascus*, and reduced all that Country under his Dominion. And hereby he put an end to the Kingdom of the *Syrians* in *Damascus*, after it had lasted there for ten Generations, that is, from the time of *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadab*, * who first founded it, while *Solomon* was King over *Israel*.

AFTER this *Tiglath-Pileser* † marched against *Peckab*, and seized all that belonged to *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, and also all the Land of *Galilee*, and then went forward towards *Jerusalem*, but rather to get more money of *Abaz*, than to afford him any real help. For he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the War, either by the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, or other Enemies, but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which *Abaz* cut the vessels of the Temple into pieces, and melted them down) he marched back to *Damascus*, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him. So that in reality he was rather distressed, than any way helped by this alliance, the Land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended Friend and Ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open Enemies. And moreover two lasting mischiefs followed hereon. For 1st, instead of two petty Princes, whom he had afore for his Neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty King for his borderer, against whom no power of the Land was sufficient to make any resistance, and the ill effect hereof both *Israel* and *Judah* did afterwards sufficiently feel. For it became at length to both of them the Cause of their destruction. 2^{dly}, From this time the *Jews* were excluded all their Traffic into the *Southern Sea*, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

THIS they had long carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa*, on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King *David* was the first † who began it: For having † conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Sea-port Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Elath*, and *Esiungeber*, † which then belonged to that Kingdom; and see-

* 1 Kings xi. 23---25.

† 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

‡ Eupolemus apud Euseb.

Præp. Evang. lib 9.

† 2 Sam. viii. 14.

1 Kings xi. 15, 16.

1 Chron. xviii. 13.

† 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

ing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the Benefit of it, and there begun this Traffic. There are two places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is, *Ophir* and *Tarshish*. From the former of these *David* in his time drew great profit. For the three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) to have given to the House of God seem to be of that Gold of *Ophir*, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reserved for his work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered Nation, and the publick revenues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned (C. xxiv. v. 14.) and amounted to * a prodigious Sum. The three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and out of his own proper goods, or private Estate which he had, besides what belonged to him as King. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to † above one and twenty Millions of our Money, besides the seven thousand Talents of refined Silver, ‡ which were included in the same gift. After *David*, § *Solomon* carried on the same Traffic to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one voyage * four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got so much in one voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the several voyages, which were made thither for him from the time that he had subdued the Land of *Edom* to the time of his Death, which was at least twenty five years. But it must be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it. For not being perplex'd and incumber'd with such Wars as his Father *David* was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better settling of it he † went in person to *Elath*, and *Eziongeber*, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his Ships, the fortifying of both those Ports, and the settling of every thing else which might tend to the successful carrying on of this Traffic, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other parts, where the Sea, on which these Ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest Care was to plant those two Towns with such Inhabitants as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose he brought thither from the Sea Coasts of *Palestine* as many, as he could get, of those who had been there used to the Sea, especially of the *Tyrians*, ‡ whom his Friend and Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and these were the most useful to him in this Affair. For they being in those days, and for many ages after,

* This Sum is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another sort of Talents of a far less value than the Mosaick Talents, of which an account is given in the Preface. For what is said to be given by *David*, (1 Chron. xxix. 14, 15, 16. and xxix. 3, 4, 5.) and contributed by his Princes, (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) toward the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, if valued by these Talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred Millions of our Money, which was enough where-with to have built all that Temple of solid Silver.

† For three thousand Hebrew Talents of Gold reduced to our Money amount to twenty one Millions and six hundred thousand Pound Sterling. † 1 Chron. xxix. 4. ‡ 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28. & cap. x. 11, 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. cap. ix. 10---21. § 2 Chron. viii. 18. The 450 Talents here mentioned amount to three Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pound of our present Sterling Money. † 2 Chron. viii. 17. ‡ 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. & cap. ix. 10, 21.

the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the use of the Compass not being then known, the way of Navigation was in those times only by Coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However this Trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch under the wise management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to these two Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and ^a whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom, so that ^b he made silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the Division of the Kingdom, *Edom* being of that part which remained to the House of *David*, they still continued to carry on this Trade ^c from those two Ports, especially from *Esiougeber*, which they chiefly made use of till the time of *Jehosaphat*. But he having there lost his Fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to *Ophir*, in partnership with *Abaziah* King of *Israel*, this spoiled the credit of that Harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it ^d a ridge of Rocks, as this fleet was passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden gust of wind (which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this Confederacy) driven upon those Rocks, where ^e they were all broken to pieces and lost. And therefore for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the King's Ships was thenceforth removed to *Elat*, from whence *Jehosaphat* the next year after sent out another Fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first Fleet for confederating with the idolatrous King of *Israel*, and we are told ^f in another place of his sending forth a Fleet for *Ophir*, in which he would not permit *Abaziah* to have any partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two Fleets by *Jehosaphat*, the first in partnership with *Abaziah*, and the other without it. And thus this Affair was carried on from the time of *David* till the Death of *Jehosaphat*. For till then the Land of *Edom* ^g was all in the Hands of the Kings of *Judah*, and was wholly governed by a Deputy or Viceroy there placed by them. But when *Jehoram* succeeded *Jehosaphat*, and God for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that Prince had withdrawn his protection from him, *Esau*, according to the Prophecy of *Isaac*, ^h did break the yoke of *Jacob* from off his Neck, after having served him (as foretold by that Prophecy) for several Generations, that is, from the time of *David* till then. For on *Jehoram*'s having revolted from God, ⁱ the *Edomites* revolted from him, and having expelled his Viceroy chose them a King of their own, and under his conduct recover'd their ancient Liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the Kings of *Judah*. And from this time the *Jewish* Traffic through the *Red Sea* had an interruption, till the reign of *Uzziah*. But he in the very beginning of his reign ^k having recovered *Elat* again to *Judah* fortified it anew, and having driven out the *Edomites* planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their

^a 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22. ^b 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27. ^c 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36. ^d Because of these Rocks it had the name of *Esiougeber*, which signified the back bone of a Man, for these Rocks resembled it. ^e 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. ^f 1 Kings xxii. 49. ^g 1 Kings xxii. 47. ^h Gen. xxvii. 40. ⁱ 2 Kings viii. 20---22. ^k 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

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MERIDIES



old Traffic, which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of *Abaz*. But then *Rezin* King of *Damascus* having in conjunction with *Pekah* King of *Israel* oppressed and weakened *Judah* to that degree, which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize *Elath*, and driving¹ out the *Jews* from thence planted it with *Syrians*, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that Traffic of the Southern Seas, which the Kings of *Judah* had hitherto reaped by having that Port. But the next year after, *Tiglath-Pileser* having conquered *Rezin*, and subdued the Kingdom of *Damascus*, he seized with it *Elath*, as then belonging to his new Conquest; and without having any regard to his Friend and Ally King *Abaz*, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit, which the *Jews* till then had reaped from this Traffic, and transferred it to the *Syrians*, which became a great diminution of their Wealth. For although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of Prosperity as in the time of King *Solomon*, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them. For it included all the Trade of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which was carried on through the *Red Sea*. But after *Rezin* had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the Merchandize that came that way, instead of being brought to *Jerusalem* was carried elsewhere. But at what place the *Syrians* fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their Hands, is no where said. But at length we find the whole of this Trade engrossed by the *Tyrians*, who managing it from the same Port, made it by the way^m of *Rhinocorura* (a sea-port town lying between the confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*) center all at *Tyre*, and from thence they furnished all the Western parts of the world with the wares of *Persia*, *India*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which thus by the way of the *Red Sea* they traded to, and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the *Persian* Empire, under the favour and protection of whose Kings they had the full possession of this Trade. But when the *Ptolemys* prevailed in *Egypt*, they did by buildingⁿ *Berenice*, *Myos-Hormos*, and other ports on the *Egyptian* or Western side of the *Red Sea* (for *Elath* and *Esfiongeber* lay on the Eastern) and by sending forth Fleets from thence to all those Countries, to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*, soon draw all this Trade into that Kingdom, and there fixed the chief Mart of it at *Alexandria*,^o which was thereby made the greatest Mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after, and all the marine Traffic, which the Western parts of the world from that time had with *Persia*, *India*, *Arabia*, and the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, was wholly carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Mouth of the *Nile*, till a way was found^p a little above two hundred years since of sailing to those parts by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this the *Portuguese* for some time managed this Trade, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the *English* and *Dutch*. And this is a full account of the *East-India* Trade, from the time it was first begun by *David* and *Solomon* to our present age.

BUT though it be by all agreed, that the Trade to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* was the same that is now in the hands of our *East-India* Merchants, yet

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 6.^m Strabo, lib. 16.ⁿ Strabo, lib. 17.^o Strabo, lib. 17. p. 798.^p Anno Dom. 1497.

there are great disputes among learned men, in what parts of the Eastern World these two places lay. Some will have *Ophir* to have been the Island of *Zocatora*, which lies on the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, a little without the *Streights* of *Babelmandel*. Others will have it to be the Island anciently called *Taprobana*, now *Ceilon*, and for its being an Island they have the Authority of *Eupolemus* (an ancient Author quoted by *Eusebius*) on their side. For speaking of *David*, he saith of him, ^a *That he built Ships at Elath, a City of Arabia, and from thence sent Metal-men to the Island of Urphe (or Ophir) situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of Gold, and the Metal-men brought it from thence to Judea.* But this being a Question no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, 1st, That from *Elath* to *Tarshish* was a voyage of three years going and coming; but in what compass of time the voyage to *Ophir* was compleated is not said, and that therefore *Tarshish* might be somewhere in the *East Indies*, but *Ophir* might be any where nearer home within the reach of those Seas. 2^{dly}, That the Commodities brought from *Tarshish* were *Gold, and Silver, and Ivory, and Apes, and Peacocks*: and those of *Ophir* were *Gold, and Almug Trees, and precious Stones*. And therefore any place in the Southern, or great *Indian Sea*, at the distance of a then three years voyage from *Elath*, which can best furnish the Merchants with Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks, may be guessed to be the *Tarshish* of the Holy Scriptures, and any place within the compass of the same Southern Sea, that can best furnish them with Gold, Almug-Trees, and precious Stones, and in that quantity of Gold as *Solomon* brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the *Ophir* in the said Holy Scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, That if the Southern part of *Arabia* did furnish the World in those times with the best Gold, and in the greatest quantity (as good Authors say) they that would have the *Ophir* of the Holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best Foundation for their Conjecture. But more than Conjecture no one can have in this matter.

BUT for the better understanding of what *Eupolemus* above saith of *Ophir*, that it was an Island in the Red Sea, it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the *Arabian Gulph*, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and is now commonly called the *Red Sea*; but ^w the great Southern Ocean, which extending it self between *India* and *Africa* washeth up to the Coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, where it appearing of a reddish Colour by reason of the fierceness of the Sun-beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot Climate, it was therefore called the *Red Sea*, and this alone was that, which was truly and properly called so by the Ancients. For the *Arabian Gulph* which hath now obtained that name, was never for any such redness of it so called. For neither the Water (as some will have it) nor

^a Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

^r 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21. ^f 1 Kings x. 22.

^t 1 Kings x. 11. ^v Agatharcides (p. 60. Edit. Oxon.) tells us, That the *Alileans* and *Cassandrians* in the Southern parts of *Arabia* had Gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of Gold for Iron, triple its weight for Brass, and ten times its weight for Silver, and that in digging the Earth they found it in gobbets of pure Gold, which needed no refining, and that the least of them were as big as Olive-stones, but others much larger. No other Author speaks of any other place in the world, where it was ever found in the like plenty.

^w Dionysii Periegesis v. 38. & Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemerii Geographia, lib. 2. c. 11.

the Sand (as others say) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the *Easterns* formerly so called. Throughout the whole Scripture of the Old Testament * it is called *Tam Suph*, that is *the weedy Sea*, by reason of the great quantity of Sea-weed which is therein, and the same name it also hath in the ancient *Syriac* Version, as well as in the *Targum*, or *Chaldee* Paraphrases. But among the ancient Inhabitants of the Countries adjoining it was called *Tam Edom*, i. e. *the Sea of Edom*. For the sons of *Edom* having possessed all that Countrey, which lying between the *Red Sea* and the Lake of *Sodom*, was by the *Greeks* called *Arabia Petraea*, they then named it from their father *Edom* the Land of *Edom*. And because that, which we now call the *Red Sea* washed upon it, thence it was called *the Sea of Edom*, or in the Dialect of the *Greeks* the *Edomean* or *Idumean Sea*, in the same manner as that, which washeth upon *Pamphylia*, was called the *Pamphylian Sea*, and that which washeth upon *Tyrrhenia*, the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, and so in abundance of other instances. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, finding it by them to be called *Tam Edom*, instead of rendring it *the Sea of Edom*, or *the Idumean Sea*, as they ought, mistook the word *Edom* to be an appellative instead of a proper name, and therefore rendred it *ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* that is the *Red Sea*. For *Edom* in the Language of that Countrey signified *Red*, and it is said in Scripture, that *Esau* ^y having sold his birth-right to his Brother *Jacob* for a Mess of red pottage, he was for that reason called *Edom*, that is *the Red*. And ^z *Strabo*, ^a *Pliny*, ^b *Mela*, and ^c others, say, that this Sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great King called *Erythrus*, who reigned in the Countrey adjoining upon it, which Name *Erythrus* signifying the same in *Greek*, that *Edom* did in the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* Languages, that is *the Red*, this plainly proves, that the great King *Erythrus* could be none other than *Edom*, who having planted his Posterity in the Countrey, as I have said, ^d from him it was called *the Land of Edom*, or with a *Greek* Termination *Edomæa*, or *Idumæa*, and from that Land the Sea, which washed upon it, was called *the Sea of Edom*, but the *Greeks* translating *Edom* as an appellative into the word *Red*, which it signified, instead of rendring it in the same Sound, as a proper name, from this mistake it was by them called the *Red Sea*, and that name it hath retained ever since.

BUT fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary farther to observe, that the *Idumæa* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Josephus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient writers, was not that *Land of Edom*, or *Idumæa*, which gave name to the *Red Sea*; but another ancient *Idumæa*, which was vastly larger than that *Idumæa* which those Authors describe. For * it included all that Land, which was afterwards from *Petra* the Metropolis of it called *Arabia Petraea*. For all this was inhabited by the Sons of *Edom*, and from thence it was anciently called the Land of *Edom*. But ^e on a Sedition which arose among them, a Party going off from the rest, while the Land of *Judæa* lay desolate during the *Babylonish* Captivity, they planted them-

* See Exod. x. 19. xiii. 18, &c.

y Gen. xxv. 30.

z Lib. 16. p. 766.

a Lib. 6. c. 23.

b Lib. 3. Cap. 8.

c Agatharcides Edit. Ox. p. 2.

Q Curtius, l. 8. c. 9. & lib. 10. c. 1.

Philostratus, lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in Rerum Indicarum libro, p. 579. Edit. Blac.

d See

Fuller's Miscellanies, lib. 4. c. 20. * That it reached to the Red Sea appears from 2 Chron. viii. 17. for Elath and Esiongeber Cities of Edom were Ports on the Red Sea.

e Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760.

selves on the South-Western part of that Countrey, where they were called *Idumeans*, and that Land alone which they there possessed, was the *Idumæa* which those Authors mention. Those who remained behind, joining themselves to the *Ishmaelites*, were from *Nebaioth* or *Nabath* the ^e Son of *Ishmael* called *Nabathæans*, and the Countrey which they possessed *Nabathæa*, and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

An. 739.
Ahaz 4.

BUT to return from whence I have digressed, *Abaz* having gone so far with *Tiglath-Pileser*, as hath been said, found it necessary for him to overlook all Injuries to avoid provoking greater, and therefore carrying on the complement towards him, as if he had really been that Friend and Protector which he pretended to be, as soon as he heard that he was returned to *Damascus*, ^h he went thither to him to pay him that respect and obedience, which after having owned him as his Protector and Sovereign, he did now at his Client and Tributary owe unto him.

WHILE he was at *Damascus* on this occasion, ⁱ he saw there an idolatrous Altar, of a form which he was much pleased with, whereon causing a pattern of it to be taken he sent it to *Urijah*, the High Priest at *Jerusalem*, to have another there made like unto it, and on his return having removed the Altar of the Lord out of its place in the Temple, ordered this new Altar to be set up in its stead. And thenceforth giving himself wholly up to Idolatry, ^k instead of the God of *Israel* he worshipped the Gods of the *Syrians*, and the Gods of the other Nations round him, saying, that they helped their People, and that therefore he would worship them, that they might help him also. And accordingly having filled *Jerusalem* and all *Judea* with their Idols, and their Altars, he would suffer no other God but them only to be worshipped in the Land; whereby having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he caused his Temple to be shut up, and utterly suppressed his worship throughout all his Kingdom. And this he did with an air and profession of anger and defiance for that he had not delivered him in his distress, when the *Syrians* and *Israelites* came against him, as if it were in his power to revenge himself on the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to such an extravagant height of folly and madness had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in *Jerusalem*, and in this he continued till at length he perished in it, being cut off in the flower of his age, before he had out-lived half his Days.

TIGLATH-PILESER on his return into *Assyria* carried with him great numbers of the People, whom he had taken Captive in the Kingdom of *Damascus*, and in the Land of *Israel*. Those of *Damascus* he planted ^l in *Kir*, and those of *Israel* ^m in *Halab*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and on the River *Gozan* in the Land of the *Medes*. *Kir* was a City in the hither part of *Media*, but *Halab*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and the River *Gozan* were farther remote. And herein was accomplished the Prophecy of the Prophet *Amos* ⁿ against *Israel*, wherein he foretold in the Days of *Uzziah* the Grandfather of *Abaz*, that God would cause them to go into Captivity beyond *Damascus*, that is, unto places beyond where those of *Damascus* should be carried. St. *Stephen* ^o quoting this Prophecy renders it *beyond Babylon*. So

^e Gen. xxv. 13.

^h 2 Kings xvi. 10.

ⁱ 2 Kings xvi. 10--16.

^k 2 Kings xvi.

^l 2 Chron. xxviii. 22---25.

^m 2 Kings xvi. 9.

ⁿ 1 Chron. v. 26.

^o Amos v. 26, 27.

^p Acts vii. 43.

the common Editions of the *Greek Testament* have it, and it is certainly true. For what was beyond *Kir* was also beyond *Babylon*, for *Kir* was beyond *Babylon*. But *Wicelius's* Edition ^p hath *Damascus* in *St. Stephen's* Speech also, and no doubt he had ancient Copies, which he followed herein.

THE planting of the Colonies by *Tiglath-Pileser* in those Cities of the *Medes*, plainly proves *Media* to have been then under the King of *Affyria*. For otherwise what had he to do to plant Colonies in that Country? And therefore *Tiglath-Pileser* and *Arbaces* were not two distinct Kings, whereof one had *Media*, and the other *Affyria*, as ^a Archbishop *Usher* supposeth, but must both be the same Person expressed under these two distinct Names. And ^r *Diodorus Siculus* positively tells us, that *Arbaces* had *Affyria* as well as *Media* for his Share in the Partition of the former Empire, and therefore there is no room for a *Tiglath-Pileser*, or a *Ninus Junior*, distinct from him, to reign in *Affyria* during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same Person, that was signified by all these different names.

PEKAH by this Conquest, which the *Affyrians* made upon him, being stripped of so large a part of his Kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had afore brought King *Abaz*. For he had now scarce any thing left but the City of *Samaria*, and the Territories of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* only, which bringing him into contempt with his People, as well as raising their Indignation against him, (as is most an end the Case of unfortunate Princes) *Hoshea* the Son of *Elah* ^r rose up against him, and slew him, after he had reigned in *Samaria* twenty Years. And hereby was fully accomplished that Prophecy ^r of *Isaiah* concerning him, which is above related. After this the Elders of the Land seem to have taken the Government into their Hands. For *Hoshea* had not the Kingdom till nine years after, that is, towards the end of the twelfth year of *Abaz*.

IN the fourteenth year of *Abaz* dyed *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Affyria*, ^{An. 729} after he had reigned ^r nineteen years, and *Salmaneser* his Son (who in ^u *Tobit* is called *Enemessar* and in ^x *Hosea Shalmon*) reigned in his stead. ^{Ahaz 14} And as soon as he was settled in the Throne, he came into *Syria* and *Palestine*, and there ^r subjected *Samaria* to his Dominion, making *Hoshea* the King thereof to become his Vassal, and pay Tribute unto him. In this Expedition among other prey, which he took and carried away with him, ^r was the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel*, and had been there ever since his time worshipped by the ten Tribes of *Israel*, that had revolted with him from the House of *David*. The other *Golden Calf*, which was at the same time set up by him in *Dan* ^r had been taken thence about ten years before by *Tiglath-Pileser*, in the Invasion which he then made upon *Galilee*, in which Province that City stood. And therefore the Apostate *Israelites* being now deprived of the Idols which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to *Jerusalem* there to worship before him, and *Hoshea* encouraged them herein. For whereas ^r the Kings of *Israel* had hitherto maintained Guards up-

^p See Dr Mill's *Greek Testament*, Acts vii. 43.

Mundi 3257.

Chron. p. 46.

Rabba, c. xxii.

^r Lib. 2.

^u Chap. i. 2.

^r Seder Olam Rabba, ibid.

^r 2 Kings xv. 30.

^x Chap. x. 14.

^a Annales veteris Testamenti sub anno

^r Isa. vii. 16.

^r 2 Kings xvii.

^r Castor apud Euseb.

^r Seder Olam

on the Frontiers, to hinder all under their Subjection from going up to *Jerusalem* to worship there, *Hoshea* took away those Guards, and gave free Liberty to all to worship the Lord their God according to his Laws in that place which he had chosen; and therefore when *Hezekiah* invited all *Israel*, that is, all those of the ten revolted Tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his Passover, *Hoshea* hindred them not, ^b but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his Subjects who were at that Festival, did on their return out of their zeal for the true worship of their God ^c break in pieces the Images, cut down the Groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroyed all other Monuments of Idolatry throughout the whole Kingdom of *Samaria*, as will be hereafter related, *Hoshea* forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being King, without his encouraging of it, and giving his authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to Religion, the best Character given him in Scripture of all, that reigned before him over *Israel* from the division of the Kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him, ^d That *he did evil in the sight of the Lord*, yet it is subjoined in the next words, *but not so, as the Kings of Israel which were before him*. By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that Kingdom. However still he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his Master to reign in his stead.

AN. 727. *AHAZ* in the sixteenth year of his Reign being smitten of God for his iniquities, ^e died in the thirty sixth year of his age, and was buried in the City of *David*, but not with a Royal burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings. For from this honour he was excluded because of his wicked reign, as were *Jehoram* and *Joash* before him, and *Manasseh* and *Ammon* after him for the same reason, it being the usage of the *Jews* to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them.

AFTER *Ahaz* reigned ^f *Hezekiah* his Son, a very worthy and religious Prince. He had in the last year of his Father's reign been admitted a Partner with him in the Kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed) under the sickness, of which he died. However, as long as his Father lived he could make no alteration in that evil course of affairs, which he had put both Church and State into. But as soon as he was dead, and *Hezekiah* had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough Reformation in both.

AN. 726. THE first thing which he did was to open the House of God, which his Father had impiously shut up, and restore the true worship therein; in order whereto he called the Priests and Levites together out of all parts of the Land to attend their duty in the Temple, ordering them to remove his Father's new Altar, and to restore the Altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the Temple of all other Pollutions, with which it had been prophaned during the reign of his Father. But it not being till the end of the former year that *Ahaz* died, the beginning of the first month of the ensuing year (which is called *Nisan*, and corresponds partly with *March*

^b 2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18. ^c 2 Chron. xxxi. 1. ^d 2 Chron. xxvii. 2. ^e 2 Kings xvi. 20.
^f 2 Chron. xxviii. 27. 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

and partly with *April* in our Kalendar) was the soonest that they could be employed in this work, so that it not being compleated till the 16th day of that month, the Passover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said Month of *Nisan*.

HOWEVER, the House of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, *Hezekiah* went up thither on the 17th day of that Month with the Rulers and great men of his Kingdom, where the People being gathered together he offered Sin-Offerings for the Kingdom, and the Sanctuary, and for *Judah* to make atonement to God for them, and for all *Israel*, and after that he offered Peace-Offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times that had been before him, and there was great joy among all the good people of the Land thereon.

AND seeing the Passover could not be kept on the Regular time this year, because neither the Temple, nor the Priests, nor the people were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case ^a the Law of *Moses* allowed a second Passover to be kept from the 14th day of the second Month, King *Hezekiah* having taken Counsel hereon with the chief Priests, and his Princes, and all the Congregation in *Jerusalem* ^b decreed, that this second Passover should be kept by all the Congregation of *Israel* instead of the first, and accordingly he sent Messengers to carry notice hereof not only through all *Judah*, but also through all the other Tribes of *Israel*, and to invite all that were of *Israel* to come to it. And accordingly on the day appointed there was at *Jerusalem* a very great concourse of people from all parts met together to solemnize the holy Festival, and that as well from those Tribes that had separated from the House of *David*, as from those who had stuck to it. For although many of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and the rest of those Tribes laughed at *Hezekiah's* Messengers when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt which through long disusage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude even from those parts came to it, and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest Passover that had been solemnized at *Jerusalem* since the Days of King *Solomon*. And because they had long neglected the observing of this solemn Festival, to make some amends for it they now doubled the time of its continuance. For whereas the Law directs it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen with much joy and gladness of Heart, and resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of *Israel* only, as soon as the solemnity was ended they went out into all the Coasts of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and brake the Images in pieces, and cut down the Groves, and threw down the high places, and the Altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of Idolatry which were any where to be found, either in *Jerusalem*, *Judea*, or any of the Coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other Tribes on their return home did the same in all the rest of *Israel*; so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the Land, and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto, had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

AND the Brazen-Serpent, which *Moses* had set up in the Wilderness, having been by many in the preceding times of iniquity made the object of

^a Num. ix. 10, 12.

^b 2 Chron. xxx.

idolatrous Worship, ⁱ *Hezekiah* caused this also to be destroyed, whereas otherwise it might have served, as well as the Pot of *Mannah*, and *Aaron's* Rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous Mercy of God shewn to his people on their coming out of *Egypt*, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved.

BUT notwithstanding it is thus positively said in the Holy Scripture, that the Brazen-Serpent was destroyed by *Hezekiah* in the manner as I have related, yet the impudence of the *Romanists* is such, ^{*} that in the Church of *St. Ambrose* at *Milan* they now keep and shew to their Devoto's a Brazen-Serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that *Moses* did set up in the Wilderness, and upon this belief an idolatrous Devotion is there paid to it as gross as was that of the *Jews*, for which *Hezekiah* caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that among their learned men there are those who acknowledge the Cheat and disclaim it.

ABOUT the beginning of the Reign of *Hezekiah* ¹ *Sabakon* the *Ethiopian* having invaded *Egypt*, and taken *Boccharis* the King of that Country prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his Kingdom reigned there in his stead. This is the same who in Scripture is called ^m *So*. And he having thus settled himself in *Egypt*, and after some time grown very potent there, *Hoshea* King of *Samaria* entred into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the yoke of *Assyria*, and in confidence hereof he withdrew his Subjection from *Salmaneser*, and would pay him no more Tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as he had formerly used every year to do. Whereon ^a *Salmaneser* in the beginning of the fourth year of *Hezekiah* marched with an army against him, and having subdued all the Country round pent him up in *Samaria*, and there besieged him three years, at the end of which he took the City, and thereon putting *Hoshea* in Chains he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the people into Captivity, placing them in *Halab*, and in *Habor*, and in the other Cities of the *Medes*, where *Tiglatb-Pileser* had afore placed those whom he had carried into Captivity out of the same Land.

An. 724.

Hezek. 4.

An. 721.

Hezek. 7.

IN this Captivity ^o *Tobit* being taken out of his City of *Thisbe* in the Tribe of *Neptali*, was with *Anna* his Wife, and *Tobias* his Son, carried into *Assyria*, where he became Purveyor to King *Salmaneser*. But the rest of his Brethren were carried into *Media*, as is abovesaid, and planted there, as particularly were *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatana*, which proves *Media* to have been still under the King of *Assyria*, and that there was no King in *Media* in those days distinct from the King of *Assyria*.

THERE is in the xvth and xvith Chapters of *Isaiah* a very terrible Prophecy against *Moab*, bearing date in the first year of *Hezekiah*, wherein it was foretold, that within three years *Arne* and *Kir-Harasheth*, the two principal Cities of that Country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin, and desolation, which must have been executed the same year that *Samaria* was first besieged. It seemeth most likely that *Salmaneser* to secure himself from any disturbance on that side first invaded

ⁱ 2 Kings xviii. 4. ^{*} Vid. Sigonii Historiam de Regno Italiae, lib. 7. Torniellum in Annalibus sub A. M. 3315. Tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfii Historiam serpentis aenei, cap. 6, &c.

¹ Herodotus, lib. 2. Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. Eusebius in Chronico. ^m 2 Kings xvii. 4.

ⁿ 2 Kings xviii.

^o Tobit, chap. i.

Moab, and having destroyed these two Cities brought all the rest of that Countrey under his Subjection, and placed Garrisons therein sufficient to put a stop to all Incurfions of the *Arabs*, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that Siege. For otherwise he could not have been able to carry it on with success.

IN the same year that *Samaria* was taken, ^r *Mardoc-Empadus* begun his reign at *Babylon*. He was the Son of *Belesis* or *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*, (for by all these names was he called) and was the same, ^q who in Scripture is called *Merodach Baladan* the Son of *Baladan*. But after the death of his Father, several other Princes had succeeded in *Babylon* before the Crown came to him. For ^r *Nabonassar* dying when he had sat in the Throne fourteen years, after him reigned *Nadius* two years, and after him *Chinzerus* and *Porus* jointly five years, and then after them *Jugæus* five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their Names in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After *Jugæus* succeeded *Mardoc-Empadus* in the twenty seventh year after the beginning of his Father's Kingdom in *Babylon*, and reigned twelve years.

WHILE *Salmaneser* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* took the opportunity of recovering what had been lost from his Kingdom in the Reign of his Father. And therefore ^r making war upon the *Philistins* he not only regained all the Cities of *Judah*, which they had seized during the time that *Pekah* and *Rezin* distressed the Land, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own Countrey, excepting *Gaza* and *Gath*.

As soon as the Siege of *Samaria* was over, *Salmaneser* sent to *Hezekiah* ^{An. 720. Hezek. 2.} to demand the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay for the Kingdom of *Judea* in the time of *Tiglath-Pileser* his Father, but ^r *Hezekiah* trusting in the Lord his God would not hearken unto him, neither did he pay him any Tribute, or send any presents unto him, which would immediately have brought *Salmaneser* upon him with all his Power, but that he was diverted by another war.

FOR ^r *Eluleus* King of *Tyre* seeing the *Philistins* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath* again under his obedience, which had some time before revolted from him. Whereon the *Gittites* applying themselves to *Salmaneser* engaged him in their cause, so that he marched with his whole army against the *Tyrians*. Whereon *Sidon*, *Ace*, (afterwards called *Ptolemais* and now *Acon*) and the other maritim Towns of *Phœnicia*, which had till then been subject to the *Tyrians*, revolted from them, and submitted to *Salmaneser*. But the *Tyrians* having in a sea fight with twelve ships only beaten the *Assyrian* and *Phœnician* fleets both joyned together, which consisted of sixty ships, this gave them such a reputation in naval Affairs, and made their name so terrible in this sort of war, that *Salmaneser* would not venture to cope with them any more at sea, but turning the war into a Siege left an army to block up the City, and returned into *Assyria*. The Forces which he left there much distressed the place by stopping their Aqueducts, and cutting off all the conveyance of water to them. To re-

^r Canon Ptolemæi.

^q Isa. xxxix. 1.

^r Canon Ptolemæi.

^r 2 Kings xviii. 5.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13.

^r 2 Kings xviii. 7.

^v Annales Menandri apud Josephum

Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

lieve themselves in this Exigency they digged wells, from whence they drew up water, and by the help of them held out five years, at the end of which *Salmaneser* dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that Prophecy against them in the xxiii^d Chapter of *Isaiah*, which foretold the miserable overthrow that should afterwards happen unto them, and was accordingly effected by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, as will be hereafter shewn.

IN the ninth year of *Hezekiah* dyed *Sabakon* or *So* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned in that Countrey ^w eight years, and ^x *Sevechus* his son, whom ^y *Herodotus* calleth *Sethon*, reigned in his stead.

^{An. 714.} ^{Hez. 14.} *SALMANESER* King of *Affyria* being dead after he had reigned fourteen years, *Sennacherib* ^z his son succeeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned about eight years. He is the same whom the Prophet *Isaiah* (c. xx. 1.) calleth *Sargon*. As soon as he was settled in the Throne, he renewed the demand which his Father had made upon *Hezekiah* for the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay in the reign of *Tiglath-Pileser* his Grandfather, and ^a on his refusal to comply with him herein denounced war against him, and marched with a great army into *Judea* to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the Reign of King *Hezekiah*.

IN this same year ^b *Hezekiah* falling sick of the pestilence, had a Message from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* to set his House in order, and prepare for death. But on his hearty prayer to God he obtained another Message from him by the same Prophet, which promised him Life for fifteen years longer, and also deliverance from the *Affyrians*, who were then coming against him; and to give him thorough Assurance hereof by a miraculous Sign, God did at his request make the Sun go backward ten degrees upon the Sun-Dial of *Abaz*. And accordingly a lump of figs having been by the Prophet's direction made into a Plaister, and laid to the Pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the House of God to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

^{An. 713.} ^{Hez. 15.} *MERODACH BALADAN* King of *Babylon* (the same who in *Ptolemy's* Canon is called *Mardoc-Empadus*) hearing of this miraculous recovery ^c sent Ambassadors unto him to congratulate him hereon, which *Hezekiah* was much pleased with. Their coming on this occasion seemeth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to enquire about the miracle of the Sun's retrogradation (for the *Chaldeans* being above all other Nations then given to the study of Astronomy, were very curious in their enquiries after such matters.) And the other, to enter into an Alliance with him against *Sennacherib*, whose growing power the *Babylonians* had reason to fear, as well as the *Jews*. And to make the *Babylonians* put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason that *Hezekiah* shewed those Ambassadors from them all the riches of his House, his Treasures, his Armory, and all his stores and strength for War. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him by the Prophet *Isaiah* a rebuking Message for it, and also a Prophecy of what the *Babylonians* should afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride with which his heart was then elated.

^w Africanus apud Syncellum p. 74. ^x Africanus ibid. ^y Lib. 2. ^z Tobit i. 15.
^a 2 Kings xviii. ^b 2 Chron. xxxii. ^c Isaiah xxxvi.
Isaiah xxxviii. ^d 2 Kings xx. ^e Isaiah xxxix.
^f 2 Kings xx. ^g 2 Chron. xxxii. 24.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah's* reign ^d *Sennacherib* came up with a great army against the fenced Cities of *Judah*, and took several of them, and laid siege to *Lachish*, threatening *Jerusalem* itself next. Whereon *Hezekiah* taking advice of his Princes and chief Counsellors made all manner of Preparations for its defence, repairing the walls, and making new ones where they were wanting, and fortifying them with Towers, and all other works and buildings necessary for their defence. And he provided also Darts and Shields in great abundance, and all other Arms and Artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the Enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be enroll'd and marshall'd for the war, that were fit and able for it, placing over them Captains of Experience to instruct them in all military Exercises, and to conduct and lead them forth against the Enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the Wells that were without the Walls of *Jerusalem* for a great compass round the City, and diverted all Brooks and Water-courses from coming that way, thereby to distress the Enemy for want of Water, should they come and set down before that place. And farther, to strengthen himself the more against so potent and formidable an Enemy, he entered into alliance with the King of *Egypt* for their mutual defence. But ^e the Prophet *Isaiah* condemned this alliance, as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the *Jews* that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for Mount *Zion*, and deliver and preserve *Jerusalem* from the power of the enemy that was then risen up against it: And that whatsoever trust they should place in *Egypt* should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion, and so in the event it accordingly happened.

HOWEVER *Sennacherib* being informed of all these preparations which *Hezekiah* had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a City, when so well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to Terms of accommodation, and therefore on *Hezekiah's* sending to treat with him, it was agreed that *Hezekiah* paying unto him ^f three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold for the present, and duly rendring his Tribute for the future, there should be Peace. But when *Sennacherib* had received the money he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war, as will be hereafter shewn. However for the present he gave him some respite and marched against *Egypt*, and the better to open his way into that Countrey ^g he sent *Tartan* one of his Generals before him to take *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, from the taking of which place the Prophet *Isaiah* dates the beginning of the war which *Sennacherib* had with the *Egyptians*, wherein, according as that Prophet ^h had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying

^d 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. *Isaiah* xxxvi. ^e *Isaiah* xxx. xxxi. ^f An Hebrew Talent according to the Scripture (Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26, 27.) containing three thousand Shekels, and every Shekel being three Shillings of our money, these three hundred Talents of Silver must contain of our money one hundred thirty five thousand pound, and the thirty Talents of Gold two hundred and sixteen thousand pound. So the whole Sum here paid by *Hezekiah* amounted to three hundred fifty one thousand pound of our money. ^g *Isaiah* xx. 1. ^h *Isaiah* xx. 3, 4. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

their Cities, and carrying multitudes of them into Captivity. At that time *Sevechus* the son of *Sabacon* or *So* the *Ethiopian* was King of *Egypt*, whom *Herodotus*ⁱ calls *Sethon*, and represents him as a Prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring such a Calamity upon his Kingdom, whenever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For affecting the office of a Priest he neglected that of a King, and causing himself to be consecrated chief Pontif of *Vulcan* gave himself wholly up to Superstition, and having no regard to the warlike defence of his Kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the Military order, which were there maintained for it, that he took from them their Tenures, which in the time of the former Kings his Predecessors had been allowed them for their support, which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him, that when he had need for their valour on this occasion, they would not fight for him, whereon he was forced to raise an Army of such raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Labourers, and such like People, which being wholly unable to cope with such an Army of Veterans as *Sennacherib* brought against them, he did with great ease overrun the Countrey, and work what devastation in it he pleased. And at this time seems to have been brought upon *No-Amon*, a famous City in *Egypt*, that destruction which the Prophet *Nabum* speaks of (*Ch. iii. 10.*) where he tells us, that her Inhabitants were carryed into Captivity, her young children dash'd in Pieces in the top of her Streets, and her great men divided by lot among the Conquerors, and put into Chains to be led away as Slaves and Captives. All which he tells us happened while *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were her strength, which plainly points out unto us this time, when an *Ethiopian* Prince reigned over *Egypt*. For *Sabacon* or *So* the Father of *Sevechus* was an *Ethiopian*, who made himself King of *Egypt* by Conquest, and therefore during his and his Son's reign *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were as one Countrey, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this War.

NO-AMON in *Egypt* was^k the same with *Thebes*, famous for its hundred Gates, and vast number of Inhabitants. The *Greeks* called it *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, because of a famous Temple there built to *Jupiter*. And for the same reason was it called *No-Amon* by the *Egyptians*. For *Amon* was the name of *Jupiter* among that People.

It is to be observed that the destruction of *No-Amon* mentioned in *Nabum* must have been some time before that of *Niniveh*. For the former is historically related by him as past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come. And therefore *Niniveh* having been destroyed in the twenty ninth year of *Josiah*, as will hereafter be shewn, this destruction of *No-Amon* must have been long before, and in no time more likely, than when *Sennacherib* made this war upon *Egypt*, and harrassed it from one end to the other for three years together. They who refer this destruction of *No-Amon* spoken of by *Nabum* to the Invasion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, place it after the destruction of *Niniveh*, and thereby make one part of the Text inconsistent with the other.

BUT *Sennacherib* did not end this war with the same Success as he begun it. For^l having laid siege to *Pelusium*, and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of *Egypt*,

ⁱ Herod. lib. 2.^k Vide Bochart. Phaleg. Part I. lib. 1. c. 1.^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.
because

because of *Tirhakab* King of *Ethiopia*. For he being come into *Egypt* An. 710. Hez. 18. with a great Army to help *Sevechus* his Kinsman, was on a full march towards *Pelufium* to relieve the place, which *Sennacherib* hearing of durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege and returning into *Judea* encamped again ^m at *Lachish*, where he renewed the war with *Hezekiah* notwithstanding the agreement of Peace which he had afore made with him; and to let him know as much as he sent *Tartan*, *Rabfaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, three of his principal Captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited ⁿ in two places of the Holy Scripture. It was delivered to the King's Officers from under the Walls of *Jerusalem* in the hearing of all the People, and in the *Hebrew* tongue. For they hoped thereby to draw the People to a Revolt, but they failing of success herein returned to *Sennacherib* without their design. The person appointed to deliver this Message was *Rabshakeh*, who by his ready speaking of the *Hebrew* tongue seemsto have been an Apostate Jew, or else one of the Captivity of *Israel*. By office he was the King's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found *Sennacherib* decamped from *Lachish*, and laying siege to *Libnah*, where hearing that *Tirhakab* on his finding him gone from *Pelufium* was marching after him, as in pursuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great overthrow. For it was ^o from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* afore laid as a burthen upon *Egypt*, and as a burthen upon *Ethiopia* thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's Executioner herein. But before he went forth to this last war he sent again to *Hezekiah*, adding a most blasphemous Letter to his former Message, defying therein both him, and also the Lord his God, in a most impious manner, which justly provoked the wrath of God against him to that degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him to the cutting off of almost all his Army. For when swelling with his fresh victory over the *Ethiopians*, he was on his full march towards *Jerusalem*, with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place and all in it, an Angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, so that when he arose in the morning he found almost all his Army dead Corps, with which being terrified he fled out of *Judea* in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to *Niniveh*, where he dwelt all the remainder of his Life, in dishonour, shame, and regret. This hapned in the eighteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and four years after *Sennacherib* first came into those parts. After this *Hezekiah* reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the Nations round him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him. So that none of them after this would any more lift up their hand against him.

THE *Babylonish Talmud* hath it, that this destruction upon the Army of the *Assyrians* was executed by lightning, and some of the *Targums* are quoted for saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely, that it was

^m 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, &c. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, 10, &c. *Isaiah* xxxvi. ⁿ 2 Kings xviii. 19, 20, &c. *Isaiah* xxxvi. 4, 5, &c. ^o *Isaiah* xviii. and xx. ^p *Isaiah* xxxvii. 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxii.

effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which ^a is frequent in those parts, and often when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast Caravans of the *Mahometans*, who go their annual Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. And the words of ^r *Isaiah* which threatned *Sennacherib* with a blast, that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

HERODOTUS ^r gives us from the relation of the *Ægyptian* Priests some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the *Assyrians*, in a fabulous application of it to the City of *Pelusium*, instead of *Jerusalem*, and to *Sethon* the *Egyptian* King instead of *Hezekiah*: By whose piety he saith it was obtained, that while the King of *Assyria* laid siege to *Pelusium*, a great number of Rats were miraculously sent into his Army, which in one night did eat all their Shield-straps, Quivers, and Bow-strings, so that on their rising the next morning finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raise the Siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked that *Herodotus* calls the King of *Assyria*, to whom he saith this hapned, by the same name of *Sennacherib*, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree, which plainly shews, that it is the same fact that is referred to by *Herodotus*, although much disguised in the relation, which may easily be accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the Nation and the Religion of the *Jews*, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either.

An. 709.
Hez. 19.

AFTER this terrible blow, and the loss of so great an Army, *Sennacherib* was so weakned, that he had no way of again recovering himself, which making him to fall into contempt among his Subjects, several of his Provinces revolted from him, and particularly *Media*, which was the largest and the most considerable of all his Empire. For the *Medes*, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to *Niniveh*, immediately shook off his Yoke, and set ^r up for themselves in a sort of Democratical Government; but soon growing sick of the Confusions which this caused among them, they were forced to have recourse to Monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after chose *Deioces* for their King, whom they had formerly made great use of, as a common Arbitrator of their differences, and for the great proof which he had given of his justice and abilities on such occasions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the nineteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and having repaired, beautified, and enlarged the City of *Ecbatana*, he made it the Royal Seat of his Kingdom, and reigned there with great wisdom, honour, and prosperity, fifty three years, during which time it growing to be a great City, he is for this reason reckoned by the *Greeks* to have been the Founder of it.

THE same year ^v *Arkianus* began his reign at *Babylon* after the decease of *Mardoc-Empadus*, or *Merodach-Baladan*, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the *Babylonians* twelve years.

SENNACHERIB after his return to *Niniveh* being enflamed with rage for his great loss and disappointment, as if he would revenge himself

^a Thevenot's *Travels*, Part 2. Book 1. c. 20. and P. 2. B. 2. c. 16. and P. 1. B. 2. c. 20. This wind is by the Prophet *Jeremiah* li. 1. called a destroying wind, where the Arabic version renders it, An hot pestilential wind. ^r *Isaiah* xxxvii. 7. ² *Kings* xix. 7. ^r Lib. 2. ^r *Herodotus*, Lib. 1.

^v *Can. Ptol.*

upon his Subjects for it, grew thenceforth ^w very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his Government, especially towards the *Jews* and *Israelites*, abundance of which he caused every day to be slain and cast into the streets, by which savage humour having made himself so intolerable, that he could be no longer born by his own family, his two eldest Sons ^x *Adramelech* and *Sharezar* conspired against him, and falling upon him while he was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch* his God, they there slew him with the Sword, and thereon having made their escape into the Land of *Armenia*, *Efarbaddon* his third Son reigned in his stead. Some Commentators ^y will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two Sons to appease his Gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the restoration of his Affairs, and that it was to prevent this that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce any thing else can be thought of, which can afford any excuse for so wicked and barbarous a parricide.

ESARHADDON begun his reign over *Assyria* about the twenty ^{An. 706.} second year of King *Hezekiah*, which was the last of the reign of *Sevechus* ^{Hez. 22.} or *Sethon*, in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, who dying after he had reigned fourteen years ^z was succeeded by *Tirhakah*, the same who came with the *Ethiopian* Army to his help. He was the third and last of that race, that reigned in *Egypt*.

IN the twenty third year of *Hezekiah*, *Arkianus* dying without issue, ^{An. 705.} there followed an ^a interregnum of two years in the Kingdom of *Babylon*, ^{Hez. 23.} before they could agree upon a Successor. At length ^a *Belibus* being advanced to the Throne sat in it three years. After him succeeded ^a *Apronadius*, and reigned six years.

THE same year that *Apronadius* began his Reign at *Babylon*, *Hezekiah* ^{An. 699.} ended his at *Jerusalem*. For he died there after he had reigned twenty ^{Hez. 29.} and nine years, and all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* did him honour at his Death. For they buried him with great Solemnity in the chiefest and highest place of the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, expressing thereby that they looked on him as the worthiest, and best of all, that had reigned over them of that family since him, that was the first Founder of it.

THE Burial-place called the Sepulchres of the Kings of the House of *David* (which hath been afore spoken of) was a very sumptuous and stately thing ^c. It lies now without the Walls of *Jerusalem*, but, as it is supposed, was formerly ^d within them before that City was destroyed by the *Romans*. It consists of a large Court of about 120 foot square, with a Gallery or Cloyster on the left hand, which Court and Gallery, with the Pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the Gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an en-

^w Tobit i. 18. ^x 2 Kings xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Isaiah xxxvii. 38.

^y Bishop Patrick on 2 Kings xix. 37. Sallianus sub Anno ante Christum, 729. ^z Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. ^a Ptol. Can. ^b 2 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

^c Thevenot's Travels, Part i. Book 2. c. 40. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 76.

^d Maimonides in his Tract Beth Habbechirah, c. 7. saith, In Jerusalem they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the House of *David*, and the Sepulchre of *Huldah* the Prophetess, which were there from the days of the former Prophets. This proves these Sepulchres to have been within the walls of Jerusalem, and that the words of Scripture which place them in the City of *David* are strictly to be understood.

trance into a large Room or Hall of about 24 foot square, within which are several lesser Rooms one within another, with stone-doors opening into them; all which Rooms with the great Room were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser Rooms are several Niches, in which the Corps of the deceased Kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chiefest of these Rooms was the body of *Hezekiah* laid in a Nich, perchance cut of purpose at that time for it in the upper end of that Room to do him the greater honour. And all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of King *Solomon*, for it could not have been made without vast expence, and it is the only true remainder of old *Jerusalem*, which is now to be seen in that place.

HEZEKIAH during his Reign much improved the City of *Jerusalem* not only by * new fortifying of it, erecting Magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of Armory, which were in use in those days; but also by building † a new Aquæduct, which was of great convenience to the Inhabitants for the supplying of them with water. And for ‡ the better promoting of Religion he maintained skilful Scribes to collate together and write out Copies of the Holy Scripture, and it is particularly mentioned that the Proverbs of *Solomon* were thus collected together, and wrote out by those men.

AND in his time the ^h *Simeonites* being streightned in their Habitations much enlarged their Borders towards the South. For falling on the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in part of *Mount Seir* and in the rich valley adjoyning they smote them, and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

An. 698.
Manaf. 1.

BUT it was the misfortune of this good King *Hezekiah* to be succeeded by a son, who was the wickedest and worst of the whole race. For after him reigned ⁱ *Manasseh*, who being a minor only of twelve years old at his coming to the Crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the Nobility for his Guardians, and chief Ministers, who being ill affected to his Father's reformation took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it, that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to Religion and Government; so that when he grew up, he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical and wicked towards his Subjects, of any that had ever reigned either in *Jerusalem* or *Samaria* over the Tribes of *Israel*. For he not only restored all the Idolatry of *Abaz*, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worship of God might be suppress'd, and his most holy Name dishonoured in the Land. For whereas *Abaz* did only shut up the House of God, he converted it into an House of all manner of idolatrous Prophanations, setting up an Image in the Sanctuary, and erecting Altars for *Baalim*, and all the Host of Heaven, in both its Courts. And he also practised Witchcrafts and Enchantments, and dealt with familiar Spirits, and made his children pass thorough the Fire to *Molech*, and filled *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with his High places, Idols, Groves, and Altars erected to false Gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous Prophanations, whereby the true Religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of Impiety be most promoted in the Kingdom. And to all these ways of abomination he made *Judah* and *Jerusalem* to conform, raising a terrible Perse-

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17.
† 2 Chron. xxxiii.
‡ Prov. xxv. 1.

‡ 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Ec-
clesiasticus xlviii. 17. 2 Kings xxi.

cution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole Land with innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his Prophets to him to tell him of these his iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and ^k several of them he put to death. And particularly it is said, that *Isaiah* the Prophet on this account suffered Martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was ^l an old Tradition among the *Jews*, and the holy Apostle *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews* (*Ch. xi. ver. 37.*) having among the torments undergone by the Prophets and Martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being sawn asunder, he ^m is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto. By which horrid iniquities and abominations God was so justly incensed against the Land, that he declared hereon, ⁿ that he would stretch out over *Jerusalem* the line of *Samarita*, and the plummet of the House *Abab*, and wipe *Jerusalem* clean of all its Inhabitants as a man wipeth a Dish and turneth it, when empty, upside down. Which accordingly was executed upon it in the destruction of that City, and the desolation which was brought upon all *Judah* at the same time. And among all the iniquities that drew down these heavy Judgments upon that City and Land, the sins of *Manasseh* are always reckoned as ^o the most provoking cause; by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

IN the fifth year of *Manasseh* died ^p *Apronadius* King of *Babylon*, and ^q succeeded by ^r *Regibilus*, who reigned only one year. After him ^s *Mesessimordacus* had the Kingdom and held it four years. *An. 694.*
Manaf. 5.

IN the eleventh year of *Manasseh* ^t dyed *Tirbakah* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the last of the *Ethiopian* Kings that reigned in that Countrey. The *Egyptians* after his death not being able to agree about the Succession continued for ^u two years together in a state of Anarchy, and great confusion, till ^v at length twelve of the principal Nobility conspiring together seized the kingdom, and dividing it among themselves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years. *An. 688.*
Man. 11.

THE same year that this hapned in *Egypt* by the death of *Tirbakah*, the like hapned in *Babylon* by the death of *Mesessimordacus*. For he leaving no son behind him to inherit the kingdom, ^w an interregnum of Anarchy and confusion followed there for eight years together, of which *Efarbaddon* King of *Assyria* taking the advantage seized *Babylon*, and adding it to his former Empire thenceforth ^x reigned over both for thirteen years. He is in the Canon of *Ptolemy* called *Affar-Addinus*. And in the Scriptures he is spoken of as King ^y of *Babylon* and *Assyria* jointly together. In *Ezra* he *An. 680.*
Man. 19.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. ^l Talmud Hierosol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 28. col. 3. Talmud Babylon in Jevammoth, fol. 49. col. 2. & in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shaltheleth Hakkabalah, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4. ^m Vid. Justin. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in Esaiam, c. 20. & 57. Epiphanius & alios. ⁿ 2 Kings xxi. 13. ^o 2 Kings xxiii. 26. & xxiv. 3. Jeremiah xv. 4. ^p Can. Ptol. ^q Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. ^r Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. ^s Herodotus, lib. 2. ^t Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. ^u Can. Ptolemæi. ^v Canon Ptol. ^w He is said as King of *Assyria* to have brought a Colony out of *Babylon* into *Samarita*, 2 Kings xvii. 24. *Ezra* iv. 9, 10. which he could not have done, if he had not been King of *Babylon*, as well as of *Assyria* at that time. And in 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. he is said as King of *Assyria* to have taken *Manasseh* prisoner, and to have carried him to *Babylon*, which argues him at that time to have been King of *Babylon* also.

is called * *Afnapper*, and hath there the honourable epithets of the *great* and *noble* added to his name by the Author of that Book, which argues him to have been a Prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others that had reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

An. 677.
Man. 22. IN the twenty second year of *Manasseh*, *Efarhaddon*, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in *Babylon*, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the Empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and *Palestine* on the destruction of his Father's army in *Judea*, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence, and being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength, which he had acquired by adding *Babylon* and *Chaldea* to his former kingdom of *Assyria*, he prepared a great army, and marched into those parts, and again added them to the *Assyrian* Empire. And then was accomplished the Prophecy, which was spoken by *Isaiah* in the first year of *Ahaz* against *Samaria*,^y that within three-score and five years *Ephraim* should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people. For this year being exactly sixty five years from the first of *Ahaz*, *Efarhaddon*, after he had settled all affairs in *Syria*, marched into the Land of *Israel*, and there taking captive all those, who were the remains of the former Captivity, (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the Land) carried them away into *Babylon* and *Assyria*. And then to prevent the Land from becoming desolate, he brought others from^z *Babylon*, and from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Sepheruaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* in their stead. And so the ten Tribes of *Israel*, which had separated from the House of *David*, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those, who were thus carried away as well in this, as the former Captivities (excepting only some few, who joyning themselves to the *Jews* in the Land of their Captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages and idolatry of the Nations among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own Land) after a while became wholly absorb'd, and swallowed up in them, and thenceforth utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoke of. And whereas there is a sect of *Samaritans* still remaining in *Samaritah*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the Law of *Moses* in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the *Jews*; yet these are not of the descendents of the *Israelites*, but of those Nations which *Efarhaddon* brought to dwell in that Countrey in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity. And for this reason the *Jews* call them by no other name, than that of *Cuthites*, (the name of one of those Nations, whom *Efarhaddon* had planted there) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of Hereticks they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them, than they do even of the Christians themselves.

ESARHADDON, after he had thus possessed himself of the Land of *Israel*, sent some of his Princes with part of his Army into *Judea*, to re-

* Ezra iv. 10.

y Isaiah vii. 8.

z 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10.

duce that Countrey also under his subjection, who ^a having vanquished *Manasseh* in battel, and taken him hid in a thicket of Thorns, brought him prisoner to *Efarbaddon*, who bound him in fetters and carryed him to *Babylon*; where his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, wherewith he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himself before him; whereon God being intreated by him, he mollified the heart of the King of *Babylon* towards him, so that on a Treaty he was again restored to his liberty, and returned to *Jerusalem*; and then knowing the Lord to be God he abolished all those idolatrous prophanations both out of the Temple and out of all other parts of the Land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the Reformation of King *Hezekiah* his Father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other, and all *Judah* conformed to him herein. So that he continued in prosperity after this to the end of his Reign, which was the longest of any of the Kings that had sat on the Throne of *David* either before or after him. For he reigned full fifty five years, and these being all reckoned to his Reign without any chasm, it is argued from hence, that his Captivity at *Babylon* could not have been long, but that he was within a very short time after again released from it.

AND to this time may be referred the completion of the Prophecy of *Isaiah* concerning ^b the removal of *Shebna*, the chief minister of state, and the advancement of *Eliakim* the son of *Hilkiah* in his place. Both of them had been ministers of state under King *Hezekiah*, *Shebna* having been his scribe or secretary, and *Eliakim* the master of his household. And their History, as far as may be collected from the words of the Prophet, appears to be thus. *Shebna* being a very wicked man was a fit person to serve the lusts and evil inclinations of *Manasseh* in the first part of his reign, and therefore was made his first minister of state, and *Eliakim*, who was of a quite contrary character, was quite laid aside. But on the Revolution that hapned on the coming of the army of the *Affyrians*, *Shebna* ^c was taken prisoner with his master, and carried to *Babylon*, and there detained in captivity ^d to his death. And therefore *Manasseh* on his repentance, and return to *Jerusalem*, having resolved on other measures, called for *Eliakim*, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands, who being a person of great wisdom, justice, and piety, soon re-established them upon the same foot as they had been in the days of *Hezekiah*, and so preserved them in peace and prosperity all his time, to the great honour of the King, and the good of all his people, and therefore he hath the character given him of being ^e a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to all the House of *Judah*, and that having ^f the key and government of the House of *David* upon his shoulders he was the great support of it all his days. This *Eliakim* is supposed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himself in the time of *Manasseh* born the office of High-Priest, and to have been the same who is mentioned by the name of *Joakim*, or *Eliakim* in the History of *Judith*, as High-Priest at that time. For *Joakim* and *Elia-*

^a 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. ^b Isaiah xxii. 15--25. ^c Isaiah xxii. 17.

^d Isaiah xxii. 18.

^e Isaiah xxii. 21.

^f Isaiah xxii. 22.

kim are both the same name, being both of the same signification in the *Hebrew* tongue, and therefore the said High-Priest in *Judith* is in the *Syriac* version, and also in *Jerom's Latin* version of that Book, called promiscuously by both these names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

An. 676.
Manass.
23.

THE Nations which *Efarhaddon* had brought to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria*, instead of the *Israelites* who had been carried thence, being on their settling in that Countrey ^s much infested with Lions, and the King of *Babylon* being told that it was because they worshipped not the God of the Countrey, he ordered that one of the Priests, which had been carried thence, should be sent back to teach these new Inhabitants how to worship the God of *Israel*. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former Deities, and worshipped him jointly with the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. And in this corruption of joining the worship of their false Gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the *Samaritan Temple* on Mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*. But on that occasion abundance of *Jews* falling off to them, they reduced them from this Idolatry to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related, and they have continued in the same worship ever since, even to this day.

An. 671.
Manass.
28.

IN the eight and twentieth year of the reign of *Manasseh*, the twelve confederated Sovereigns of *Egypt*, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling ^h out among themselves, expelled *Psammitichus*, one of their number, out of his share which he had hitherto had with them in the Government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereon flying into the fens near the Sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together out of the *Arabian* Free-booters, and the Pirates of *Caria* and *Ionian*, such a number of soldiers, as with the *Egyptians* of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven, and having overthrown them in battel slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the Land, and thereon seizing the whole Kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

An. 670.
Manass.
29.

AS soon as he was well settled in the kingdom, he ⁱ entred into a war with the King of *Assyria* about the boundaries of their two Empires, which lasted many years. For after the *Assyrians* had conquered *Syria*, *Palestine* only separating their respective Territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidae* afterwards, both parties striving which of the two should have the mastery of this Province, and according as they prevailed sometime the one, and sometimes the other possessed themselves of it. From the time of *Hezekiah* it appears to have been in the hands of the *Egyptians* till the captivity of *Manasseh*. But when *Eferhaddon* had conquered *Judea*, and carried the King prisoner to *Babylon* (as hath been above-mentioned) it's plain that from thenceforth the King of *Assyria* became master of all, even to the very entry of *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians* being at that time divided under several Princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this progress. But when *Psammitichus* had gained the whole Monarchy to himself, and again settled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation, (which hapned about seven years af-

^s 2 Kings xvii.

^h Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1.

ⁱ Herodot. lib. 2.

ter the Captivity of *Manasseh*) he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his Kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into *Palestine* for this purpose. But in the entry thereof he found *Ashdod*, one of the first Towns of that Countrey, so strong a barrier against him, that it^k cost him a blockade of nine and twenty years before he could make himself master of it.

THIS place had formerly been^l one of the five capital Cities of the Countrey of the *Philistins*. After this the *Egyptians* got possession of it, and by well fortifying of it made it so strong a barrier of their Empire on that side, that *Sennacherib* could not enter *Egypt*,^m till he had by *Tartan*, one of his Generals, made himself master of it; and when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of *Egypt*, and the terrible loss of his army in *Judea* immediately after, the *Assyrians* still kept it even to this time, and it was not without that long and tedious siege, which I have mentioned, that the *Egyptians* at last became again masters of it. And when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war, that it did them but little service afterwards, it being then no more than the carcass of that City which it had formerly been. And therefore the Prophet *Jeremiah* speaking of it calls itⁿ *the Remnant of Ashdod*, intimating thereby that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

BUT notwithstanding this long siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the rest carried on the war against the other parts of *Palestine*, and so it continued many years, which obliged *Manasseh*^o to fortify *Jerusalem* anew, and to put strong Garrisons into all his frontier Towns against them. For since his release from the Captivity of the *Assyrians*, and the restoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their side in this war against the *Egyptians*, although they had been his former allies. And the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the Land of *Canaan*, that is, all that had formerly been possessed by the Kings of *Samaria*, as well as what belong'd to him as King of *Judah*. For it is certain that *Josiah* his Grandson had all this, (as will hereafter be shewn,) that is, not only the two Tribes which made up the Kingdom of *Judah*, but also all that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the Kings of *Israel*. And the most probable account that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to *Manasseh* on this occasion to hold in homage of the Kings of *Assyria*, and that after his death it was continued to his Son and Grandson on the same conditions, in the performance of which that good and just Prince King *Josiah* afterwards lost his life, as will be shewn in its proper place.

IN the thirty first year of *Manasseh* dyed *Esharaddon*, after he had reigned with great felicity thirty nine years over the *Assyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*, and^p *Saosduchinus* his Son reigned in his stead. He³¹ is the same who in the Book of *Judith* is called^q *Nabuchodonosor*. In the

^k Herodotus lib. 2.

^o 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

VOL. I.

^l 1 Samuel vi. 17.

^p Canon Ptol.

^m Isaiah xx. 1.

^q Judith i. 1.

ⁿ Jeremiah xxv. 20.

E 2

begin-

An. 656.
Manass.
43.

beginning of the twelfth year of his reign, which was the forty third of *Manasseh*,^r he fought a great battel in the plains of *Ragau* with *Deioces* King of *Media*, (who in the book of *Judith* is called *Arphaxad*) and having overthrown him, and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made his retreat, and there having overtaken him he cut him off and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten, he made himself master of many of the Cities of *Media*, and among them took *Ecbatana* it self, the Royal Seat of the *Median* Empire, and after having miserably defaced it returned in great triumph to *Niniveh*, and there took his pleasure in banquetting and feasting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

An. 655.
Manass.
44.

AFTER this time of feasting was over, ^v he called his Officers, Nobles, and chief Counsellors together, to take an account of what tributary Countries and Provinces had not gone with him to the war. For he had summoned them all to attend him herein, and finding that none of the Western Countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a Decree, that *Holofernes* the chief Captain of his army should go forth to execute the wrath of his Lord upon them for it. And accordingly the next year after he marched westward with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those Nations; till at length coming into *Judea*, and laying siege to *Bethulia*, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the Book of *Judith* at full related.

THAT *Arphaxad* in the said Book of *Judith* was *Deioces*, and *Nabuchodonosor Saosduchinus*, appears from hence, that *Arphaxad* is said to be that King of *Media* who was ^w the founder of *Ecbatana*, which all other writers agree to have been *Deioces*. And the beginning of the twelfth year of *Saosduchinus* exactly agreeth with the last year of *Deioces*, when this battel of *Ragau* is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that History, which make it utterly inconsistent with any other times. For it was ^x while *Niniveh* was the Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire; it was ^y while the *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and *Egyptians* were subject to them; it was ^z while the *Median* Empire was in being, and not long after the building of *Ecbatana*; none of which could be after the Captivity of *Judah*, where some would place this History. For before that time *Niniveh* had been long destroyed, and both the *Assyrian* and *Median* Empires had been wholly extinguished, and the *Persians* instead of being subject to the *Assyrians* had made themselves Lords over them, and over all the other Nations of the *East*, from the *Hellepont* to the River *Indus*. For so far they had extended and established their Empire, before the *Jews* were returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and settled again in their own Countrey. And therefore we must go much higher than the times after that Captivity to find a proper scene for the matters in that Book related, and it can be no where laid more agreeably both with Scripture, and prophane History, than in the time where I have placed it.

THIS Book of *Judith* was originally written ^a in the *Chaldee* language by some *Jew* of *Babylon*; (which is not now extant) and from thence at

^r Judith i. 5.

^x Judith i. 1.

i. in Librum Judith.

^r Judith i. 1.

^y Judith i. 7----10.

^t Judith i. 14.

^z Judith i. 1, 2.

^v Judith ii.

^w Judith i. 2.

^a Hieronomi Prefatio

the desire of *Paula* and *Eustochium* was by St. *Jerom* translated into the *Latin* tongue, which is the Translation that is now extant in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith in the Preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only render'd it according to the sense of the Author, and that cutting off all the Corruptions of various readings which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the translation which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the Original. But besides this translation of St. *Jerom* there are two others, one in *Greek*, and the other in *Syriac*. That which is in *Greek* is attributed to *Theodotion*, who flourished in the time of *Commodus*, who was made *Roman* Emperor in the year of *Christ* 180. But it must be much ancients. For *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* (which was wrote near 120 years before) brings a quotation out of it. The *Syriac* translation was made from the *Greek*, and so was also the *English*; which we at present have among the Apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned have several particulars which are not in *Jerom's*, and some of these seem to be those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off as corruptions of the Text. And particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter appears to be of this sort. For there the battel of *Ragau* is placed in the seventeenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same chapter. For there it is positively said, that it was in the twelfth year of his reign, and agreeable hereto *Jerom's* version placeth the expedition of *Holofernes* (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is the truth of the matter, whereas the other following the blunder of the former contradiction makes another by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so renders that part of the History wholly inconsistent with itself. And therefore certainly in this particular *Jerom's* version is to be preferr'd, which gives good reason to think, that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

BUT still, whether the Book be a true or a feigned History, is what learned men are not agreed in: The Romanists will have it all to be true, for they have received it into the Canon of divine writ. But on the other hand it is the opinion of ^b *Grotius*, that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he came into *Judea* to raise a persecution against the *Jewish* Church, and that the design of it was to confirm the *Jews* under that persecution in their hopes, that God would send them a deliverance. "That therein by *Judith* is meant *Judea*, by
" *Bethulia* the Temple, or House of God, and by the sword, which went
" out from thence the prayers of the Saints, that *Nabuchodonosor* doth there
" denote the Devil, and the Kingdom of *Assyria* the Devil's kingdom,
" pride: That by *Holofernes* is there meant the instrument or agent of the
" Devil in that persecution, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who made himself ma-
" ster of *Judea*, that fair widow, so called because destitute of relief. That
" *Eliakim* signifies God, who would arise in her defence, and at length
" cut off that instrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her." This particular explication of the Parable (as he will have it to be) is Icon-

^b In Præfatione ad Annotationes in Librum Judith.

feels the peculiar fancy of this great Man. But otherwise there are abundance of other learned writers among the Protestants, who agree with him in the general, that this Book is rather a parabolical than a real History, made for the instructing and comforting of the People of the *Jews* under that figure, and not to give them a Narrative of any thing really done. And their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the Captivity of the *Jews*. My putting it in the time of *Manasseh* takes off all the Objections, which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the Captivity, which I confess are unanswerable.

BUT where it here stands the objections from the other part still remain, and they are these following. 1st, That *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for they are acknowledged to be both ^c the same name) is said in the History of *Judith* to have been then High-priest. But there is none of that name to be found either in the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*, that was High-priest before the Captivity. 2^{dly}, *Achior* the *Ammonite* in his speech to *Holofernes*, (*Chap. v. 18.*) there speaks of the Temple, as having been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the reign of *Zedekiah*, and therefore this cannot be consistent with any time before it. And the 3^d Verse of the ivth Chapter plainly puts it after the Captivity. For there the Text is, that the People of the *Jews* were newly returned from their Captivity, when *Holofernes* invaded *Judea*. 3^{dly}, The chief management of the publick affairs of the state are in that book placed wholly in the High-priest without any mention made of the King throughout the whole of it, or implying in the least, that there was then any such Government in the Land, which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times, than those in which there was no King in *Judah*. 4^{thly}, That in the conclusion of the Book, *Judith* is said to have lived an hundred and five years, and that none made the children of *Israel* any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been forty five years old when she went out to *Holofernes*, (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man) to make her an hundred and five years old there must be sixty years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, when the state of the *Jews* had for several years been exceedingly disturb'd by the *Babylonians*, and was within a little while after totally subverted by them, which makes both her life and her death absolutely inconsistent with the times in which they are above placed.

TO the first of these objections it may be answered; 1st, That tho' there be no such person as *Joakim*, or *Eliakim*, named in Scripture to have been High-priest before the Captivity, yet this is no argument, but that there might have been such an one. For the Scripture no where professeth to give us an exact catalogue of all such as had been High-priests till the Captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the sixth Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the Pontifical family from *Aaron* to *Josadak* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-priest at the Captivity, and not a catalogue of such as had born

^c For they are both of the same signification, *El* being the name of God in one, as *Jehovah* is in the other, and the latter part of the name is the same in both; and therefore as *Jehoiakim* or *Joakim* King of *Judah* is called also *Eliakim*, so this High-priest is in the Version of *Jerom* called promiscuously by both names.

the pontifical office. For several are in that pedigree who never were High-priests, and several are left out that were. The High-priests of the family of *Ely* are instances of the latter. For they are left out of that pedigree, tho' they were High-priests. And those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former. For they are in it, tho' they never were High-priests. And it is very likely, that from the time of *Solomon* to the Captivity many more such instances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact Catalogue of the High-priests. For on the minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right Heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the office, whose name could not come into the pedigree; and on the failing of an elder branch (as might have hapned) the Heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the office. And then the ancestors of the collateral successor must be in the pedigree, though they had never been in the office. And those of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of *Josadack* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-priest at the Captivity, which is, in a direct line from *Aaron*, given us in the vith Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. And it being the usage of the *Jews* in their pedigrees to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendent, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances may be given in Scripture, it's possible this also might have hapned in this case. And thus much is certain, that four High-priests named in Scripture are not in that pedigree, i. e. *Jehoiada*, and *Zechariah* his son, who were High-priests in the reign of *Joash*; *Azariah*, who was High-priest in the reign of *Uzziah*; and *Urijah*, who was High-priest in the reign of *Abaz*, Kings of *Judah*. There are indeed two *Azariah*'s named in that pedigree, besides the *Azariah* who was the father of *Seraiah*, but neither of these two could be the *Azariah* that was High-priest in the time of *Uzziah*. For ^d *Amariah* the son of the last of the said two *Azariah*'s in that pedigree, was High-priest in the time of *Jehosaphat*, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the High-priests in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the vith Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. As for the Catalogue of *Josephus*, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the names in it agree with any thing that we have in Scripture. And therefore putting all this together, *Joakim* or *Eliakim* might have been High-priest in the time of *Manasseh*, tho' there be no mention of him as such by either of his names, either in the Holy Scriptures or in the History of *Josephus*. But 2^{dly}, That this *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for both, as hath been afore observ'd, is the same name) is not named in Scripture, is not certainly true. For there are some, who will have *Eliakim* the son of *Hilkiah*, that is afore spoken of, to have been the person, and understand what is said in the xxii^d Chapter of *Isaiab*, ver. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the Pontifical robe and girdle, and therefore infer from hence that he was High-priest, and ^e St. *Jerom* and St. *Cyri*l among the ancients both were of this opinion. And it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by *Isaiab*, that God would commit the government of the state to his hands in the room of *Shebna*, who was chief Minister before him, and that he should be a father to the Inha-

^d 2 Chron. xix. 11.

^e In *Esaia*m xxii.

bitants of *Jerusalem*, and to the House of *Judah*, and that the key of the House of *David* should be laid upon his shoulder, to open and to shut without controul, as he should think fit, doth very well agree with that part which *Joakim* is said to have acted in the Book of *Judith*. But that he was the same person, is what I durst not from that which is brought to prove it, lay much stress upon, neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection; what I have else said being sufficient for it.

2dly, As to the objection from the 3^d verse of the ivth Chapter of *Judith*, and from the speech of *Achior* (Ch. v. ver. 18.) the words on which they are founded are not in *Jerom's* version, and therefore it is most likely they were put into the *Greek* version (from whence the *English* is taken) from some of those corrupted Copies of the original which *Jerom* complains of. For in his version (which he made from the best corrected Copies of the original *Chaldee*) the 3^d verse of the ivth Chapter is wholly left out, as are also those words of the 18th verse of the vth Chapter, which speak of *the Temple's having been cast to the ground*. And altho' there be words still remaining in *Jerom's* version, as well as in our *English*, which speak of the Captivity and dispersion of the *Jews*, and their late restoration again to their own Land, yet they are none other than what may be better understood of the *Assyrian* Captivity in the time of *Manasseh*, than of the *Babylonish* which hapned afterwards.

As to the third objection, it's possible *Manasseh* might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his kingdom, and therefore had entrusted *Joakim* with the management of all affairs at *Jerusalem* during his absence. And if he were the *Eliakim* mentioned in the xxii Chapter of *Isaiab*, and as chief minister of state was then invested with all that amplitude of trust and power, as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his master at all therein.

But lastly, to give a satisfactory answer to the fourth objection, I must confess is not in my power. Could we put this History so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last preceding. For then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor King, but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair. And the death of *Judith* would on this supposition be at such a distance from the destruction of the *Jewish* state, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his governour, as *Eliakim* is described to be. And what is said in the 18th and 19th verses of the vth Chapter of *Judith* concerning the Captivity and Restoration of the *Jews*, and is retained also in *Jerom's* version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related to those times which followed the Captivity of *Manasseh*, and the restoration of him and his people again to their own Land. And the Chronology of this History will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where else but in the twelfth year of *Saosduchinus*, and the last of *Deioces*; and these two characters of the time exactly concurring according to *Herodotus* and *Ptolemy* do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However our not being able to clear this difficulty is not a sufficient reason for us to reject the whole History. There is scarce any History written, but what to the next age after may appear as to time, place, and other circum-

circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more then may we be apt to be blundered, when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of history, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine, attributed too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land. For according to this account it must have lasted ^a at least eighty years, which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what scarce any other nation ever had, I would rather chuse to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the air of a true history in all other particulars.

HOWEVER I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this book for its being a true history doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection; but that if any one will still contend, that it is only a religious romance, and not a true history; that according to the intention of the author the scene of it was put under the reign of *Xerxes*, when ^b *Joakim* the son of *Joshua* was high-priest, and the civil government of *Judea*, as well as the ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that book, with the state and transactions of those times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the history of the said times, and his unskilfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this, notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any controversy with him about it; only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true history (which I am inclined most to think, though I will not be positive in it) it can fall no where else, but in the time where I have laid it.

AFTER the death of *Deioces* ^c *Phraortes* his son succeeded in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigned over it twenty two years.

IN the fifty first year of *Manasseth* died ^d *Saosduchinus* King of *Babylon* ^{An. 648.} and *Affyria*, and *Chyniladanus* reigned in his stead. ^{Manass.}

MANASSEH King of *Judah*, after he had reigned fifty five years, ^{51.} and lived sixty seven, ^{An. 644.} died at *Jerusalem*; and notwithstanding his signal ^{Manass.} repentance, since his former wickedness had been so great, they would not ^{55.} allow him the honour of being buried in the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden.

AFTER *Manasseh* reigned *Ammon* his son, who imitating the first part ^{An. 643.} of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner ^{Ammon} of wickedness and impiety, whereon the servants of his house conspired ^{1.} against him and flew him, after he had reigned two years. But the people

^a For allowing her to have been 45 years old at the time of her killing Holofernes, there must be 60 years after to the time of her death, and a long time after in the Text (Judith xvi. 25.) cannot imply less than 20 years more. But if we suppose her to be but 25 at the killing of Holofernes (which is more likely) it will carry down the computation even beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, which makes the objection much stronger. ^b Nehemiah xii. 10, 26. ^c Herodotus lib. 1.

^d Canon Ptol.

^e 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

of the land severely reveng'd the murder, putting them all to death, that had any hand in it. However they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, but buried him in the garden by his father; which shews, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his person, tho' it may well be supposed, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provok'd his own domesticks to it.

An. 643.
Jofiah 1.

AFTER the death of *Ammon*^f *Josiah* his son succeeded him in the kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct of better guardians in his minority, than did *Manasseh* his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a Prince of very extraordinary worth, equalling in piety, virtue and goodness, if not exceeding herein the best of his predecessors.

ALTHOUGH *Ammon* reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the reign of *Josiah* is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of *Ammon*, because the odd months of the reign of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, over and above the round number of years, which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the chronology of the ensuing history makes necessary to be here supposed.

An. 635.
Jofiah 6.

IN the sixth year of *Josiah*^g *Phraortes* King of *Media* having brought under him all the upper *Asia*, (which is all that lay north of mount *Taurus* from *Media* to the river *Halys*) and made the *Persians* also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes to the revenging of himself upon the *Assyrians* for his father's death, and accordingly marched with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the country laid siege to *Niniveh* it self, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war, for being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

An. 633.
Jofiah 8.

JOSIAH in the^h eighth year of his reign, being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom, and beginning with the reformation of religion endeavoured to purge it of all those corruptions, which had been introduced in the time of *Ammon* and *Manasseh*, his father and grandfather, and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did *David* his father.

CTAXARES the son of *Phraortes*ⁱ having succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Media*, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the *Assyrians* for the late loss, and having overthrown them in a great battle led the *Medes* the second time to the siege of *Niniveh*; but before he could make any progress therein he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the *Scythians* from the parts about the *Palus Maotis* passing round the *Caucasus* had made a great inroad upon them, whereby he was forced to leave *Niniveh* to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war, which he had against the *Assyrians*, for the *Scythians* having vanquished him in battle dispossessed him of all the upper *Asia*, and

^f 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.
ⁱ Herodot. lib. 1.

^g Herodot. lib. 1.

^h 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

reigned there twenty eight years, during which time they enlarg'd their conquests into *Syria*, and as far as the borders of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt* having met them, prevailed with intreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther, and thereby saved his countrey from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition they seized ^k on *Bethshean*, a city in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh*, on this side *Jordan*, and kept it as long as they continued in *Asia*, and therefore from them it was afterwards called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians*. But how far the ravages of these barbarians might affect *Judea* is no where said, altho' there can be no doubt but that those parts, as well as the rest of *Palestine*, both in their march to the borders of *Egypt*, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the *Philistines*, on their return from *Egypt*, some of the straglers ^l robbed the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with em-
rods for a long while after; which lets us know, that the *Philistines* had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account ^m of the ark of God. For from that time, it seems, they looked on this disease as the proper punishment from the hand of God for all such like sacrilegious impieties, and for this reason assigned it to the *Scythians* in their histories, on the charging of them there with this crime.

JOSIAH in the ⁿ twelfth year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the knowledge of God and his Laws, proceeded according hereto farther to perfect that reformation which he had begun. And therefore making a strict enquiry by a general progress through the land after all the relicks of idolatry, which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of *Baalim*, with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high-places, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved images, and the molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burnt their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever. And when he had thus cleansed all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he went into the cities of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and all the rest of the land that had formerly been possess'd by the ten tribes of *Israel*, (for all this was then subject to him) and there did the same thing. An. 629.
Josiah 12.

IN the thirteenth year of *Josiah* ^o *Jeremiah* was called to the prophetick office, which he afterwards executed for above forty years in warning *Judah* and *Jerusalem* of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it, till at length on their continuing wholly obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction. An. 628.
Josiah 13.

IN the fifteenth year of *Josiah*, *Chyniladanus* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, having by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state made himself contemptible to his people, ^p *Nabopolassar*, who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and being a *Babylonian* by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the *Assyrian* empire, and reigned King of *Babylon* twenty one years. An. 626.
Josiah 15.

^k Syncellus, p. 214.^l Herodot. lib. 1.^m 1 Sam. v.ⁿ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.^o Jer. i. 2. and xxv. 3.
apud Syncellum, p. 210.^p Alexander Polyhistor apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. &

An. 623.
Jofiah 18.

JOSIAH¹ in the eighteenth year of his reign took especial care for the repairing of the house of God, and therefore sent several of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon *Hilkiab* the high-priest, that he should see it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, so that all might be put in thorough repair. The high-priest in pursuance of this order took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done, and while he was thus examining every place he found the authentick copy of the law of *Moses*. This ought to have been laid up² on the side of the ark of the covenant in the most holy place, but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of *Manasseh*, as it is conjectur'd, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This Book *Hilkiab* sent to the King by *Shaphan* the scribe, who on his delivering of it to the King, did by his command read some part of it to him. The place, which on the opening the book he hapned on, was (say the *Jewish* doctors) that part of the xxviiith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein are denounc'd the curses of God against the people of *Israel*, and against the King in particular, (Ver. 26.) in case they should not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this *Josiah* rent his cloaths through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation on the account both of himself and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had transgressed this law, and dreading the curses denounced against them for it. To ease his mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts he sent *Hilkiab* the high-priest with several of his officers to *Huldah* the prophetess, to enquire of the Lord. The answer which they brought back was a sentence of destruction upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but that as to *Josiah*, because of his repentance, the execution of it should be delayed till after his days. However the good King, to appease the wrath of God as much as lay in his power, called together a solemn assembly of all the elders and people of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and going up with them to the temple caused the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both King and people publicly entered into a solemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul, and to perform all the words of the covenant, that were written in that book. And after this he made another progress through the land, to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in such manner, as is in the xxiii^d chapter of the 2^d book of *Kings* at large related. And particularly he destroyed the altar and high-place which *Jeroboam* had built at *Bethel*, first polluting them by burning on them the bones of men taken out of their sepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the altar, and burning the high-place and the grove, and stamping them all to powder, whereby he fulfilled what had been³ prophesied of him by name many ages before, in the time of *Jeroboam*. And he did the same in all the rest of the cities of *Samaria*, destroying every remainder of idolatry which he could any where find in any of them. And when the next passover approached, he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemn-

¹ 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

² Deut. xxxi. 26.

³ 1 Kings xiii. 2.

nity, and concourse of people from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the passover of *Hezekiah*, which is afore-mention'd, but all other passovers from the days of *Samuel* the prophet to that time.

By the behaviour both of the high-priest, as well as of the King, at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears that neither of them had seen any copy of it before; which shews into how corrupt a state the Church of the *Jews* was then sunk, till this good King reformed it. For although *Hezekiah*^r kept scribes on purpose to collect together, and write out copies of the holy scriptures, yet through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple. And therefore after this time (by the care we may be assured of this religious Prince) were written out those copies of the law, and other holy scriptures then in being, which were preserv'd after the captivity, and out of which *Ezra* made his edition of them in such manner as will be hereafter related.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Josiah*^r died *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned fifty four years, and was succeeded by *Necus* his son, the same who in scripture is called *Pharaoh Necho*, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to joyn the *Nile* and the *Red-Sea*, by drawing a canal from the one to the other. But after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking, for having gotten some of the expertest of the *Phenician* sailors into his service he sent them out by the *Red-Sea* through the streights of *Babel-mandel*, to discover the coasts of *Africa*, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the streights of *Gibraltar* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before *Vasquez de Gama*, a *Portuguese*, by discovering the *Cape of Good-hope*, *Anno Domini* 1497, found out the same way from hence to the *Indies*, by which these *Phenicians* came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.

IN the twenty ninth year of the reign of *Josiah*, which was the twenty *An. 612.* third of *Cyaxares* in the kingdom of *Media*,^r *Nabopolassar* King of *Baby-* *Josiah 29.* *lon* having made an affinity with *Astyages* the eldest son of *Cyaxares*, by the marriage of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son with *Amyitis* the daughter of *Astyages*, entered into a confederacy with him against the *Assyrians*, and thereon joining their forces together they besieged *Niniveh*, and after having taken the place, and slain *Saracus* the King, (who was either the successor of *Chyniladanus*, or he himself under another name) to gratify the *Medes* they utterly destroyed that great and ancient city, and from that time *Babylon* became the sole metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire. From the time that *Esharhaddon* obtained the kingdom of *Babylon*^x both cities equally had

^r Prov. xxv. 1. ^t Herodotus, lib. 1. ^v Herodotus, lib. 4. ^w Eusebii Chronicon, p. 124. Alexander Polyhistor apud Syncellum, p. 210. & apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. Herodotus, lib. 1. ^x Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

this honour, the King sometimes residing at *Niniveh* and sometimes at *Babylon*. But after this *Niniveh* lost it for ever. For although there was another city afterwards erected out of the ruins of old *Niniveh*, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called *Mosul*, and is only famous for being the seat of the patriarch of the *Nestorians*, of which sect are most of the christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the river *Tigris*, where was anciently only a suburb of the old *Niniveh*, for the city it self stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even to this day. According to *Diodorus Siculus* the circuit of *Niniveh* was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. And hence it is that it is said in *Jonah* to be a city ^a of three days journey, that is in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well go in one day. *Strabo* ^b saith of it, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place he tells us, that the circuit of *Babylon* was three hundred eighty five furlongs, that is forty eight of our miles. The phrase *much bigger* may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty.

IN this destruction of *Niniveh* was fulfilled the prophecies of ^c *Jonah*, ^d *Nabum* and ^e *Zephaniah*, against it. And we are told in the book of ^f *Tobit*, that *Tobias* his son liv'd to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Assuerus*, which exactly agrees with the account which out of *Alexander Polyhistor* I have just above given of it. For that the *Assuerus* here mentioned was *Astyages* appears from *Daniel*: For *Darius* the *Mede*, who was *Cyaxares* the son of *Astyages*, is there called the son ^g of *Ahasuerus*. And *Nabuchodonosor* was a name among the *Babylonians* commonly given to their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. And that *Nabopolassar* in particular was so called, not only appears from ^h the rabbinical writings of the *Jews*, but also from *Josephus* himself, a writer by reason of his antiquity of much better authority in this matter. For in his antiquities where he is speaking of the same King, he ⁱ calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of *Berosus*, by the Name of *Nabuchodonosor*, and afterwards ^k in his book against *Apion*, repeating the same quotation, he there calls him *Nabulassar*, the same by contraction with *Nabopolassar*, which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those who take upon them from this passage in the book against *Apion* to mend that in the antiquities, and put *Nabopolassar* in both places. But I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may with as good authority from the passage in the antiquities mend that in the book against *Apion*, and put *Nabuchodonosor* in both places. It's certain the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or prophane, which relate to those times, unless we allow *Nabuchodonosor* to have been a name common to the Kings of *Babylon*.

^a Thevenot's *Travels*, part 2. book 1. chap. 11. p. 50.

^b Lib. 2.

^c *Jonah* iii. 3.

^d Lib. 16. p. 737.

^e Chap. iii.

^f Chap. ii. and iii.

^g Chap. ii. 13.

^h Chap. xiv. 15.

ⁱ *Daniel* ix. 1.

^j In *Juchasin* *Nebuchadnezzar* is called *Nebuchadnezzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, fol. 136. And *David Ganz* under the year of the world 3285 calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the first, and the son *Nebuchadnezzar* the second.

^k *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. 10. c. 11.

^l Lib. 1.

THE ¹ archbishop of *Armagh* hath put this destruction of *Niniveh* fourteen years earlier, that is, in the last year of *Chyniladanus* in the canon of *Ptolomy*, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckon'd that the end of his life and the end of his reign in that canon hapned both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that city. Whereas the computation of that canon being by the years of the Kings that reigned at *Babylon*, *Chyniladanus's* reign there must end where *Nabopollasar's* begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of *Assyria* after he had lost that of *Babylon*, and that it was not till some time after that loss that *Niniveh* was destroyed. For *Eusebius* placeth the destruction of *Niniveh* in the twenty third year of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and to put it back fourteen years to the last of *Chyniladanus* in the canon will make it fall in the ninth year of *Cyaxares*, which is too early either for his son *Astyages* to have a daughter marriageable, as for *Nebuchadnezzar* to be of age sufficient to take her to wife: For after this rate *Nebuchadnezzar* must be allowed to have been ^m at the least eighty five years old at the time of his death, and *Astyages* much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives both by luxury and fatigue much faster than other men.

At the destruction of this city of *Niniveh* ended the book of *Tobit*. It was first written ⁿ in *Chaldee* by some *Babylonian Jew*, and seems in its original draught to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates, first begun by *Tobit*, then continued by *Tobias*, and lastly finished by some other of the family, and afterwards digested by the *Chaldee* author into that form in which we now have it. *Jerom* ⁿ translated it out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin*, and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. But there is a *Greek* version much ancients than this. For we find it made use of by *Polycarp*, *Clement's Alexandrinus*, and other fathers, who were before *Jerom*, and from this hath been made the *Syriac* version, and also that which we have in *English* among the *Apocryphal* writers in our Bible. But the *Chaldee* original is not now extant. The *Hebrew* copies which go about of this book, as well as of that of *Judith*, seem both to be of ^o a modern compofure. It being easier to settle the chronology of this book than that of the book of *Judith*, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on by both *Jews* and *Christians*, as a genuine and true history, tho' as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of *Tobias* in a long journey, under the shape of *Azarias*, the story of *Raguel's* daughter, the frightening away of the devil by the smoak of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of *Tobit's* blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility. For these things look more like the fictions of *Homer*, than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book, which doth not lie against the other. However it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of charity and patience in the example of *Tobit's* ready helping his brethren in distress to

¹ In annalibus veteris testamenti sub anno mundi. ^m For according to this account, this marriage must have been one and twenty years before *Nebuchadnezzar* began to reign, and he reigned forty three years. And it must also have been one and thirty years before *Astyages* began to reign, and he reigned thirty years. ⁿ Præfatio Hieronymi in Tobiam. ^o They are generally thought to have been made by Munster.

the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The *Latin* and *Greek* Versions of this book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having some particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the *Latin* Version must give place to the *Greek*. For *Jerom*^p made it before he himself understood *Chaldee*, by the help of a learned *Jew*, from whose mouth he tells us he wrote down in *Latin* what the other rendred into *Hebrew* from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time. And a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes, as well as unaccuracies in it. But his translation^q of *Judith* was made afterwards, when by his farther studies in the oriental languages he had rendred himself as much master of the *Chaldee*, as he was before of the *Hebrew*, and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best, and therefore his version of that book may well deserve an authority beyond the *Greek*, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which *Jerom* translated his *Tobit* from were a true copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book. For (*ch.* xiv. 7.) there is mention made of the temple of *Jerusalem*, as then burnt and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed. The *Greek* version, as also the *English*, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, speak only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not historically, as of that which was already done, as *Jerom*'s doth. However, this *Latin* edition is that which the church of *Rome* hath canonized. If the historical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the most that can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

THE *Babylonians* and the *Medes* having thus destroyed *Niniveh*, as is above-related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours, and therefore to put a stop to their growing greatness, *Necho* King of *Egypt* in the thirty first year of King *Josiah* marched with a great army towards *Euphrates*, to make war upon them. The words of *Josephus* are, 'That it was to make war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, who had dissolved the *Assyrian* empire, which plainly shews, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution, and consequently that the destruction of *Niniveh*, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where according to *Eusebius* I have placed it.

An. 610.
Josiah 31. ON *Necho*'s taking his way through *Judea*^r *Josiah* resolved to impede his march, and therefore getting together his forces he posted himself in the valley of *Megiddo*, there to stop his passage; whereon *Necho* sent ambassadors unto him, to let him know that he had no design upon him, that the war he was engaged in was against others, and therefore advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But *Josiah* not hearkening thereto, on *Necho*'s marching up to the place, where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battel between them, wherein *Jo-*

^p Hieronymi præfatio in Tobiam.

^q Hieronymi præfatio in librum Judith.

^r Herodotus lib. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^t 2 Kings xxxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20---25.

siab was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which on his return to *Jerusalem* he there died, after he had reigned thirty one years.

IT is the notion of many, that *Josiah* engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over-confidence in the merit of his own righteousness, as if God for this reason must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption very unworthy of so religious a person. There was another reason that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of *Manasseh's* restoration the Kings of *Judah* were homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their enemies, especially against the *Egyptians*, and to defend that border of their empire against them. And for this purpose they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the land of *Canaan*, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the *Assyrians*. It's certain *Josiah* had the whole land of *Israel* in the same extent, in which it had been held by *David* and *Solomon*, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it, and it was executed by him not only in *Bethel* (where one of *Jeroboam's* calves stood) but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority as in *Judea* it self, and therefore he must have been King of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battle was fought, not within the territories of *Judea*, but at *Megiddo* a town of the tribe of *Manasseh*, lying in the middle of the kingdom of *Israel*, where *Josiah* would have had nothing to do, had he not been King of that kingdom also, as well as of the other of *Judah*. And he could have had it no otherwise, but by grant from the King of *Babylon*, a province of whose empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by *Tiglath-Pileser*, and afterwards finished by *Salmaneser* and *Esharhaddon*. And if this grant was not upon the express condition which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the sovereign paramount, and a steady adherence to his interest against all his enemies was always required in such cases, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that *Josiah* had taken such an oath to *Nabopolassar* the then reigning King of *Babylon*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah* afterwards did to *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and successor in that empire. And therefore should *Josiah*, when under such an obligation, have permitted an enemy of the King of *Babylon* to pass through his country to make war upon him without any opposition, it would plainly have amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity, which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man as *Josiah* was, could not but absolutely detest. For altho' the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet the breaking of faith with an heathen was condemned by God himself in *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*, and most certainly it would have been condemn'd in *Josiah* also, had he become guilty of it, which being what a person so well instructed in religion, as *Josiah* was, could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense which he had of his duty in this particular seems solely to have been that which engaged

him in this war in which he perished. And with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the *Jewish* nation. For after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's Judgments upon the land, till at length all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

THE death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by *Jeremiah* the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the *Jews*, and therefore while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote ^w a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This ^x last is that which we still have, the other is not now extant.

MEGIDDO, where the battle was fought, was a city ^y in the tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, which is by *Herodotus* called *Magdolum*; nigh it was the town of *Hadad-Rimmon*, afterwards called ^z *Maximianopolis*, and therefore the Lamentation for the death of *Josiah* is in scripture called *the Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddo*, which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, that ^a the lamentation of *Hadad-Rimmon* afterwards became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow.

THIS great and general mourning of all the people of *Israel* for the death of this prince, and the prophet *Jeremiah's* joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that prophet spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the first book ^b of *Esdra*s, and others from him say. For then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command, and then neither God's prophet, nor God's people, could in this case, without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him, as this mourning implied. And therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides it is to be observed, that no part of canonical scripture gives us the least intimation of it, nor can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe, that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet *Jeremiah*, or any other prophet, to recal *Josiah* from this war. All that is said of it, is from that apocryphal book I have mentioned, of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from *Ezra*, or some other canonical scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, (for they have not taken this book into their canonical scripture, though they have those of *Tobit* and of *Bell and the Dragon*) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

It is said indeed (2 *Chron.* xxxv. 21.) that *Necho* sent Messengers to *Josiah*, to tell him, that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not.

^w 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 25.

^x This last referring throughout to the destruction of *Jerusalem* could not be that which was wrote upon the death of *Josiah*.

^y *Joshua* xvii. 11. *Judges* i. 27.

^z *Hieronymus*.

^a *Zechariah* xii. 11.

^b *Chap.* i. 28.

And (ver. 22.) that *Josiah* hearkened not to the word of *Necho* from the mouth of God. And from all this put together, some would infer that *Josiah* was disobedient to the word of God in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the character, which is given us in scripture, of that religious and excellent prince. And therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God, *the Lord Jehovah*, who was the God of *Israel*, but of the *Egyptian* Gods, whose oracles *Josiah* had no reason to have any regard to. For *Necho* being an heathen prince knew not *the Lord Jehovah*, nor ever consulted his prophets or his oracles; the *Egyptian* Gods were those only which he worshipped, and whose oracles he consulted, and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his false *Egyptian* Gods whom he served. For wherever the word *God* occurs in this text, it is not expressed in the *Hebrew* original by the word *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word *Elohim*, which being in the plural number is equally applicable to the false Gods of the heathens, as well as to the true God, who was the God of *Israel*, and in the scriptures of the old testament it is equally used for the expressing of the one, as well as the other. For wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false Gods, it is by the word *Elohim* that they are there mentioned. And whereas it is said (ver. 22.) that *Josiah* hearkened not to the words of *Necho* from the mouth of God, (and from hence it is chiefly inferr'd that the message which *Necho* sent to *Josiah* was truly from God) it is to be observed, that the phrase, which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the *Hebrew* original *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of the false Gods, as well as of the true God, (as hath been already said) and much rather in this place of the former, than of the latter. For wherever ^c else through the whole *Hebrew* text of the holy scriptures there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name *Jehovah*, which determines it to the true God; and this is the only place in the whole *Hebrew* bible, wherein the use of this phrase it is expressed otherwise, that is, by the name *Elohim*, and not by the name *Jehovah*, which change in the phrase in this place is a sufficient proof to me, that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word which is here said to come from the mouth of *Elohim* is not the same with the word which is every where else in the use of this phrase in scripture said to come from the mouth of *Jehovah*, but that *Elohim* must in this place signify the false Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that from their false oracles only *Necho* had this word, which he sent to *Josiah*. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? or how could any such revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever consulted them? and therefore most certainly the word, which is here said to come *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, must be understood only of *Necho's Elohim*, that is, of those false *Egyptian* Gods whose oracles he consulted, before he undertook this expedition, as it was then usual with heathen princes on such occasions to consult the false deluding oracles of the Gods they worshipped. And had it been here *Mippi Jeho-*

^c See Deuter. viii. 3. Joshua ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 12. Isaiah i. 20. xl. 5. lviii. 14. lxii. 2. Jer. ix. 12. and xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4.

vah, i. e. from the mouth of *Jehovah*, instead of *Mippi Elohim*, considering who sent the message, it would not have much mended the matter. For *Josiah* would have had no reason to believe it from such a messenger. When *Sennacherib* came up against *Judah*, he sent *Hezekiah* word,^d that the Lord (*Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*) said unto him, *Go up against this land, and destroy it.* But it was not reckoned a fault in *Hezekiah*, that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in *Josiah* in doing the same. For it is certain that *Sennacherib* in so pretending lyed to King *Hezekiah*, and why might not *Josiah* then have as good reason to conclude that *Necho*, in the like pretence, might have lyed also unto him? For God used not to send his word to his servants by such messengers. But *Necho's* pretence was not so large as *Sennacherib's*. For *Sennacherib* pretended to be sent by *Jehovah*, the certain name of the true God, but *Necho* pretended to be sent only by *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of his false *Egyptian* Gods as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text. And therefore *Josiah* could not be liable to any blame in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

AFTER the death of *Josiah* * the people of the land took *Jehoahaz* his son, who was also called *Shallum*, and made him King in his stead. He was much unlike his father. For he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his throne into a prison, where he ended his days with misery and disgrace in a strange land.

FOR *Pharaoh Necho* † having had the good success in his expedition to beat the *Babylonians* at the *Euphrates*, and having thereon taken *Charchemish*, a great city in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good garrison, after three months returned again towards *Egypt*, and hearing in his way that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be King of *Judah* without his consent, ‡ he sent for him to *Riblah* in *Syria*, and on his arrival caused him to be put in chains, and sent him prisoner into *Egypt*, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way came to *Jerusalem*, where he made^h *Jehoiakim*, another of the sons of *Josiah*, King instead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an † hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

HERODOTUS making mention of this expedition of *Necho's*, and also of the battle which he fought at *Megiddo* (or *Magdolum*, as he calleth it) * faith, that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city *Cadytis*, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city in *Palestine*, of the bigness of *Sardis* in *Lydia*, the chief city of all *Lesser Asia* in those times. By which description this city *Cadytis* could be none other than *Jerusalem*. For that is situated in the mountains of *Palestine*, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled

^d 2 Kings xviii. 25. Isaiah xxxvi. 10.

^e 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^g 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

^h This *Jehoiakim* was elder brother to *Jehoahaz*. For the latter was but twenty three years old when the other was twenty five, 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36. and yet the people on the death of *Josiah* chose *Jehoahaz* to succeed him. † The whole annual tribute, as here taxed, came to 52200l. of our money.

* Herod. lib. 2.

to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from scripture, that after this battel *Necho* did take *Jerusalem*. For he ¹ was there when he made *Jehoiakim* King. There is, I confess, no mention of this name either in the scriptures or in *Josephus*. But that it was however called so in the time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the eastern nations by no other name, but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day. For *Jerusalem* is a name now altogether as strange among them as *Cadytis* is to us. They ^m all call it by the name of *Al-kuds*, which signifies the same that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the time that *Solomon* built the temple at *Jerusalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Israel* the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the sacred writings of the *Old Testament*, ⁿ *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the city of holiness or *the Holy City*, and so also ^{*} in several places in the *New Testament*. And this same title they gave it in their coins. For the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was ^o *Jerusalem Kedushab*, i. e. *Jerusalem the Holy*, and this coin going current among the neighbouring nations, especially after the *Babylonish* captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the east, it carry'd this name with it among them, and they from hence called the city by both names *Jerusalem Kedushab*, and at length for shortness sake *Kedushab* only, and the *Syrians* (who in their dialect usually turned the *Hebrew sh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac*, in the time of *Herodotus*, being the only language that was then spoken in *Palestine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the *Babylonish* captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that countrey to be called there in the *Syriac* dialect *Kedutha*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* termination he made it in the *Greek* language *Kadulus* or *Cadytis* in his history, which he wrote about the time that *Nehemiah* ended his twelve years government at *Jerusalem*. And for the same reason that it was called *Kedusha* or *Kedutha* in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the *Arabs* in their language called it ^p *Bait Almokdes*, i. e. *the holy Buildings*, or *the holy City*, and often with another adjective of the same root and the same signification *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Alkuds*, i. e. *The Holy*, by which name only ^q it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other nations of the *Mahometan* religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name, which is now given that place, it is necessary I acquaint the reader, that the *Arabs* being the ancientest nation in the world, (who have never been by any conquest dispossessed, or driven out of their countrey, but have there always remained in a continued descent from the first planters of it even to this day) and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their country, they have still retained those same names of places which were at first given them, and on their getting the empire of the east restored them again to many of them, after

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. ⁿ Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137. Sandys's Travels, book 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma. ^o Nehemiah xi. 1. and 18. Isaiah xlviii. 2. and Chap. lii. 1. Daniel ix. 24. ^{*} Matt. iv. 5. and Chap. xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2. ^p See Lightfoot's Works, Vol. 1. p. 497. and Vol. 2. p. 303. and Walton's Apparatus before the Polyglot Bible, p. 36, 37. ^q Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137. ^r Sandys's Travels, book 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma.

they had been for several ages extinct by the intermediate changes, that had hapned in them. And thus ^r the ancient metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the son of *Ham*, the first planter of that countrey after the flood, was called *Mefri*, and afterwards for many ages had the name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themselves masters of *Egypt*, again called *Mefri*, and hath retained that name ever since, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other side of *Nile* over-against it, (for *Mefri* stands on the west side of that river) that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the city of *Tyrus* which was anciently called ^r *Zor* or *Zur*, (from whence the whole countrey of *Syria* had its name) hath since it fell into the hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their empire in the east been again called ^r *Sor*, and is at this day known by no other name in those parts. And by the same means the city of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called ^u in the time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the east by no other name. And abundance of other like instances might be given in the east to this purpose. And the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the *Welsh* in their language do still call all the cities in *England* by the old *British* names, by which they were called 1300 years ago, before the *Saxons* dispossessed them of this countrey; and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same *British* names by which they still call them.

An. 609.
Jehoi-
kim 1.

J E H O I A K I M, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed the example of his brother ^r in doing that which was evil. For he went on in his steps to relax all the good order and discipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good King's reformation) gladly laying hold hereof did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and run into all manner of iniquity, whereon the prophet *Jeremiah* being sent of God ^w first went into the King's house, and there proclaimed God's judgments against him and his family, if he went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them. And after that ^r he went up into the temple, and there spoke to all the people that came up thither to worship after the same manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purposed to bring upon them. But that if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple should be brought to utter desolation. Which angring the priests that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the King's council to have him put to death. But *Abikam*, one of the chief lords of the council, so befriended *Jeremiah*, that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general suffrage, not only of the princes, but also of all the elders of the people that were then present. This *Abikam* was ^r the father

^r Bocharti Phaleg. Part I. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153, &c. ^r So it is called in the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament where ever there is mention of this City therein. ^r Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130 and 131. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce *Tyrus*. Thevenot's Travels, Part I. Book II. Ch. 60 p. 220. ^u 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. ^w 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5. ^w Jer. xxii. ^r Jer. xxvi. ^r 2 Kings xxv. 22. of

of *Gedaliah*, that was afterwards made governor of the land under the *Chaldeans*, and the son of *Shaphan* the scribe, (who was ² chief minister of state under King *Josiah*) and brother ³ to *Gemariah*, ⁴ *Elasah*, and ⁵ *Jaazaniah*, who were great men in those days, and members also of the council with him, and therefore in conjunction with them he had a great interest there, which he made use of on this occasion, to deliver the prophet from that mischief which was intended against him.

BUT ⁶ *Uriah*, another prophet of the Lord, who had this same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For *Jehoiakim* was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death, whereon *Uriah* fled into *Egypt*; but this did not secure him from his revenge, for he sent into *Egypt* after him, and having procur'd him to be there seized, brought him up from thence, and slew him at *Jerusalem*, which became a farther enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

ABOUT the same time also prophesied the Prophets *Habakuk* and *Zephaniah*, who being called to the prophetick office in the reign of *Josiah*, continued (as seems most likely) to this time. For they prophesied the same things that *Jeremiah* did, and upon the same occasion, ⁷ that is, destruction and desolation upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, because of the many heinous sins they were then guilty of. *Zephaniah* doth not name the *Chaldeans*, who were to be the executioners of this wrath of God upon them; but ⁸ *Habakuk* doth. As to *Habakuk*, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was descended, are any where named in scripture. But he prophesying the coming of the *Chaldeans* in the same manner as *Jeremiah* did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of *Zephaniah* it is directly said, ⁹ that he prophesied in the time of *Josiah*; and in his pedigree (which is also given us) his father's grandfather is called ¹⁰ *Hezekiah*, which some taking to be King *Hezekiah* do therefore reckon this Prophet to have been of royal descent.

IN the third year of *Jehoiakim*, ¹¹ *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, finding that on *Necho's* taking of *Carchemish* all *Syria* and *Palestine* had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took *Nebuchadnezzar* his son into partnership with him in the empire, and ¹² sent him with an army into those parts, and from hence the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. For it was about the end of that year that this was done, and therefore according to the *Jews*, ¹³ the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But according to the *Babylonians* his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which hapned two years afterwards; and both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

IN the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar* ¹⁴ having beaten the

An. 607.
Jehoiakim 3.

An. 606.
Jehoiakim 4.

² 2 Kings xxii. ³ Jer. xxxvi. 10. ⁴ Jer. xxix. 3. ⁵ Ezek. viii. 11. From which place it is inferred that Jaazaniah was then President of the Sanhedrim. ⁶ Jer. xxvi. 20---23.
⁷ Habakuk i. 1---11. ⁸ Zephaniah i. 1---18. ⁹ Hab. i. 5. ¹⁰ Zephaniah i. 1.
¹¹ Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. ¹² Dan. i. 1.
¹³ Jer. xxv. 1. Which same fourth year was the 23^d from the 13th of Josiah, when Jeremiah first began to prophesy, ver. 3. ¹⁴ Jer. xlv. 1.

army of *Necho* King of *Egypt* at the *Euphrates*, and retaken *Carchemish*, marched toward *Syria* and *Palestine* to recover those provinces again to the *Babylonish* empire; on whose approach ^m the *Rechabites*, who according to the institution of *Jonadab* the son of *Rechab* their father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only liv'd in tents, finding no security from this invasion in the open countrey retired for their safety to *Jerusalem*, where was transacted between them and *Jeremiah* what we find related in the thirty fifth chapter of his prophecies.

THIS very ⁿ same year *Jeremiah* prophesied of the coming of *Nebuchadnezzar* against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, that the whole land should be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of seventy years continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the *Jews*, and he also delivered several other prophecies of the many calamities and woful desolations that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby if possible to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

BUT all this working nothing upon their hardned and obdurate hearts, God commanded him ^o to collect together, and write in a roll, all the words of prophesy, which had been spoken by him against *Israel*, and against *Judah*, and against the nations, from the thirteenth year of *Josiah* (when he was first called to the prophetick office) to that time; whereon *Jeremiah* called to him *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, a chief disciple of his, who being a ready scribe wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll which he had thus written up into the temple, and there read it in the hearing of all the people on the great fast of the expiation, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were assembled together at that solemnity. For *Jeremiah* being then shut up in prison for his former prophesying could not go up thither himself, and therefore by God's command *Baruch* was sent to do it in his stead, and at his first reading of the roll, whether it were that *Jehoiakim* and his Princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which *Nebuchadnezzar* was then just ready to invade; or that amidst the distractions, which usually happen on such impending dangers, mens minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time express'd either against the prophet or his disciple on this occasion. But *Baruch* being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publickly read, the word of prophesy, which we have in the forty fifth chapter of *Jeremiah*, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations, which according to the words of the roll should be certainly brought upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he should be sure to find a deliverance. For that none of them should reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey in all places wheresoever he should go.

THE great fast of the expiation, wherein *Baruch* read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the *Jews* ^p on the tenth day of the month *Tizri*, which answers to our *September*. Immediately after that *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judea*, and having laid siege to *Jerusalem*, ^q made himself master of it in the ninth month called *Casfeu* (which answers to our

^m Jeremiah xxxv. 6--11
& xxiii. 27.

^q Dan. i. 2.

ⁿ Jeremiah xxv.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

^o Jeremiah xxxvi.

^p Leviticus xvi. 29.

November) on the eighteenth day of that month, (for on that day is still kept by the *Jews* an annual fast in commemoration of it even to this day) and having then taken *Jeboiakim* prisoner, he put him in chains to carry him to *Babylon*. But he having^r humbled himself to King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and submitted to become his tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his kingdom, and *Nebuchadnezzar* marched from *Jerusalem* for the farther prosecuting of his victories against the *Egyptians*.

BUT before he removed from *Jerusalem*, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent captives to *Babylon*, and particularly^r gave order to *Ashpenaz* the master of his eunuchs, that he should make choice out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, of such as he found to be of the fairest countenance and the quickest parts, to be carried to *Babylon*, and there made eunuchs in his palace. Whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken^r by *Isaiah* the prophet to *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* above an hundred years before. At the same time also he^r carried away a great part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to put them in the house of *Bel* his God at *Babylon*. And therefore the people being thus carried into Captivity, the sons of the royal family and of the nobility of the Land made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, the vessels of the temple carried thither, and the King made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the *Babylonians*; from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity^w foretold by the prophet *Jeremiah*; and the fourth year of *Jeboiakim* must be the first year in that computation.

AMONG the number of the children that were carried away in this captivity by the master of the eunuchs, were^x *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Mishael* and *Azariah*. *Daniel* they called *Belteshazzar*, and the other three *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*. Some indeed do place their captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in Scripture. For these children after their carrying away to *Babylon* were to be^r three years under the tuition of the master of the eunuchs, to be instructed by him in the language and the learning of the *Chaldeans*, before they were to be admitted to the presence of the King to stand and serve before him. But in the^z second year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign at *Babylon* from his father's death, (which was but the fourth year after his first taking of *Jerusalem*) *Daniel* had not only admission and freedom of access to the presence of the King, but we find him^r there interpreting of his dream, and immediately thereon advanced to be^b chief of the governors of the wise men, and ruler over all the province of *Babylon*. For which trust less than four years instruction in the language, laws, usages and learning of the countrey, can scarce be thought sufficient to qualify him, nor could he any sooner be old enough for it. For he was but a youth when he was first carried away from *Jerusalem*. And therefore all this put together doth necessarily determine the time^r of *Daniel*'s and the other children's carrying away to *Babylon* to the year where I have placed it. And if we will make Scripture consistent with Scripture, it could not

^r 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ^r Dan. i. 3. ^r Isaiah xxxix. 7. 2 Kings xx. 18. ^r Dan. i. 2.
^w Jer. xiv. 11. & xxix. 10. ^x Dan. i. 6. ^r Dan. i. 5. ^z Dan. ii. 16.
^a Dan. ii. 31. ^b Dan. ii. 48.

possibly have been any later. *Daniel* speaking of the captivity, ^c begins the History of it from the third year of *Jehoiakim*, which placeth it back yet still a year farther than I have done, and this is an objection on the other hand. But the answer hereto is easy. *Daniel* begins his computation from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* was sent from *Babylon* by his Father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. After that two months at least must have been spent in his march to the borders of *Syria*. There in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* (we suppose in the beginning of that year) he fought the *Egyptians*, and having overthrown them in battel, besieged *Carchemish* and took it. After this he reduced all the provinces and cities of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, in which having employed the greatest part of the year, (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time) in the beginning of *October* he came and laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and about a month after took the city. And from hence we date the beginning of *Daniel's* servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity, and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

THE *Scythians*, who had now for twenty eight years held all the upper *Asia*, (that is the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis* and *Iberia*,) were this year again ^d driven out of it. The *Medes*, whom they had dispossessed of these Provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force, but finding themselves unable to succeed this way they at length accomplished it by treachery. For under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpose to carry on the fraud) they invited the greatest part of them to a feast, where having made them drunk they slew them all. After which having easily subdued the rest they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their empire to the river *Halys*, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the west.

An. 605.
Jehoiakim 5.

AFTER the *Chaldeans* were gone from *Jerusalem*, *Jehoiakim* instead of being amended by those heavy chastisements, which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all those ways of wickedness and impiety, which he had afore practised; and *Judah* and *Jerusalem* kept pace with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's wrath, and the hastning of their own destruction. However no means were omitted to reclaim them; and *Jeremiah* the prophet, who was particularly sent to them for this purpose, was constantly calling upon them and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction which was coming upon them; of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having on the ninth month, called *Casleu*, proclaimed a publick fast to be held on the eighteenth day of the same, because of the calamity, which they had suffered thereon in the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* the year foregoing, (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been aforesaid) the prophet laying hold of this opportunity, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were met together to keep this solemnity, ^e sent *Baruch* again up into the temple with the roll of his prophecies there to read it the second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another tryal, if by the ter-

^a Dan. i. 1.

^d Herodotus lib. 1.

^e Jer. xxvi. 9, 10, 11, &c.

rors of these prophecies it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his prophet, *Baruch* accordingly went up into the temple on the said fast-day, and entering into the chamber of *Gemariah* the scribe (which was the room where the King's council used to sit in the temple near the east gate of the same) did there from a window aloft read in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the court below all the words of the said roll; which *Michaiab* the son of *Gemariah*, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the King's house, and there informed the lords of the council of it, whereon they sent for *Baruch*, and caused him to sit down, and read the roll over to them; at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much afrighted enquired of *Baruch* the manner of his writing of it, and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll, and depart, advising, that he and *Jeremiah* should immediately go and hide themselves where no one might find them; and then went in to the King, and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the roll, and caused it to be read to him, but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a penknife, and cast it into the fire, that was there before him, till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the lords of the council intreated him to the contrary, and immediately thereon issued out an order to have *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* seized, but having hid themselves, as advised by the council, they could not be found.

THE *Jews* keep an annual fast even to this day for the burning of this roll. The day marked for it in their calendar is the 29th day of ^f *Casleu*, eleven days after that which they keep for that fast, on which it was read in the temple. But the reading of the roll on the fast of the 18th of *Casleu* and the burning of it according to the account given hereof by *Jeremiah*, seem immediately to have followed each other.

AFTER the burning of this roll, another by God's especial command was forthwith written in the same manner from the mouth of the Prophet by the hand of *Baruch*, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll, and there were added many other like words, and particularly that prophecy in respect of *Jeboiakim* and his house, which is for this impious fact in the 30th and 31th verses of the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* denounced against them.

IN making the roll to be read twice in the temple by *Baruch*, I confess I differ from most that have commented upon this place of Scripture. But as the reading of the roll by *Baruch* is in the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* twice related, so it is plain to me that it was twice done. For in the first relation ^g it is said to be done in the fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, and in the second ^h it is said to be done in the fifth, which plainly denotes two different times. And in the first relation *Jeremiah* ⁱ is said to be shut up in prison when the roll was read, but in the second relation it plainly appears he was out of prison, for ^k he was then at full liberty to go out of the way, and hide himself. For these reasons I take it for certain, that the roll was twice read, and I have Archbishop *Usher* with me in the same opinion,

^f *Casleu* is the ninth month in the Jewish year, and answers to our November.

^g Jer. xxxvi. 1.

^h Jer. xxxvi. 9.

ⁱ Jer. xxxvi. 5.

^k Jer. xxxvi. 26.

whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR after his departure from *Jerusalem* employed all this year in carrying on his war against the *Egyptians*, in which he had that success, that before the ensuing winter he had driven them out of all *Syria* and *Palestine*, and brought in subjection to him¹ from the river *Euphrates* to the river *Egypt* all that formerly belonged to the King of *Egypt*, i. e. all *Syria* and *Palestine*. For as the river *Euphrates* was the boundary of *Syria* towards the north-east, so the river of *Egypt* was the boundary of *Palestine* towards the south-west. This river of *Egypt*, which is so often mentioned in scripture as the boundary of the land of *Canaan* or *Palestine* towards *Egypt*, was not the *Nile*, as many suppose, but a small river which running thorough the desert, that lies between these two countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promised to the seed of *Abraham* (*Gen.* xv. 18.) and was afterwards by lot divided among them, *Joshua* xv. 4.

An. 604.
Jehoiakim 6.

TOWARDS the end of the fifth year of *Jehoiakim* dyed *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, and father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had reigned^a one and twenty years; which *Nebuchadnezzar* being informed of^a he immediately with a few only of his followers hastned through the desert the nearest way to *Babylon*, leaving the gross of his army, with the prisoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his father in the whole empire, which contained *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and reigned over it according to *Ptolemy* forty three years; the first of which begins from the *January* following, which is the *Babylonish* account, from which the *Jewish* account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the *Jewish* and the *Babylonish*; *Daniel* follows the latter, but all other parts of Scripture, that make mention of him, the other.

An. 603.
Jehoiakim 7.

IN the seventh year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account, and the fourth according to the *Jewish*, *Daniel*^c revealed unto *Nebuchadnezzar* his dream, and also unfolded to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the ii^d chapter of *Daniel*, whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governours over all the wise men of *Babylon*, and also chief ruler over the whole province of *Babylon*, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the King's court, he being then about the age of two and twenty. And in his prosperity he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to *Babylon* with him, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, but having spoken to the King in their behalf, procured that they were preferred to places of honourable trust under him in the province of *Babylon*. These afterwards made themselves very signally known to the King, and also to the whole empire of *Babylon*, by their constancy to their religion in refusing to worship the golden image which *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon, which

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.
& contra Apionem lib. 1.

^a Canon Ptolemæi.
^c Daniel ii.

^a Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

deservedly recommending them to the King's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced. The whole history whereof is at full related in the iii^d chapter of *Daniel*.

THE same year *Jehoiakim*, after he had served the King of *Babylon* three years ^p rebelled against him, and refusing to pay him any more tribute renewed his confederacy with *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt* in opposition to him. Whereon *Nebuchadnezzar*, not being then at leisure by reason of other engagements to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts to make war upon him, which brought upon *Jehoiakim* inroads and invasions from every quarter, ^a the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Syrians*, the *Arabians*, and all the other nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the *Babylonish* yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with depredations on every side. And thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length in the eleventh year of his reign all parties joining together against him ^r they shut him up in *Jerusalem*, where in the prosecution of the siege having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and then cast out his dead body into the high way without one of the gates of *Jerusalem*, allowing it no other burial, ^t as the prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold, than that of an ass, that is, to be cast forth into a place of the greatest contempt, there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

An. 599.
Jehoiakim 11.

THE year before ^r dyed his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned sixteen years, and *Psamis* his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

JEHOIAKIM being dead, ^r *Jehoiachin* his son (who is also called *Jeconiah*, and *Coniah*) reigned in his stead, who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the same manner as his father had done, this provoked ^u a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him by the mouth of the prophet *Jeremiah*, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after *Jehoiakim's* death the servants of *Nebuchadnezzar* (that is his lieutenants, and governours of the provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still ^x continued to block up *Jerusalem*, and after three months *Nebuchadnezzar* himself came thither in person with his royal army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side; whereon *Jehoiachin*, finding himself unable to defend it went out to *Nebuchadnezzar*, with his mother, and his princes and servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour than to save his life. For being immediately put in chains, he was carried to *Babylon*, and there continued shut up in prison till the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was full seven and thirty years.

An. 598.
Jehoiachin.
Zedekiah 1.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having hereon made himself master of *Jerusalem*, ^r took thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King's house, and cut in pieces the vessels of gold, which *Solomon* King of *Israel* made in the temple of the Lord, and carried them to *Babylon*; and he also carried thither with him a vast number of captives, *Jehoiachin* the King, his mother, and his wives, and his offi-

^p 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ^q 2 Kings xxiv. 2. ^r 2 Kings xxiv. 10. ^t Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19.
xxvi. 30. ^u Herodotus lib. 2. ^v 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. ^w Jer. xxii. 24-30.
^x 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11. ^y 2 Kings xxiv. 13-16.

cers and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men out of *Jerusalem* only, besides the smiths and the carpenters, and other artificers; and out of the rest of the land, of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the craftsmen and smiths one thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three, ^a which had been carried away the year before out of the open countrey, before the siege of *Jerusalem* was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at *Babylon*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

IN this captivity ^a was carryed away to *Babylon* *Ezekiel* the prophet, the son of *Buzi* of the house of *Aaron*, and therefore the *Æra* whereby he reckons throughout all his prophecies is from this captivity.

AFTER this great carrying away of the *Jews* into captivity ^b the poorer sort of the people being still left in the land, *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Mattaniah*, the son of *Josiah* and unkle of *Jehoiachin*, King over them, taking of him a solemn oath to be true and faithful unto him. And to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from *Mattaniah* to *Zedekiah*, which signifyeth *the justice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name sworn unto him.

ZEDEKIAH being thus made King reigned eleven years in *Jerusalem*, but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his fore-fathers, that they at length drew down upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem* that terrible destruction in which his reign ended.

AND thus was concluded the second war which *Nebuchadnezzar* had with the *Jews*. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himself in person, and put an end to it in the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*. What hindred him from coming sooner is not said. Only it appears, that in the tenth year of *Jehoiakim* he was engaged in an arbitration between the *Medes* and *Lydians*. The occasion was this: After ^c the *Medes* had recovered all the *Upper Asia* out of the hands of the *Scythians*, and again extended their borders to the river *Halys*, which was the common boundary between them and the *Lydians*, it was not long before there hapned a war between these two nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that battel decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there hapned an eclipse, which overspread both armies with darkness, whereon being frightened with what had hapned they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controversy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The *Lydians* chose *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*, and the *Medes* ^d *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who agreed a peace between them, on the terms that *Astyages*, son to *Cyaxares*

^a Jer. lii. 28.

^a Ezekiel xl. 1.

^b 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

^c Herodotus lib. 2.

^d He is by Herodotus lib. 1. called Labynetus.

King of *Media*, should take to wife *Ariena* the daughter of *Halyattis* King of the *Lydians*, of which marriage within a year after was born *Cyaxares*, who is called *Darius* the *Median* in the book of *Daniel*. This eclipse was foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian*, and it hapned on the 20th of *September*, according to the *Julian* account, in the hundred and forty seventh year of *Nabonassar*, and in the ninth of the reign of *Jeboiakim* King of *Judah*, which was the year before Christ 601.

THE same year that *Cyaxares* was born to *Astyages*, he gave his daughter *Mandana*, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to *Cambyſes* King of *Persia*, of whom the next year after (which was the last year of *Jeboiakim*) was born *Cyrus*, the famous founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their countrey, their temple, and their former state.

JEHOIACHIN being thus carried into captivity, and *Zedekiah* settled in the throne, *Jeremiah* had in ^e a vision, under the type of two baskets of figs, foreſhewn unto him the restoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befall them, with their King, that were still in the land; that the captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin, as accordingly it befel them in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter devastation of the land, which hapned a few years afterwards.

THE same year God also foreſhewed to *Jeremiah* the confusion which he would bring upon ^f *Elam*, (a kingdom lying upon the river *Ulai* eastward beyond the *Tigris*) and the restoration which he would afterwards give thereto, which accordingly came to pass. For it was ^g conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and subjected to him in the same manner as *Judah* was. But afterwards joining with *Cyrus*, it helped to conquer and subdue the *Babylonians*, who had before conquered them; and ^h *Shushan*, which was the chief city of that province, was thenceforth made the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and had the throne of the kingdom placed in it.

AFTER the departure of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea* and *Syria*, *Zedekiah* having settled himself in the kingdom, † the Kings of the *Ammonites*, and of the *Moabites*, and of the *Edomites*, and of the *Zidonians*, and the *Tyrians*, and of the other neighbouring nations, sent their ambassadors to *Jerusalem* to congratulate *Zedekiah* on his accession to the throne, and then proposed to him a league against the King of *Babylon*, for the shaking off his yoke, and the hindring of him from any more returning into those parts. Whereon *Jeremiah* by the command of God made him yokes and bonds, and sent them by the said ambassadors to their respective masters, with this message from God, That God had given all their countries unto the King of *Babylon*, and that they should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, and that if they would submit to his yoke, and become obedient to him, it should be well with them and their land; but if otherwise, they should be consumed and destroyed before him. And he spake also to King *Zedekiah* according to the same words, which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the league that was proposed to him by the

^e Jeremiah xxiv.

^f Jeremiah xlix. 34--39.

^g Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 6.

^h Strabo lib. 15. p. 727.

† Jeremiah xxvii.

embassadors of those princes. But afterwards when it was farther strengthened by the joyning of the *Egyptians*, and other nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppression of the *Babylonish* domination over them, he also was drawn into this confederacy, which ended in the absolute ruin both of him and his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

An 597.
Zedekiah 2.

ZEDEKIAH about the second year of his reignⁱ sent *Elasah* the son of *Shaphan*, and *Gemariah* the son of *Hilkiah*, to *Babylon* on an embassy to King *Nebuchadnezzar*. By them *Jeremiah* wrote a letter to the *Jews* of the captivity in *Babylon*. The occasion of which was, *Ahab* the son of *Kilaiah*, and *Zedekiah* the son of *Maaseiah*, two of the captivity among the *Jews* at *Babylon*, taking upon them to be prophets sent to them from God, fed them with lying prophecies, and false promises of a speedy restoration, whereon they neglected to make any settlements in the places assigned them for their habitation, either by building of houses, cultivating their land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing else for their own interest and welfare in the countrey, where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a speedy return. To remedy this evil *Jeremiah* wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by those who made them entertain such false hopes; that by the appointment of God their captivity at *Babylon* was to last seventy years; and those who remained in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be so far from being able to effect any restoration for them, that God would speedily send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, for the consuming of the greatest part of them, and scatter the rest over the face of the earth to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach among the nations, whither he would drive them. And therefore he exhorts them to provide for themselves in the countrey whither they are carried, as settled inhabitants of the same, and comport themselves there according to all the duties, which belong to them as such, without expecting any return till the time that God had appointed. And as to their false prophets who had prophesied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curse against them in a speedy and fearful destruction, which accordingly was soon after executed upon them. For *Nebuchadnezzar* finding that they disturbed the people by their vain prophecies, and hindered them from making settlements for themselves in the places where he had planted them, caused them to be seized, and roasted to death in the fire. The^{*} latter *Jews* say, that these two men were the two elders, who would have corrupted *Susanna*, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded them to be burnt for this reason. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that *Jeremiah* in the 23^d verse of the chapter, where he writes hereof, accuseth them for committing adultery with their neighbours wives, from whence they conjecture all the rest.

THESE letters being read to the people of the captivity at *Babylon*, such as were loath to be dispossessed of their vain hopes were much offended at them, and therefore *Semaiah* the *Nebelamite*, another false pretender to prophesy among them, writing their as well as his own sentiments hereof, sent back letters by the same ambassadors, directing them to *Zephaniah* the son of *Maaseiah* the second priest, and to all the priests and

ⁱ Jeremiah xxix.

^{*} Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin.

people at *Jerusalem*, wherein he complained of *Jeremiah* for writing the said letters, and required them to rebuke him for the same; which letters being read to *Jeremiah*, the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very severe punishment upon *Semaiah* for the same.

IN the fourth of *Zedekiah*, and the fifth month of that year, *Hananiah*, ^{Ans. 595.} ^{Zedekiah 4.} the son *Azur* of ¹ *Gibeon*, took upon him to prophesy falsely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and King *Jechoniah*, and all the captives again to *Jerusalem*; whereon the word of the Lord came to *Jeremiah* concerning *Hananiah*, that seeing he had spoken to the people of *Judah* in the name of the Lord, who sent him not, and had made them thereby to trust in a lye, he should be smitten of God, and dye before the year should expire; and accordingly he died the same year in the seventh month, which was within two months after.

THE same year *Jeremiah* had revealed unto him the prophecies, which we have in the fiftieth and fifty first chapters of *Jeremiah* concerning God's judgments, which were to be executed upon *Chaldea* and *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians*. All which *Jeremiah* wrote in a book, and ^m delivered it to *Seraiah*, the son of *Neria*, and brother of *Baruch*, who was then sent to *Babylon* by *Zedekiah*, commanding him, that when he should come to *Babylon*, he should there read the same upon the Banks of *Euphrates*; and that, when he should have there made an end of reading it, he should bind a stone to it and cast it into the midst of the river, to denote thereby, that as that should sink, so should *Babylon* also sink, and never rise any more; which hath since been fully verified, about two thousand years having now passed, since *Babylon* hath been wholly desolated, and without an inhabitant.

BARUCH seemeth to have gone with his brother in this journey to *Babylon*. For he is ⁿ said in the apocryphal book that bears his name, to have read that book at *Babylon* in the hearing of King *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, and of the elders and people of the *Jews* then at *Babylon*, on the fifth year after the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*; which can be understood of no other taking of it, than that wherein *Jehoiachin* was made a captive. For after the last taking of it, in the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, *Baruch* could not be in *Babylon*. For after that he went into *Egypt* with *Jeremiah*, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther it is said in this very book of *Baruch*, that after the reading of his book as aforesaid, a collection was made at *Babylon* of money, which was sent to *Jerusalem* to *Joakim* the high-priest, the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, and to the priests, and to all the people that were found with him at *Jerusalem*, to buy burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and incense, and to prepare the *mincha*, and to offer upon the altar of the Lord their God, nothing of which could be true after the last taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. For then the city and temple were burnt and utterly destroyed, and after that there was no high-priest, altar, altar-service, or people to be found at *Jerusalem*, till the return of the *Jews* again thither, after the end of their seventy years captivity. And if there were any such person as *Joakim*, (for he is no where else named) since he is here said to be the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, he must have been the unkle of *Seraiah*,

¹ Jeremiah xxviii.^m Jeremiah li. 59---64.ⁿ Baruch i. 1---4.

raiah, who was high-priest at the burning of the temple, and grandson to the same *Hilkiah*. And therefore he must have been high-priest before *Seraiah*, if there were any such person in that office at all. For it is certain there was none such in it after him during the life of *Jeconiah*. But of what authority this book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be historically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. *Grotius*^{*} thinks it wholly feigned by some hellenistical *Jew* under *Baruch*'s name, and so do many others, and it cannot be denied but that they have strong reasons on their side. The subject of the book is an epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by King *Jeboiachin* and the *Jews* in captivity with him at *Babylon* to their brethren the *Jews*, that were still left in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, with an historical preface premised; in which it is related, how *Baruch*, being then at *Babylon*, did in the name of the said King and the people by their appointment draw up the said epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and how that the collection being then made, which is above mentioned, the epistle with the money was sent to *Jerusalem*. There are three copies of it, one in *Greek*, and the other two in *Syriac*, whereof one agreeth with the *Greek*, and the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, is what no one can say. *Jerom*^p rejected it wholly, because it is not to be found among the *Jews*, and calls the epistle annex'd to it *Ἰσθόρυον*, i. e. a false or feigned writing. The most that can be said for it is, that *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Laodicean* council held *Anno Domini* 364, both name *Baruch* among the canonical books of holy Scripture. For in both the catalogues which are given us by them of these canonical books, are these words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, lamentationibus & epistola*, i. e. *Jeremiah with Baruch, the lamentations and the epistle*; whereby may seem to be meant the prophecies of *Jeremiah*, the lamentations of *Jeremiah*, the book of *Baruch*, with the epistle of *Jeremiah* at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. The answer given hereto is, that these words were intended by them to express no more than *Jeremiah*'s prophecies and lamentations only; that by the epistle is meant none other, than the epistle in the xxixth chapter of *Jeremiah*; and that *Baruch*'s name is added only because of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last chapter to the book of his prophecies, which is supposed to be *Baruch*'s, because the prophecies of *Jeremiah* end with the chapter before, that is, the li^a, as it is positively said in the last words of it. And it must be said, that since neither in *St. Cyril*, nor in the *Laodicean* council any of the other apocryphal books are named, it is very unlikely, that by the name of *Baruch* in either of them should be meant the apocryphal book so named, which hath the least pretence of any of them to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which^q the *Trentine* fathers found to make it so.

An. 594.
Zedekiah 5.

IN the fifth year of *Zedekiah*, which was also the fifth year of *Jeboiachin*'s captivity, and the thirtieth from the great reformation made in the eighteenth year of King *Josiah*,^r *Ezekiel* was called of God to be a pro-

^{*} In Comment. ad Baruch.
Book II. p. 144.

^p In præfatione ad Jeremiam,
^r *Ezekiel* i. 1, 2, 3, &c.

^q *The History of Trent*.

phet among the *Jews* of the captivity. And this same year he saw the vision of the four cherubims and the four wheels, which is related in the first chapter of his prophecies. The same year were also revealed unto him ^r the three hundred and ninety years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of *Israel*, and the forty years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of *Judah*, and the judgment which after that God would inflict upon both, as the whole is contained in the ivth, vth, vith, and vii^h chapters of his prophecies.

IN the same year ^r died *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, after he had reigned forty years; and *Astyages* his son, who in scripture is called *Ahasuerus*, reigned in his stead.

IN the same year ^r died also *Psammiss* King of *Egypt*, in an expedition which he made against the *Ethiopians*; and *Apries* his son, the same who is in Scripture called *Pharaoh Hophra*, succeeded him in that kingdom, and reigned twenty five years.

IN the same year *Ezekiel* being in a vision was carried to *Jerusalem*, and there shewn all the several sorts of idolatry, which were practis'd by the *Jews* in that place; had revealed unto him the punishments which God would inflict upon them for those abominations, and this makes up the subject of the viiith, ixth, xth, and xith chapters of his prophecies. But at the same time God promised to those ^r of the captivity, who avoiding these abominations kept themselves steady and faithful to his service, that he would become a sanctuary unto them in the strange land, where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the land of *Israel*, and there make them flourish in peace and righteousness as in former times. All ^r which the prophet declared to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, among whom he dwelt.

IN the seventh year of *Zedekiah* God did both by types and words of ^{An. 592.} revelation foreshew unto *Ezekiel* the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chalde-*^{Zedeki-}^{ah 7.} *ans*, *Zedekiah's* flight from thence by night, the putting out of his eyes, and his imprisonment and death at *Babylon*; and also the carrying away of the *Jews* at the same time into captivity, the desolation of their country, and the many and great calamities which should befall them for their iniquities; and this is the subject of the xiith chapter of his prophecies. And what is contained in the seven following chapters was also the same year revealed unto him, and relates mostly to the same subject.

AT this time *Daniel* was grown to so great a perfection and eminency in all righteousness, holiness and piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that ^r he is by God himself equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the Saints that had till then liv'd upon the earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for allowing him to be eighteen when he was carried away to *Babylon* among other children to be there educated, and brought up for the service of the King, (and a greater will not agree with this character) thirty two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the service of God, and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.

^r Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c.

^r Herodot. lib. 1.

^r Herodot. lib. 2.

^r Ezek. xi. 15----21.

^r Ezek. xi. 25.

^r Ezek. xiv. 14, & 20.

An. 591.
Zedeki-
ah 8.

ZEDEKIAH having in the seventh year of his reign ^a sent embassad-
ors into *Egypt*, made a confederacy with *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*.
And therefore the next year after breaking the oath of fidelity, which he
had sworn in the name of the Lord his God unto *Nebuchadnezzar* King
of *Babylon*, he rebelled against him, which drew on him that war, which
ended in his ruine, and in the ruine of all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with him
in that calamitous destruction, in which both were involved hereby.

An. 590.
Zedeki-
ah 9.

IN the ninth year of *Zedekiah*, ^b *Nebuchadnezzar* having drawn toge-
ther a great army out of all the nations under his dominion, marched a-
gainst him to punish him for his perfidy and rebellion. But on his coming
into *Syria*, finding that the *Ammonites* had also entered into the same con-
federacy with *Egypt* against him, he was ^c in a doubt for some time which
of these two people he should first fall upon, them, or the *Jews*; whereon
he committed the decision of the matter to his diviners, who consulting
by the entrails of their sacrifices, their teraphim, and their arrows, deter-
mined for the carrying of the war against the *Jews*. This way of divining
by arrows was usual among those idolaters. The manner of it *Jerom* ^d tells
us was thus. They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they
intended to make war against, and then, putting them promiscuously all
together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out thence in the
manner as they draw lots, and that city whose name was on the arrow first
drawn was the first they assaulted. And by this way of divination the war
being determined against *Judah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* immediately marched
his army into that Countrey, and in a few days ^e took all the cities there-
of, excepting only *Lachish*, *Azekah* and *Jerusalem*. Whereon the *Jews*
at *Jerusalem* being terrified with these losses, and the apprehensions of a
siege then ready to be laid to that place, made a shew of returning unto
the Lord their God, and entered into a solemn covenant thenceforth to
serve him only, and faithfully observe all his laws. And in pursuance
hereof ^f proclamation was made, that every man should let his man ser-
vant, and every man his maid servant, being an *Hebrew* or an *Hebrewess*,
go free ^g according to the law of God, and every man did according
hereto.

ON the ^h tenth month of the same year and the tenth day of the month,
(which was about the end of our *December*,) *Nebuchadnezzar* with all
his numerous army laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and blocked it close up on eve-
ry side, in memory whereof the tenth day of *Tebeth*, which is their tenth
month, hath ever since been observed ⁱ by the *Jews* as a day of solemn
fast even to this time.

ON the same ^k tenth day of the tenth month, in which this siege began
at *Jerusalem*, was the same revealed to *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, where by the
type of a boiling pot was foreshewn unto him the dismal destruction which
should thereby be brought upon that city. And the ^l same night the wife
of the prophet, who was the desire of his eyes, was by a sudden stroke of
death taken from him, and he was forbid by God to make any manner of
mourning for her, or appear with any of the usual signs of it upon him,

^a Ezek. xvii. 15.

^c Ezekiel xxv. 19--24.

^f Jer. xxxiv. 8--10.

ⁱ Zechariah viii. 19.

^b 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

^d In Comment. in Ezek. xxi.

^e Jer. xxxiv. 7.

^g Deut. xv. 12.

^h 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

^k Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.

^l Ezek. xxiv. 16--18.

there-

thereby to foreshew, that the holy city, the temple, and the sanctuary, which were dearer to them than any wife can be in the eyes of her husband, should not only by a speedy and sudden stroke of destruction be taken from them, but that the calamity ensuing thereon should be such, and so great, as should not allow them as much as to mourn for the loss of them.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of *Zedekiah*, ^m the prophet *Jeremiah*, ^{An. 589.} being sent of God declared unto him, That the *Babylonians* who were ^{Zedekiah 10.} now besieging of the city should certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him prisoner, and carry him to *Babylon*, and that he should die there. Whereon ⁿ *Zedekiah* being much displeased put him in prison, and while he was shut up there, even in this very year, ^o he purchased of *Hanameel* his unkle's son a field in *Anathoth*, thereby to foreshew, that although *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be laid desolate, and the inhabitants led into captivity, yet there should be a restoration, when lands and possessions should be again enjoyed by the legal owners of them, in the same manner as in former times.

PHARAOH HOPHRA ^p coming out of *Egypt* with a great army to the relief of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* raised the siege of *Jerusalem* to march against him. But before he went on this expedition ^q he sent all the captive *Jews* which he then had in his camp to *Babylon*, the number of which were eight hundred thirty and two persons.

ON the departure of the *Chaldeans* from *Jerusalem*, *Jeremiah* being again set at liberty, ^r *Zedekiah* sent unto him *Jebucal* the son of *Shelemiah*, and *Zephaniah* the son of *Maaseiah* the priest, to enquire of the Lord by him, and to desire him to pray for him and his people. To whom the prophet returned an answer from God, That the *Egyptians*, whom they did depend upon, would certainly deceive them; that their army would again return into *Egypt* without giving them any help at all, and that thereon the *Chaldeans* would again renew the siege, take the city, and burn it with fire.

BUT the general opinion of the people being, that the *Chaldeans* were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war against them, they ^s repented of the covenant of reformation, which they had entred into before God, when they were in fear of them; and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom they had set at liberty, again to return into servitude, to be unto them again for servants and for handmaids, contrary to the law of the Lord, and the covenant which they had lately entred into with him, to walk according to it. For ^t which inhuman and unjust act, and their impious breach of the covenant lately made with God, *Jeremiah* proclaim'd liberty to the sword, and to the famine, and to the pestilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them and their King, and their Princes, and all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, to their utter destruction.

WHILE the *Chaldeans* were yet absent from *Jerusalem*, ^v *Jeremiah* intending to retire to *Anathoth* his native place, that thereby he might avoid the siege, which he knew would be again renewed on the return of the

^m Jer. xxxiv.

ⁿ Jer. xxxii. 1, 2, 3.

^o Jer. xxxii. 7---17.

^p Jer. xxxvii. 5.

^q Jer. lli. 29.

^r Jer. xxxvii. 3---10.

^s Jer. xxxiv. 11.

^t Jer. xxxiv. 17---22.

^v Jer. xxxvii. 11---15.

Chaldeans from their expedition against the *Egyptians*, put himself on his journey thither, but as he was passing the gate of the city that led that way, the captain that kept guard there seized him for a deserter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the *Chaldeans*, whereon he was again put in prison in the house of *Jonathan* the scribe, which they had made the common jail of the city, where he remained many days.

THE *Egyptians*, on the coming of the *Chaldeans* against them, durst not stay to engage in battel with so numerous and well-appointed an army, but ^w withdrawing on their approach retired again into their own country, treacherously leaving *Zedekiah* and his people to perish in that war, which they had drawn them into. Whereon ^x the prophet *Ezekiel* reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a staff of reed to those, whom by oaths and covenants of alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's judgments against them to be executed both upon King and people in war, confusion, and desolation, for forty years ensuing for the punishment hereof. And ^y also foretold, how after that, they should sink low and become a mean and base people, and should no more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to pass. For not long after the expiration of the said forty years they were made a province of the *Persian* empire, and have been governed by strangers ever since. For on the failure of the *Persian* empire they became subject to the *Macedonians*, and after them to the *Romans*, and after the *Romans* to the *Saracens*, and then to the *Mamelukes*, and are now a province of the *Turkish* empire.

ON the retreat of the *Egyptians* *Nebuchadnezzar* ^z returned to *Jerusalem*, and again renewed the siege of that place, which lasted about a year from the second investing of it to the time when it was taken.

THE siege being thus renewed, *Zedekiah* ^a sent for *Jeremiah* out of prison to consult with him, and enquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the present state of his affairs. To which he found there was no other answer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. However at the intreaty of the prophet he was prevailed with not to send him back again to the common jail of the city, lest he should die there by reason of the noisomeness of the place, and therefore instead thereof he was ordered to the prison of the King's court, where he continued with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common store till the city was taken.

ZEDEKIAH finding himself in the siege much pressed by the *Chaldeans*, ^b sent messengers to *Jeremiah*, farther to enquire of the Lord by him concerning the present war. To which he answered, That the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God being very much provoked against him and his people, for their iniquities, would fight against the city and smite it; that both King and people should be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*; that those who continued in the city during the siege, should perish by the pestilence, by the famine, and by the sword; but that those who should go out, and fall to the *Chaldeans*, should have their lives given them for a prey. At which answer ^c several of the princes and chief commanders about the King being very much offended pressed the King

^w Jer. xxxvii. 7.

^a Jer. xxxvii. 17---21.

^x Ezek. xxix.

^b Jer. xxi. 1---14.

^y Ezek. xxx. 13.

^c Jer. xxxviii. 1---6.

^z Jer. xxxvii. 8.

against him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and fought their hurt more than their good; whereon he being delivered into their hands, they cast him into a dangeon, where he must have perished, but that ^d *Ebedmelec* an eunuch of the court having intreated the King in his behalf delivered him thence. For which charitable act he had a message sent him from God, of mercy and deliverance unto him. After this ^e *Zedekiah* sending for *Jeremiah* into the temple, there secretly enquired of him, but had no other answer than what had been afore given him, saving only that the prophet told him, That if he would go forthwith and deliver himself into the hands of the King of *Babylon's* princes, who commanded at the carrying on of the siege, this was the only way whereby he might save both himself and the city; and he earnestly pressed him hereto. But *Zedekiah* would not hearken unto him herein, but sent him back again to prison, and after that no more consulted with him.

IN the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in the beginning of the year, God declared by the prophet *Ezekiel* his judgments against *Tyre* for their insulting on the calamitous state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, foreshewing that the same calamities should be also brought upon them by the same *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands God would deliver them. And this is the subject of the xxvith, xxviith, and xxviiith chapters of his prophecies, in the last of which God particularly upbraideth *Ithobal*, then King of *Tyre*, with the insolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and understanding, having puffed up himself herewith, as ^f *if he were wiser than Daniel, and that there was no secret that could be hid from him*. Which sheweth to how great an height the fame of *Daniel's* wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of by way of proverb through all the east. And yet according to the account above given of his age, he could not at this time exceed six and thirty years. And in the conclusion of the xxviiith chapter the like judgments are denounced also against *Sidon*, and for the same reason.

THE same year God declared by the same prophet his judgments against *Pharoah* and the *Egyptians*, that he would bring the King of *Babylon* against them, and deliver them into his hands, and that notwithstanding their greatness and pride they should no more escape his revenging hand than the *Assyrians* had done before them, who were higher and greater than they; and this is the subject of the xxxth and xxxith chapters of his prophecies.

IN the fourth month, on the ninth day of the month, of the same eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, ^g *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Chaldeans*, after the siege had lasted from their last setting down before it about a year. Hereon *Zedekiah* with his men of war fled away, and having broken through the camp of the enemy endeavoured to make his escape over *Jordan*, but being pursued after, he was overtaken in the plains of *Jericho*, whereon all his army being scattered from him, he was taken prisoner, and carried to the King of *Babylon* at *Riblah* in *Syria*, where he then resided, who having caused his sons, and all his princes that were taken with him, to be slain before his face, commanded his eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of brass and sent him to *Babylon*, where he died in prison, and hereby was fulfilled the ^h prophecy of the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning

^d Jer. xxxviii. 7--13. ^e Jer. xxxviii. 14--23. ^f Ezek. xxviii. 3. ^g 2 Kings xxv. 4.
² Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 2--10. iii. 6--11. ^h Ezek. xii. 13.

him, That he should be brought to *Babylon* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, yet should not see the place, tho' he should die there.

IN the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, (*i. e.* towards the end of our *July*) came ⁱ *Nebuzaradan*, captain of the guards to the King of *Babylon*, to *Jerusalem*, and after having taken out all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that could be found either in the King's house, or in any of the other houses of the city, he did on the tenth day of the same month, pursuant to the command of his master, set both the temple and city on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortresses, and towers belonging thereto, and wholly rasing and levelling to the ground every building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect desolation, and so it continued for fifty two years after, till by the favour of *Cyrus* the *Jews* being released from their captivity, and restored again to their own land, repaired these ruins, and built again their holy City. In memory of this calamity they keep two fasts even to this day, the seventeenth of the fourth month (which falls in our *June*) for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ninth of the fifth month (which falls in our *July*) for the destruction of the temple; both which are made mention of ^k in the prophecies of the prophet *Zechary*, under the names of the fast of the fourth month and the fast of the fifth month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the destruction of *Jerusalem* to his time, which was seventy years after. *Josephus* ^l remarks, that the burning of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* hapned on the very same day of the year on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

NEBUZARADAN having thus destroyed the city and the temple of *Jerusalem*, made all the people he found there captives. Of these ^m he took *Seraiah* the high-priest, and *Zephaniah* the second priest, and about seventy others of the principal persons he found in the place, and carried them to *Riblah* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of ⁿ the rest of the people he left the poorer sort to till the ground, and dress their vineyards, and made *Gedaliah* the son of *Abikam* governor over them, and all the other he carried away to *Babylon*.

BUT concerning *Jeremiah*, ^o *Nebuchadnezzar* gave particular charge to *Nebuzaradan*, that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to *Jerusalem* with commission to destroy the place, he and the princes that were with him sent and took him out of prison, where he had laid bound from the time that *Zedekiah* had put him there, and restored him to his liberty, and having carried him with him as far as *Ramah* on his return to *Nebuchadnezzar*, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to *Babylon*, where he should be well looked after and maintained at the King's charge, or else remain in the land; and he having chosen the latter, *Nebuzaradan* gave him victuals, and a reward, and sent him back to *Gedaliah* the son of *Abikam*, with an especial charge to take care of him.

AFTER *Nebuchadnezzar* was returned to *Babylon*, ^p all those, who before for fear of the *Chaldeans* had taken refuge among the neighbouring

ⁱ 2 Kings xxv. 8---17. Jer. lii. 12---23. ^k Zechar. viii. 19. ^l De bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 10.
^m 2 Kings xxv. 18---21. Jer. lii. 24---27. ⁿ 2 Kings xxv. 22---25. Jer. xxxix. 9, 10. and
 lii. 15, 16. ^o Jer. xxxix. 11---14. and xl. 1---6. ^p Jer. xl. 7---12.

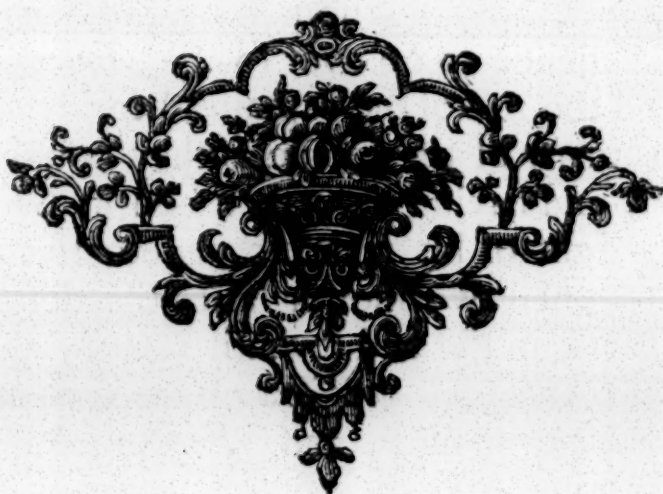
nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the deserts after their escape on the dispersion of *Zedekiah's* army in the plains of *Jericho*, hearing that *Gedaliah* was made governor of the land, resorted to him, and he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them that they should be safe under his government, they settled themselves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were *Johanan* and *Jonathan* the sons of *Kereah*, *Seraiah* the son of *Tanhumeth*, *Azaria* the son of *Hoshaiah*, *Ishmael* the son of *Nethaniah*, and others.

BUT ^a *Ishmael* came to him only out of a treacherous design. For being of the seed royal, he reckoned to make himself King of the land, now the *Chaldeans* were gone, and for the accomplishing of it had formed a conspiracy to kill *Gedaliah*, and seize the government, and *Baalis* the King of the *Ammonites* was confederated with him herein. But *Johanan* the son of *Kereah* having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the rest of the people went to *Gedaliah*, and informed him of it, proposing to kill *Ishmael*, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But *Gedaliah* being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain jealousies of any one, would not believe this of *Ishmael*, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him, ^r of which *Ishmael* taking the advantage came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our *September*, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land, and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which *Gedaliah* had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him, and slew him, and at the same time slew also a great number of the *Jews* and *Chaldeans*, whom they found with him in *Mizpah*, and took the rest captive. And the next day hearing of eighty men, who were going on a religious account with offerings and incense ^r to the house of God, they craftily drew them into *Mizpah*, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the redemption of their lives. And then taking with them all the captives, among whom were the daughters of King *Zedekiah*, they departed thence to go over to the *Ammonites*. But *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the rest of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after *Ishmael*, and having overtaken him at *Gibeon* retook all the captives, but he and eight of his men escaped to the *Ammonites*. This Murder of *Gedaliah* hapned two months after the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, in the said seventh month, and on the thirtieth day of the month. For that day the *Jews* have kept as a fast in commemoration of this calamity ever since, and ^r *Zechariah* also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of *the fast of the seventh month*, and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the completion of their ruine.

AFTER this great misfortune ^r *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the people that were left, fearing the King of *Babylon*, because of the murder of *Gedaliah*, whom he had made governor of the land, departed from *Mizpah* to flee into the land of *Egypt*, and came to *Bethlehem* in their way

^a Jer. xl. 13---16.^r Jer. xli.^r i. e. At Jerusalem; for though the temple were destroyed, yet the people that were left continued to offer sacrifices and worship there on the place where it stood, as long as they remained in the land.^r Zech. viii. 19.^r Jer. xlii.

thither. Where they stopping awhile consulted the prophet *Jeremiah* (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to enquire of God in their behalf, who after ten days having received an answer from God, called them together, and told them, That if they would tarry in the land all should go well with them, and God would shew mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the King of *Babylon* to be favourable unto them. But if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary set their faces to go into the land of *Egypt*, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them. For their hearts being violently bent to go into *Egypt*, they would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told *Jeremiah*, That the answer which he gave them was not from God, but was suggested to him by *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, for their hurt. And therefore *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the rest of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of *Judah* that were returned from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the persons whom *Nebuzaradan* had left with *Gedaliah*, even men, women, and children, and the King's daughters, and also *Jeremiah* the prophet, and *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, and went into *Egypt* and settled in that countrey, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatned them with for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of *Jerusalem* were destroyed, and the whole land of *Judah* brought in a manner to utter desolation for the sins thereof.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the Time of CHRIST.

BOOK II.



IN the twelfth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, one An. 587. escaping from *Jerusalem*,^a came to *Ezekiel* in the Nebu-
chadnezzar 18. land of the *Chaldeans*, and told him of the destruction of the city, whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest of the land of *Judah*, and utter destruction to the remainder of the *Jews* who were left therein.

THE same year *Ezekiel* prophesied against *Egypt*, and *Pharaoh Hophra* the King thereof, that God would bring against him *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who should lay the land desolate, and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities, which is the subject of the xxxii^d chapter of his prophecies.

^a Ezek. xxxiii. 21---29.

THE *Jews* which went into *Egypt* ^b having settled in *Migdol*, and *Tabpanes*, and *Noph*, and in the Countrey of *Pathros*, (i. e. at ^a *Magdalum* by the *Red-Sea*, at *Daphne* near *Pelusium*, at *Memphis*, and in the Countrey of *Thebais*) gave themselves there wholly up to idolatry, ^d worshipping the queen of heaven, and other false deities of the land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the ^e prophet *Jeremiah* cried aloud against this impiety unto those among whom he lived; that is those who had settled in ^f the land of *Pathros* or *Thebais*. (For this being the farthest from *Judea* of all the places, where they had obtained settlements in that Countrey, they had carried him thither the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a declaration, that ^g they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry; for they told him, that it had been best with them, when they practised it in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; that it was since their leaving of it off, that all their calamities had hapned unto them; and that therefore they would no more hearken unto any thing, that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon ^h the word of the Lord came unto the prophet denouncing utter destruction unto them by the sword, and by the famine, that thereby all of them, that is all the men of *Judah* then dwelling in *Egypt*, should be consumed, excepting only some few, who should make their escape into the land of *Judah*. And for a sign hereof it was foretold unto them by the same prophet, that *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*, in whom they trusted, should be given into the hands of his enemies, who fought his life, in the same manner as *Zedekiah* was given into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that fought his life; that so when this should be brought to pass in their Eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words, which the Lord had spoken against them, should certainly be fulfilled upon them, as accordingly they were about eighteen years afterwards.

AFTER this there is no more mention of *Jeremiah*. It is most likely that he died in *Egypt* soon after, he being then much advanced in years, (for he had now prophesied one and forty years from the thirteenth of *Josiah*) and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities which hapned to himself and his countrey. *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Dorotheus*, *Jerom*, and *Zonaras* tell us, that he was stoned to death by the *Jews* for preaching against their idolatry, and of this some interpret St. *Paul*'s ἐξ-
εθύνοντες, (i. e. they were stoned) *Heb.* xi. 37. But others say, that he was put to death by *Pharaoh Hophra*, because of his prophesy against him. But these seem to be traditions founded rather on conjecture, than on any certain account of the matter.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being returned to *Babylon* after the end of the *Jewish* war, and the full settling of his affairs in *Syria* and *Palestine*, did out of the spoils, which he had taken in that expedition, ⁱ make that

^b Jer. xlv. 1.

^c Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27.

^d Jer. xlv. 8. 15---19.

^e Jer. xlv. 1---15.

^f Jer. xlv. 15.

^g Jer. xlv. 16---19.

^h Jer. xlv. 26---30.

ⁱ In the Greek version of Daniel, c. iii. 1. this is said to have been done in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, but this is not in the original text, for in that no year at all is mentioned, and therefore it is most probable it crept into it from some marginal comment, for which I doubt not there was some very good authority. For it could in no year of that King's reign fall more likely, and therefore according hereto I have here placed it.

golden image to the honour of *Bel* his God, which he did set up, and dedicate to him in the plain of *Dura*. The History of which is at large related in the third chapter of *Daniel*. But how *Daniel* escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of enquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the idol is most certain, it absolutely disagreeing with the character of that holy religious man to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God, as such a compliance would have amounted unto; either therefore he was absent, or else if present was not accused. The latter seems most probable. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having summoned all his princes, counsellors, governors, captains, and all other his officers and ministers, to be present and assisting at the solemnity of this dedication, it is not likely, that *Daniel*, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present therefore seems most probable; but his enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the King, but rather to fall first on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case, quashed all farther accusation about this matter, and for that reason it was that *Daniel* is not at all spoken of in it.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR in the twenty first year of his reign, according to the *Jewish* account, which was the nineteenth according to the *Babylonish* account, and the second from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, came again into *Syria*, and ^k laid siege to *Tyre*, *Ithoball* being then King of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself master of the place. For it was a strong and wealthy city, which had never as yet submitted to any foreign empire; and was ^l of great fame in those days for its traffic and merchandise, whereby several of its inhabitants had made themselves as great ^m as princes in riches and splendor. It ⁿ was built by the *Zidonians* two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of *Solomon* at *Jerusalem*. For *Zidon* ^o being then conquered and taken by the *Philistines* of *Askalon*, many of the inhabitants escaping thence in their ships, built *Tyre*, and therefore it was called by the prophet *Isaiah* ^p the daughter of *Zidon*, but it soon out-grew its mother in largeness, riches and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty King, to whom all the *East* had then submitted.

WHILE *Nebuchadnezzar* lay at this siege, *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guards, being sent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of *Israel* to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of *Gedaliah*, there being no other reason why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people, whom he himself had left and settled there. In which expedition ^q *Nebuzaradan* seizing upon all of the race of *Israel*, that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives, and sent them to *Babylon*. But they all amounted to no more than seven hundred forty and five persons, the rest having been all fled into *Egypt*, as hath been before related.

An. 586.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 19.

An. 584.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 21.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1.

^l Ezekiel xxvi. & xxvii.

^m Isaiah xxiii. 8.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 8. c. 2.

^o Justin. lib. 18. c. 3.

^p Isaiah xxiii. 12.

^q Jeremiah liii. 30.

By this last captivity was fully compleated the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also compleated the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other prophets relating hereto, and particularly ^r that of *Ezekiel*, wherein God's forbearance of the house of *Israel* is limited to three hundred and ninety days, and his forbearance of the house of *Judah* to forty days. For taking the days for years according to the prophetic style of Scripture, from the apostacy of *Jeroboam* to the time of this last captivity there will be just three hundred and ninety years, and so long God bore the idolatry of the house of *Israel*. And from the eighteenth year of *Josiah*, ^r when the house of *Judah* entered into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time will be just forty years, and so long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance in respect of both being fully compleated, he compleated also the desolation of both in this last captivity, in which both had an equal share, part of them who were now carried away being of the house of *Judah*, and part of the house of *Israel*. There are others who end both the computations at the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and to make their hypothesis good, they begin the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* from the mission of the prophet *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, that is from the thirteenth of *Josiah*, ^r when he was first called to this office, from which time to the last year of *Zedekiah*, when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, were exactly forty years. And as to the three hundred and ninety years forbearance of the house of *Israel*, according as they compute the time from *Jeroboam's* apostacy, they make this period to fall exactly right also, that is to contain just three hundred and ninety years from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But this period relating purely to the house of *Israel*, as contradistinct from the house of *Judah* in this prophesy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in which the house of *Israel* had no concern. For *Jerusalem* was not within the kingdom of *Israel*, but within the kingdom of *Judah*, of which it was the metropolis, and therefore the latter only and not the former had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both, and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belong'd to both. As to the computing of the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* from the mission of *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of *Jerusalem* the number of years falls exactly right; and therefore since ^v the hundred and twenty years of God's forbearance of the old world, is reckoned from the like mission of *Noah* to preach repentance unto them, I should be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the forty years of this forbearance of *Judah*, by the forty years of *Jeremiah's* like preaching of repentance unto them; but it cannot be conceived, why *Ezekiel* should reckon the time of his mission by an *era* from the eighteenth year of *Josiah*, (for the thirtieth year, on which he saith he was called to the prophetic office, is certainly to be reckoned from thence) unless it be with respect to the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* in his own prophecies.

AFTER this *Nebuzaradan* ^w marched against the *Ammonites*, and having

^r Ezek. xl. iv. 1---8.

^r 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29---31.

^r Jeremiah i. 2.

^v Gen. vi. 3.

^w Jeremiah xlix. 1---6. Ezek. xxv. 1---7. Amos i. 14, 15.

destroy-

M A R E M E D I T

35

35

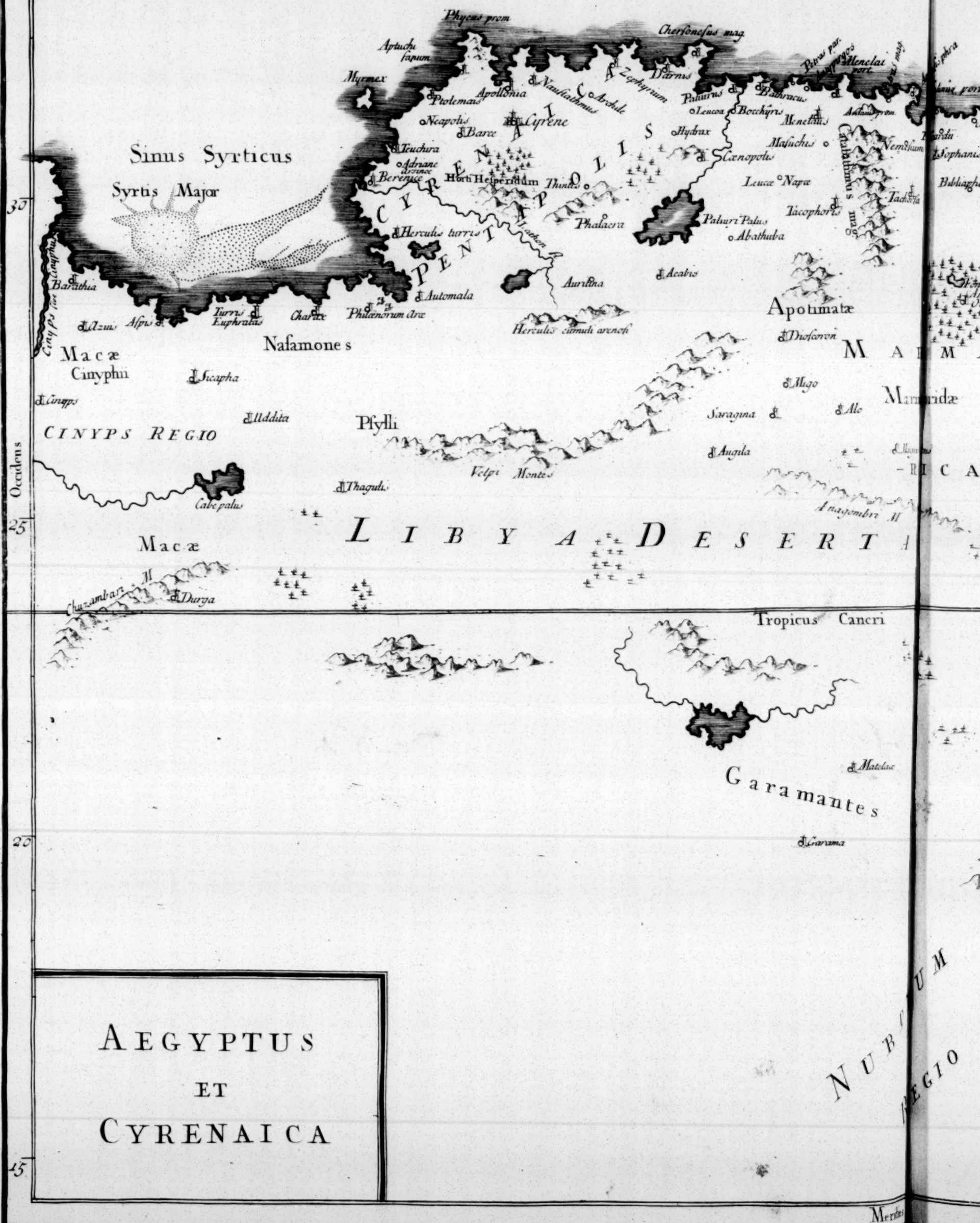
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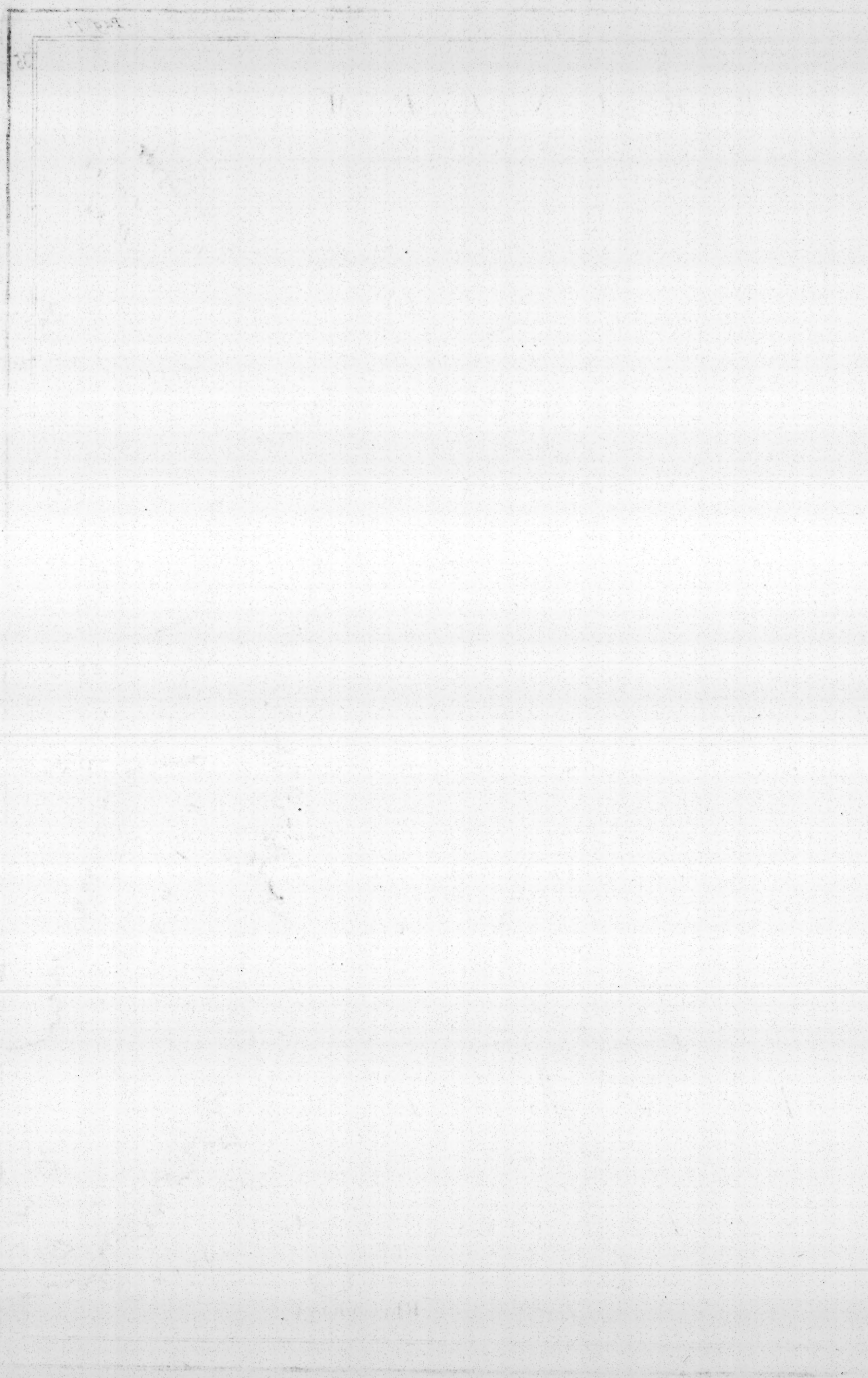


AEGYPTUS
ET
CYRENAICA

NUBIA
REGIO

30





destroyed *Rabbah* their royal city, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that countrey, he carried their King, and their Princes, and most of the chief of the land into captivity. And this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the murder of *Gedaliah*, the King of *Babylon's* governor in the land of *Israel*.

AND during this siege of *Tyre* the other neighbouring nations, that is the *Philistines*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Zidonians*, seem also to have been harassed and broken by the excursions of the *Babylonians*, and to have had all those judgments executed upon them, which we find in the prophecies of * *Jeremiah* and † *Ezekiel* to have been denounced against them.

IN the fourteenth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was the twenty fifth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, were revealed unto the prophet *Ezekiel* all those visions and prophecies concerning the future state of the church of God, which we have from the xlth chapter of his prophecies to the end of that book.

THIS same year the judgments, which God had denounced by the mouth of his prophets against *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, began to operate against him. For ‡ the *Cyrenians*, a colony of the *Greeks*, that had settled in *Africa*, having taken from the *Libyans* (a neighbouring nation lying between them and the *Egyptians*, and bordering upon both) a great part of their land, and divided it among themselves, the *Libyans* made a surrender both of themselves and their countrey into the hands of *Apries* to obtain his protection. Hereon *Apries* sent a great army into *Libya* to wage war against the *Cyrenians*, which having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battel, were almost all cut off and destroyed, so that very few of them escaped the carnage, and returned again into *Egypt*, whereon the *Egyptians* entertaining an opinion, that this army was sent by *Apries* into *Libya* of purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them imbodying together revolted from him. *Apries* hearing of this, sent *Amasis* an officer of his court to appease them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of royalty, and declared him their King, which he accepting of, stayed among them and encreased the revolt; at which *Apries* being much incensed sent *Paterbemis* another officer of his court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest *Amasis*, and bring him unto him, which he not being able to effect in the midst of so great an army of conspirators as he found about him, was on his return very cruelly and unworthily treated by *Apries*. For out of anger for his not effecting that for which he sent him, tho' he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his character and worth, so incensed the rest of the *Egyptians*, that they almost all joyned with the conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon *Apries* being forced to flee, made his escape into the upper *Egypt* towards the borders of *Ethiopia*, where he maintained himself for some years, while *Amasis* held all the rest.

* *Jeremiah* xxvii, xxviii, xxix.
Siculus lib. 1. part. 2.

† *Ezek.* xxv.

‡ *Herodotus* lib. 2. & lib. 4. *Diodorus*

AA 573.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 32.

BUT while this was a doing in *Egypt*, at length ^a in the twenty sixth year of the captivity of *Jeboiachin*, which was the fifteenth after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself master of *Tyre*, after a siege of ^b thirteen years continuance, and utterly destroyed the place, that is the city, which was on the continent, the ruins of which were afterwards called *Pala-Tyrus*, or *old Tyre*. But before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed most of their effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and there built them a new city. And therefore when *Nebuchadnezzar* entered that, which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take, and therefore wrecking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he rased the whole town to the ground, and flew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory, but the city on the island became the *Tyre* that was afterwards so famous by that name; the other on the continent never rising any higher, than to become a village by the name of *old Tyre*, as was before said. That it was this *Tyre* only that *Nebuchadnezzar* besieged, and not the other on the island, appears from the description of the siege, which we have in *Ezekiel*. For thereby we find that *Nebuchadnezzar* made ^c a fort against the place, and cast up a mount against it, and erected ^d engines of battery to break down its walls, which could not be said of the *Tyre* on the island. For that was all surrounded by the sea. And that he also took and utterly destroy'd that city, appears likewise from the writings ^e of the same prophet. But that the city on the island then escaped this fate is manifest from the *Phœnician* histories. For in them after the death of *Ithobal* (who was ^f slain in the conclusion of this war) we are told, ^g that *Baal* succeeded in the kingdom, and reigned ten years, and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates one after another, who by the name of *Judges* had the government of the place. It is most probable that after *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and destroyed the old town, those who had retired into the island came to terms and submitted to him, and that thereon *Baal* was deputed to be their King under him, and reigned ten years: That at the end of the said ten years, (which hapned in the very year that *Nebuchadnezzar* was again restored after his distraction) *Baal* being then dead or deposed, the government, to make it the more dependent on the *Babylonians*, was changed into that of temporary magistrates; who, instead of the name of Kings, had only that of *Suffetes* or *Judges* given unto them, which was a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were descended of the *Tyrians*, for so ^h their chief magistrates were called. It had its derivation from the *Hebrew* word *Shophetim*, i. e. *Judges*, which was the very name, whereby the chief governors of *Israel* were called for several generations, before they had Kings. And under this sort of government the *Tyrians* seem to have continued for several years after, till they were restored to their former state by *Darius Hystaphis* seventy years after, as will in its proper place be hereafter related.

^a Ezekiel xxix. 17. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. ^c Ezekiel xxvi. 8. ^d Ezekiel xxvi. 9. ^e Ezekiel xxvi. 4. & 9--12. ^f Ezekiel xxviii. 8--10. ^g Joseph. contra Apionem lib. 1. ^h Livius, lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum qui summus est Panis Magistratus.* Vide etiam ejusdem librum 30 & librum 34, ubi de Suffetibus ut de summo apud Carthagenenses Magistratu mentio fit.

AND here I cannot but observe, how exactly the chronology of the *Phœnician* annals agreeth with that of the holy Scriptures. *Ezekiel* placeth the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the twenty sixth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*. For in the first month, and in the first day of the month of the twenty seventh year, he speaketh (ch. xxix, 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is in the twenty sixth of the said captivity. This fell in the ⁱ thirty second year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account; from which year, according to *Ptolemy's* cannon, the first year of *Cyrus* at *Babylon* will be the thirty sixth, and so according to the *Phœnician* annals will it be exactly the same. For ^k according to them, after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Baal* had the government of it ten years, *Ecnibal* two months, *Chelbes* ten months, *Abbar* three months, *Mitgonus* and *Gerastratus* six years, *Balator* one year, *Merball* four years, and *Hirom* twenty years, in whose fourteenth year say the same annals *Cyrus* began his empire. And putting all these together, the fourteenth of *Hirom* will be exactly the thirty sixth year from the thirty second of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the twenty sixth of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, the year according to *Ezekiel* in which *Tyre* was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the said *Phœnician* annals place the taking of *Tyre* in the very same year, that *Ezekiel* doth. For the twenty sixth year from the captivity of *Jehoiachin* computed downward, in which *Ezekiel* placeth it, and the thirty sixth year from the fourteenth of *Hirom* computed upward, in which the *Phœnician* annals place it, will be exactly the same year.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR and his army having served so long before *Tyre*, ^l till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled, through the length and hardship of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service, in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the *Tyrians* had saved the best of their effects in the island, God did by the prophet *Ezekiel* promise them the spoils of *Egypt*. And accordingly this very same year immediately after this siege was over, *Nebuchadnezzar* taking the advantage of the intestine divisions which were then in that countrey, by reason of the revolt of *Amasis*, marched with his army thither; and overrunning the whole land from ^m *Migdol* or *Magdolum*, (which is at the first entring into *Egypt*) even to *Syene*, (which is at the farthest end of it towards the borders of *Ethiopia*) he made ⁿ a miserable ravage and devastation therein, slaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the countrey to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in forty years after. After this *Nebuchadnezzar* having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this countrey, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to terms with *Amasis*, and having confirmed him in the kingdom as his deputy, returned to *Babylon*.

DURING this ravage of the land of *Egypt* by the *Babylonians*, most of the

ⁱ For the 37th year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin* being the last (which was the 43^d) year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (2 Kings xxv. 27. & Jer. lii. 31.) the 26th year of the said captivity must be in the 33^d of *Nebuchadnezzar*. ^k Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. ^l Ezekiel xxix. 18---20. & xxx. 1---19. ^m Ezekiel xxx. 6. Where observe this passage [from the Tower of *Syene*] in the English translation of the Bible is wrong translated. For the Hebrew word *Migdol*, which is there translated Tower, is the name of the city *Magdolum*, which was at the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestine*, i. e. at the hither end of *Egypt*, whereas *Syene* was at the other end upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, the translation ought to be thus, [from *Migdol* to *Syene*] that is, from one end of *Egypt* to the other. ⁿ Ezekiel xxix. 30, 31, 32. ^o Ezekiel xxix. 3.

Jews, who had fled thither after the murder of *Gedaliah*, fell into their hands. Many of them they slew, others they carried captive with them to *Babylon*. The few that escaped saved themselves by fleeing out of *Egypt*, and afterwards settled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

An. 570.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 35.

AFTER *Nebuchadnezzar* was gone out of *Egypt*, *Apries* creeping out of his hiding places got towards the sea-coasts, most likely into the parts of *Libya*, and there hiring an army of *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other foreigners, marched against *Amasis*, and gave him battel near the city of *Memphis*, in which being vanquished and taken prisoner he was carried to the city of *Sais*, and there strangled in his own palace. And hereby were compleated all the prophecies of the prophets *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, which they had foretold both concerning him and his people, especially that of *Jeremiah* relating to his death, whereby it was foretold, *That God would give Pharaoh Hophra King of Egypt into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that sought his life, as he gave Zedekiah King of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy that sought his life.* Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by *Amasis* in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him by *Herodotus*, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his kingdom, so surely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the prophet *Ezekiel* charged him with saying, *The river is mine and I have made it.* For the first twenty years of his reign he had enjoyed as prosperous a fortune as most of his predecessors, having had many successes against the *Cypriots*, the *Zidonians*, and *Philistines*, and other nations, but after he took on himself, *Caligula* like, to be thought as a God, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit which I have related. After his death *Amasis* without any farther opposition became possessed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it from the death of *Apries* forty four years. This happened in the nineteenth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

IN the same nineteenth year *Nebuchadnezzar* being returned from this *Egyptian* expedition to *Babylon* had there the dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof, of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the ivth chapter of *Daniel*.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at *Babylon*. *Semiramis* is said by some, and *Belus* by others, to have first founded this city. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works therein were, 1st, The walls of the city: 2^{dly}, The temple of *Belus*: 3^{dly}, His palace, and the hanging gardens in it: 4^{thly}, The banks of the river: And 5^{thly}, The artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any King before him. And excepting the walls of *China* nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equall'd to him herein.

¹ Jer. xlv. 27, 28.

² Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2.

³ Chap. xliii, xlv, xlv.

⁴ Chap. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii. ⁵ Jer. xlv. 30. ⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁷ Ezek. xxix. 9.

⁸ Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2. Jer. xlvii. 1.

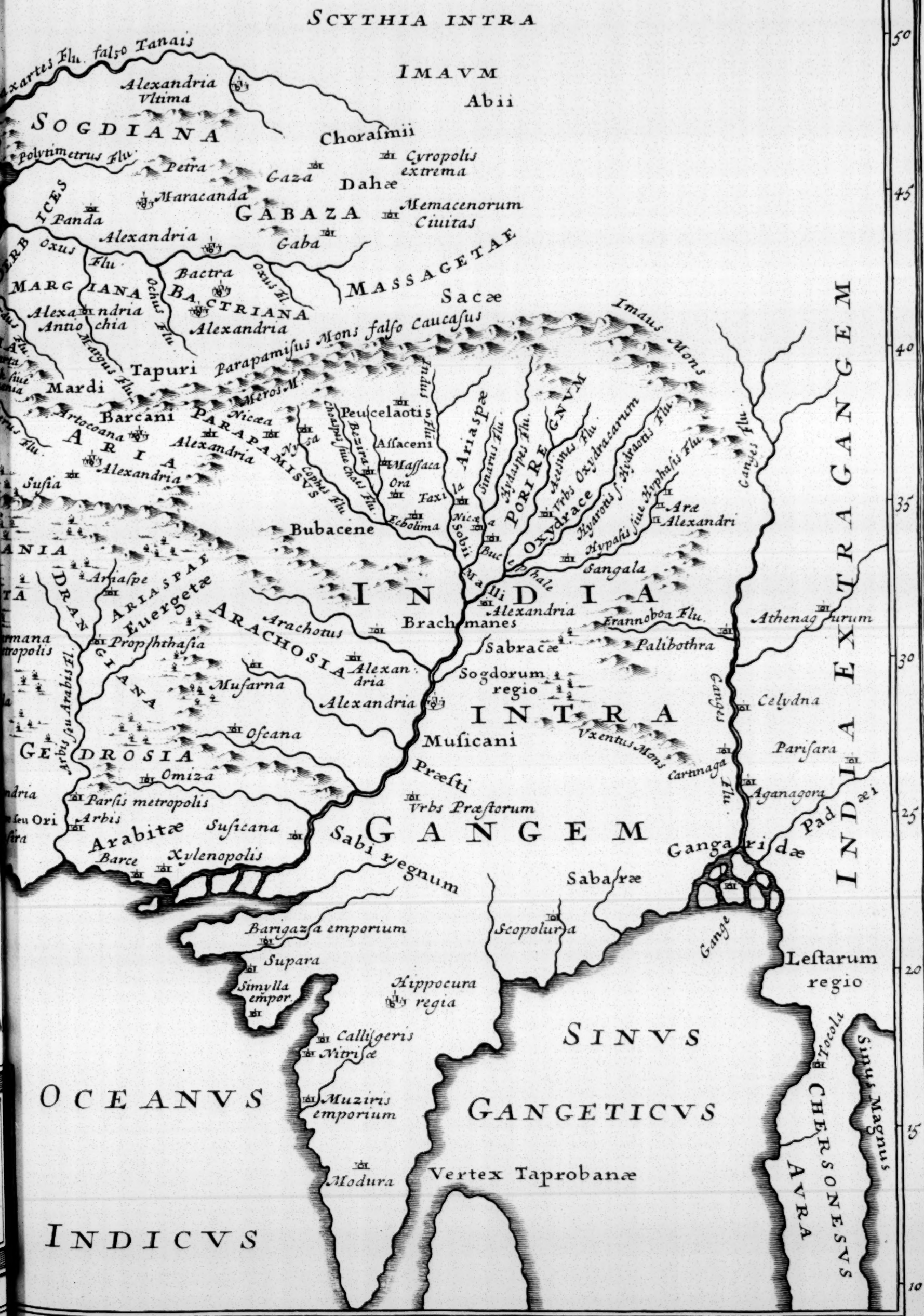
⁹ Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus, lib. 1.

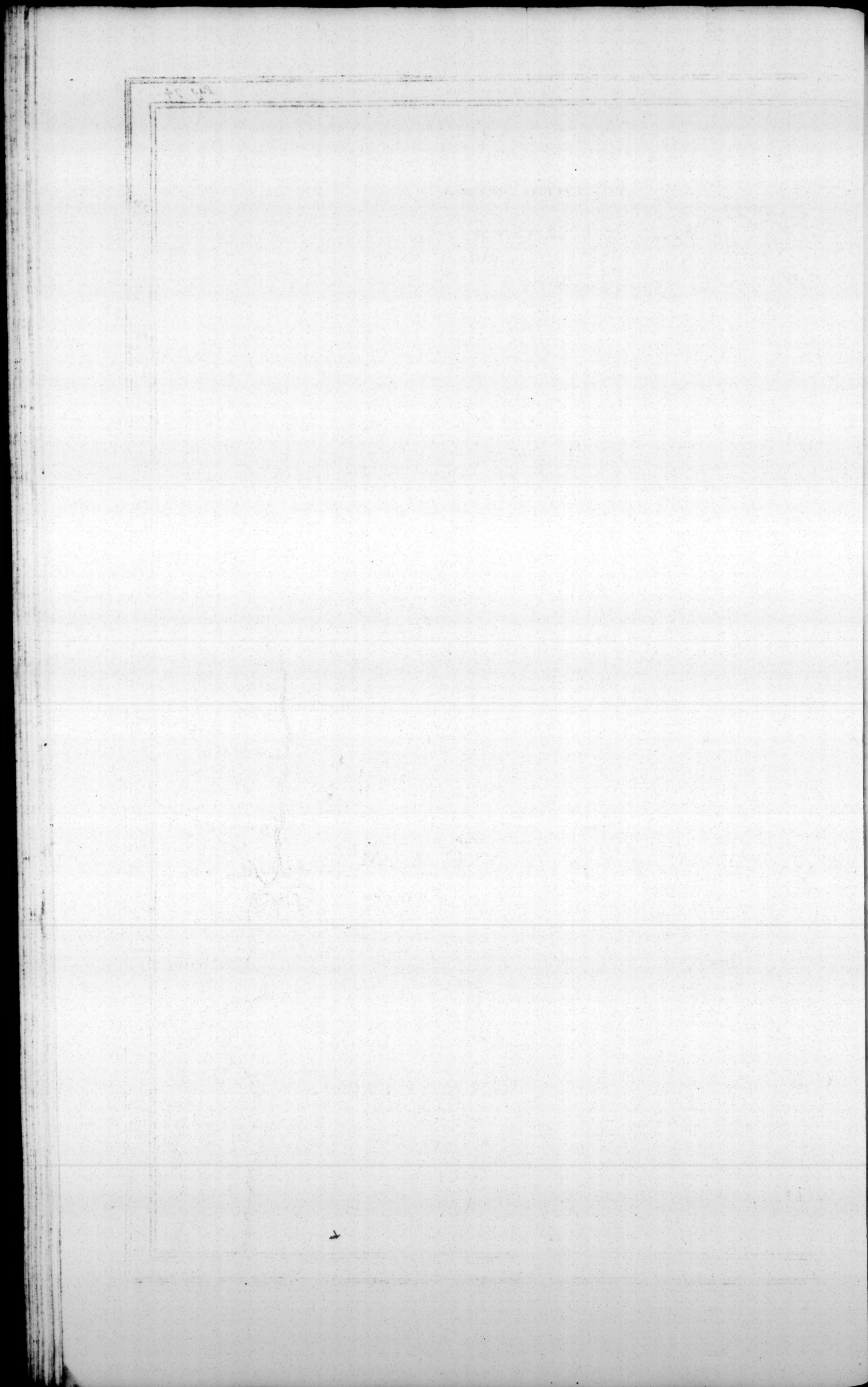
¹⁰ Herodotus, lib. 1. Ctesias, Justin. lib. 1. c. 2.

¹¹ Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Abydenus ex Megasthene apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

¹² Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.







1st, THE walls were every way prodigious. For they ^c were in thickness eighty seven foot, in height three hundred and fifty foot, and in compass four hundred eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. This is *Herodotus's* account of them, who was himself at *Babylon*, and is the ancientest author that hath wrote of this matter. And altho' there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most, that agree in any measures of those walls, give us ^d the same, or very near the same that he doth. Those who lay the height of them at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspis*. For the *Babylonians* having revolted from him, and in confidence of their strong walls stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to ^e prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down their walls to the height last mentioned, and beyond this they were never after raised. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of ^f an exact square, each side of which was an hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, and ^g all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that countrey, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the brick or stones themselves, which they cement together. These walls were furrounded on the outside with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a scarpe or counter-scarpe, and the earth which was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch. In every side of this great square were twenty five gates, that is an hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to *Cyrus* the conquest of *Babylon*, he tells him, *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.* (Isaiah xlv. 2.) Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side, and every one of these towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only ^h of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers. For some parts of them lying against morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence, and therefore in them there were none built. For the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty, whereas had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more. From the twenty five gates in each side of this great square went twenty five streets in streight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty five went one way, and twenty five the other, ⁱ directly crossing each other at right An-

^c Herodotus, lib. 1. ^d Plinius lib. 6. c. 26. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. ^e Herodotus, lib. 3.
^f Herodotus, lib. 3. ^g Herodotus, lib. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo, lib. 16. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. ^h Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

ⁱ Herodotus, lib. 1. *Much according to this Model hath William Penn the Quaker laid out the ground for his City of Philadelphia in Pensilvania, and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best City in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world. For it lyeth between two navigable rivers at the distance of two miles from their confluence, and consists of thirty streets, ten of which being drawn from river to river are two miles long, and the twenty others being drawn cross the said ten, and cutting them at right angles, are a mile long. In the midst of the whole is left a square of ten acres, and in the middle of each of the four quarters of the town, into which it is equally divided, is a square of five acres; which void places are designed for the building Churches, Schools, and other publick buildings, and also to serve for the Inhabitants*

gles. And besides these there were also four half streets, which were built but of one side, as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and ^k were each of them two hundred foot broad, the rest were about an hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other the whole city was cut out into six hundred seventy six squares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses all built three or four stories high, and beautified ^l with all manner of adornments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A branch of the river *Euphrates* did run quite cross the city, entering in on the north side, and going out on the south, over which in the middle of the city was a bridge of ^m a furlong in length, and thirty foot in breadth, built with ⁿ wonderful art to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the two ends of the bridge were ^o two palaces, the old palace on the east side, and the new palace on the west side of the river; the former of these took up ^p four of the squares above-mentioned, and the other ^q nine of them. And the temple of *Belus*, which stood next the old palace, took up another of these squares. The whole city stood on a ^r large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it ^s which was on the east side of the river was the old city, the other on the west side was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The pattern hereof seemeth to have been taken from *Niniveh*, that having been exactly ^t four hundred and eighty furlongs round, as this was. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having in conjunction with his father destroyed that old royal seat of the *Assyrian* empire, resolved to make this, which he intended should succeed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only whereas *Niniveh* was ^v in the form of a parallelogram, he made *Babylon* in that of an exact square, which figure rendred it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reason that *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea*, and other conquered countries, carried so great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous, as it was great, there was no countrey in all the east could better than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people as must then have been in it. For the fertility of this pro-

to walk and otherways divert themselves in them, in the same manner as Moorfields doe in London. Above two thousand houses are in this place already built, and when it shall be wholly built according to the plan above-mentioned, it will be the Glory of all that part of the world. And if the Country round it comes to be thoroughly inhabited, the great conveniency of its situation for trade by reason of the two navigable rivers on which it stands, and the great river *Delaware*, into which they both fall within two miles of it, will soon draw people enough thither, not only to finish the scheme, which hath been laid of it by its first founder, but also to enlarge it by such additions on each side, as to make its breadth answer its length; and then, bating the walls and greatness of *Babylon*, it will imitate it in all things else, and in the conveniency of its situation far exceed it. But this is to be understood as a comparing of a small thing with a great. For tho' *Philadelphia* were built and inhabited to the utmost I have mentioned, that is to the full extent of two miles in breadth as well as in length, yet fifty six of such Cities might stand within those walls, that encompassed *Babylon*. ^k Two *petra*, saith *Diodorus*, that is, two hundred foot, for a *plethrum* contained one hundred foot. ^l *Herodotus*, lib. 1.

^m *Strabo* saith, that the river which passed thorough *Babylon* was a furlong broad. (lib. 16.) But *Diodorus* saith (lib. 2.) that the bridge was five furlongs long, if so, it must be much longer than the river was broad. ⁿ *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. *Q. Curtius*, lib. 5. c. 1. *Philostratus*, lib. 1. c. 18. *Herodotus*, lib. 1. ^o *Berosus* apud *Joseph.* Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. *Herodotus*, lib. 1. *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. *Q. Curtius*, lib. 5. c. 1. *Philostratus*, lib. 1. c. 18. ^p It was thirty furlongs in compass, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. ^q It was sixty furlongs in compass, *Diodorus*, Ibid. ^r *Herodotus*, lib. 1. ^s *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 2. ^t *Diodorus*, Ibid. ^v Two of its sides were each an hundred and fifty furlongs long, and the other but eighty each, *Diodorus*, Ibid.

vince

vince was so great, that * it yielded to the *Persian* Kings, during their reign over *Asia*, half as much as did all that large empire besides, the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundred fold every crop. But it never hapned to have been * fully inhabited, it not having had time enough to grow up thereto. For within twenty five years after the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* the royal seat of the empire was removed from thence to *Shushan* by *Cyrus*, which did put an end to the growing glory of *Babylon*, for after that it never more flourished. When *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, * no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmost that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than eight thousand one hundred square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained fourteen thousand four hundred square furlongs, and therefore there must have been six thousand three hundred square furlongs that were unbuilt, which *Curtius* * tells us were plow'd and sown. And besides this the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per nonaginta stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi; i. e. Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of ninety furlongs it was inhabited, but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other.* Which words [*they thought it safest*] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby in cities situated in such hot countries those suffocations and other inconveniencies are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi* the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house and house, that is built in them. And old *Rome* was built after the same manner. So that putting all this together it will appear, that *Babylon* was so large a city rather in scheme than in reality. For according to this account it must be by much the larger part that was never built, and therefore in this respect it must give place to *Niniveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the Scriptures tell us were an hundred and twenty thousand in the time of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended indeed, that *Babylon* should have exceeded it in every thing. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did not live long enough, nor the *Babylonish* empire last long enough to finish the scheme that was first drawn of it.

THE next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Babylon* was the * temple of *Belus*. But that which was most remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation * it was a square of a furlong on each

^w Herodotus, lib. 1.
10. c. 11.

^x Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

^z Herodotus, lib. 1.

^y Berofus apud Josephum Antiq. lib.

side, that is an half of a mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight towers one built above over the other. Some following a mistake of the *Latin* version of *Herodotus*, wherein the lowest of these towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the *Greek* of *Herodotus*, which is the authentic text of that author, saith no such thing, but only that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And *Strabo* in his description of it, calling it a pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching-in at every tower, saith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by *Strabo* it is prodigious enough. For according to his dimensions only, without adding any thing farther, it was one of the wonderfulest works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the pyramids of *Egypt*, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides. For^b although it fell short of that pyramid at the basis, (where that was a square of seven hundred foot on every side, and this but of six hundred) yet it far exceeded it in the height, the perpendicular measure of the said Pyramid being no more than four hundred eighty one foot, whereas that of the other was full six hundred, and therefore it was higher than that pyramid by one hundred and nineteen foot, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore it was not without reason, that^c *Bochartus* asserts it to have been the very same tower which was there built at the confusion of tongues. For it was prodigious enough to answer the Scriptures description of it; and it is particularly attested by several Authors, to have been all built^d of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of *Babel* was. *Herodotus* saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it, from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by the benching-in drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers one above another, in the same manner as we have the tower of *Babel* commonly described in pictures, saving only, that whereas that is usually pictur'd round, this was square. For such a benching-in drawn in a slope eight times round, in manner as aforesaid, would make the whole seem on every side as consisting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be so much less than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight towers being as so many stories one above another, were each of them seventy five foot high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple after the tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole on the top of the tower was^e an observatory, by the benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanced their skill in astronomy beyond all other nations, and came to so early a

^a Strabo, lib. 16.
Part. I. lib. 1. c. 9.

Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^b See Mr. Greave's Description of the Pyramids, p. 68, 69.

^d Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 98.

^c Phaleg.
Arrian. de

perfection in it as is related. For when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, *Calisthenes* the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astronomical observations for 1903 years backward from that time, which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of *Babel* was built. For the confusion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, hapned in the year wherein *Peleg* was born, which was an hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that these observations began. This account *Calisthenes* sent from *Babylon* into *Greece* to his master *Aristotle*, as *Simplicius* from the authority of *Porphyrus* delivers it unto us in his second book *De Cælo*. Till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* the temple of *Belus* contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But ^f he enlarged it by vast buildings erected round it in "a square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in circumference, which was one thousand eight hundred foot more than ^h the square of the temple of *Jerusalem*. For that was but three thousand foot round, whereas this was, according to this account, four thousand eight hundred. And on the outside of all these buildings there was a wall enclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading into the temple, all ⁱ of solid brass; and the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the temple of *Jerusalem*, seem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* did put all the sacred vessels which he carried from *Jerusalem* ^k into the house of his God at *Babylon*, that is, into this house or temple of *Bel*. For that was the name of the great God of the *Babylonians*. He is supposed to have been the same with *Nimrod*, and to have been called *Bel* from his dominion, and *Nimrod* from his rebellion. For *Bel*, or *Baal*, which is the same name, signifieth *Lord*, and *Nimrod* a *Rebel* in the *Jewish* and *Chaldean* languages; the former was his *Babylonish* name by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his *Scripture* name by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs. This temple stood till the time of *Xerxes*, but he, on his return from his *Grecian* expedition, ^l demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbish, having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold, and one of them is said by *Diodorus Siculus* to have been forty foot high, which might perchance have been that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura*. *Nebuchadnezzar's* golden image is said indeed in *Scripture* to have been sixty cubits, *i. e.* ninety foot high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal both together. For that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high. For that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slender-

^f Berofus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

^g Herodotus, lib. 1.

^h For it was a

square of 500 Cubits on every side, and 2000 in the whole, *i. e.* 3000 foot. See Lightfoot's description of the Temple of Jerusalem.

ⁱ Herodotus, lib. 1.

^k Daniel i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7.

^l Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Herodotus, lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^m Lib. 2.

est man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was measured is not said, perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder, and then the proportion of six cubits breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure which *Diodorus* hath mentioned. For the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six cubits broad between the shoulders, it must according to this proportion have been twenty seven cubits high, which is forty foot and an half. Besides *Diodorus* ^a tells us, that this image of forty foot high contained a thousand *Babylonish* talents of gold, which according to *Pollux* (who in his *Onomasticon* reckons a *Babylonish* talent to contain seven thousand *Attic* drachma's, *i. e.* eight hundred seventy five ounces) ^o amounts to three millions and a half of our money. But if we advance the height of the statue to ninety foot without the pedestal, it will encrease the value to a sum incredible, and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by *Daniel*. Other images and sacred utensils were also in that temple, all of solid gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by *Diodorus* contain five thousand and thirty talents, which with the thousand talents in the image above-mentioned, amount to above one and twenty millions of our money. And besides this we may well suppose the value of as much more in treasure and utensils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the collection of near two thousand years. For so long that temple had stood. All this *Xerxes* took away when he destroyed it. And perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expence which he had been at in his *Grecian* expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. *Alexander* on his return to *Babylon* from his *Indian* expedition ^{*} purposed again to have rebuilt it, and in order hereto he did set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish, but after they had laboured herein two months *Alexander* died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking. And this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that city the seat of his empire, as it was supposed he would, the glory of *Babylon* would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height that ever *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to have brought it to, and would again have been the Queen of the east.

NEXT this temple ^q on the same east side of the river stood the old palace of the Kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in compass. Exactly over against it on the other side of the river ^q stood the new palace, and this was that ^r which *Nebuchadnezzar* built. It was four times as big as the former, as being ^r eight miles in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging gardens, which were of so celebrated a name among the *Greeks*. They ^r contained a square of four pletha (that is of four hundred foot) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air in the manner of several large terrasses one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the city. The

^a Lib. 2. ^o This is according to the lowest computation, valuing an *Attic* drachm at no more than seven pence half penny, whereas *Dr. Bernard* reckons it to be eight pence farthing, which would mount the sum much higher.

^{*} Strabo, lib. 16. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^r Strabo, lib. 15. p. 731. ^q Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

^r Berosus apud Josephum, lib. 10. c. 11. ^r Diodor. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 1.

^r Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

ascent was from terrafs to terrafs by ftairs ten foot wide. The whole pile was fupported by vaft arches built upon arches one above another, and ftrengthened by a wall furrounding it on every fide of twenty two foot thicknefs. The floors of every one of thefe terraffes were laid in the fame manner, which was thus: On the top of the arches were firft laid large flat ftones fixteen foot long and four broad, and over them was a layer of reed mix'd with a great quantity of bitumen; over which were two rows of bricks clofely cemented together by plaifter, and then over all were laid thick fheets of lead, and laftly upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moifture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greateft trees to take rooting in it, and fuch were planted all over it in every terrafs, as were alfo all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleafure. In the upper terrafs there was an aquæduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. *Amyitis* the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* having been bred in *Media*, (for ſhe was the daughter of *Aftyages*, the King of that countrey, as hath been before related) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that countrey, and therefore defired to have ſomething like it at *Babylon*, and to gratify her herein was the reaſon of erecting this monſtrous work of vanity.

THE other works attributed to him by ^v *Berosus* and ^w *Abydenus* were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for dreining of it in the times of the overflows. For ^x on the coming on of the ſummer the fun melting the ſnow on the mountains of *Armenia*, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, which running into the *Euphrates*, makes it overflow all its banks during that ſeaſon, in the ſame manner as doth the river *Nile* in *Egypt*, whereby the city and countrey of *Babylon* ſuffering great damage, for ^y the preventing hereof he did a great way up the ſtream cut out of it on the eaſt ſide two artificial canals, thereby to drain off theſe overflowings into the *Tigris* before they ſhould reach *Babylon*. The ^z fartheſt of theſe was the current which did run into the *Tigris* near *Seleucia*, and the other that which taking its courſe between the laſt mentioned and *Babylon*, diſcharged it ſelf into the ſame river over againſt *Apamia*; which being very large and navigable for great Veſſels ^a was from thence called *Naharmalcha*, that is in the *Chaldean* language, the *Royal River*. This is ſaid to have been made by ^b *Gobaris* or *Gobrias*, who being the governor of the province had the overſeeing of the work committed to his care, and ſeemeth to have been the ſame, who afterwards on a great wrong done him revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*, as will be hereafter related. And for the farther ſecuring of the countrey *Nebuchadnezzar* built ^c alſo prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each ſide of the river to keep it within its channel, which ^d were carried along

^v Apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^w Apud Eusebium

Præpar. Evang. lib. 9.

^x Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de expeditione Alexan-

dri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

^y Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

^z Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26.

^a Abydenus, ibid. Ptol. ibid. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

Polybius, lib. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24.

Strab. lib. 16. p. 747.

Isidorus Characenus de

Stathmis Parthicis.

^b Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

^c Abydenus, ibid.

^d Herodotus, lib. 1.

from the head of the said canals down to the city, and some way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city it self. For there * on each side of the river he built from the bottom of it a great wall for its bank of brick and bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the walls of the city, and over against every street that crossed the said river he made on each side a brazen gate in the said wall, and gairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work † was carried on on both sides of the river to the length of an hundred and sixty furlongs, which is twenty miles of our measure, and therefore must have been begun two miles and an half above the city, and continued down two miles and an half below it. For thorough the city was no more than fifteen miles. While these banks were a building the river was turn'd another way. For which purpose to the west of *Babylon* ‡ was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was § according to the lowest computation forty miles square and an hundred and sixty in compass, and in depth thirty five foot, saith *Herodotus*, seventy five, saith *Megasthenes*. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the banks that were cast up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the said river in the time of its increase might not through the gates above mentioned overflow the city, this lake with the canal leading thereto was still preserved, and proved the best and the most effectual means to prevent it. For whenever the river rose to such an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged it self by this canal into the lake, through a passage in the bank of the river at the head of the said canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake at the time of these overflowsings was there kept all the year, as in a common reservatory for the benefit of the countrey, to be let out by sluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally served the convenience of *Babylon*, and also the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them, though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both. For it afforded to *Cyrus* the means of taking the city, and in the effecting thereof became the cause of drowning a great part of that countrey, which was never after again recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but *Herodotus* tells us, that the bridge, the river-banks, and the lake, were the work of *Nitocris* his daughter-in-law. Perchance *Nitocris* finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her with that historian the honour of the whole.

* *Berosus* apud *Josephum* Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. † *Diodor.* lib. 2. p. 96. ‡ *Abydenus*, *ibid.* *Herodotus*, lib. 1. *Diodorus*, *ibid.* § According to *Herodotus*, this Lake was four hundred and twenty furlongs square, i. e. fifty two miles and an half on every side, and then the whole compass must be two hundred and ten miles. But according to *Megasthenes* the whole compass was but forty parasangæ, i. e. an hundred and sixty miles, for each parasanga contained four of our miles.

ALL the flat, whereon *Babylon* stood, being by reason of so many rivers and canals running thorough it made in many places marshy, especially near the said rivers and canals, this caused it to abound much in willows, and therefore it is called in Scripture, *The valley of willows*. (For so the words *Isaiah* xv. 7. which we translate the *brook of willows*, ought to be rendred.) And for the same reason the *Jews* (*Psalms* cxxxvii. 1, 2.) are said, when they were by the rivers of *Babylon* in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that is, because of the abundance of them which grew by those rivers.

AT the end ¹ of twelve months after *Nebuchadnezzar's* last dream, while he was walking in his palace at *Babylon*, most likely in his hanging gardens, and in the uppermost terrass of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole city, he proudly boasting of his great works done therein said, ** Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* But while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years have his dwelling with the wild beasts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon his senses being taken from him he fell into a distracted condition, and continuing so for seven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating grass like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles feathers and his nails like birds claws. But at the end of seven years his understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his kingdom, and his former majesty and honour re-established on him. And hereon being made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlasting dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did by a publick decree make acknowledgment hereof through all the *Babylonish* empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy in his late restoration shewn unto him.

AFTER this he lived only one year, and died, having reigned according to the *Babylonish* account from the death of his father forty three years, and according to the *Jewish* account from his first coming with an army into *Syria* forty five years. His death hapned about the end of the year, a little before the conclusion of the thirty seventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the east for many ages before him, *Megasthenes* ¹ prefers him for his valour to *Hercules*. But his greatness, riches and power, did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at *Babylon* above described, which for many ages after were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the *Persians*, and their bringing of the *Babylonians* in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more than what he had been informed of by *Daniel* the pro-

¹ Daniel iv.
Strabo, lib. 15. p. 687.

² Daniel iv. 30.
³ Abydenus, ibid.

⁴ Abydenus, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

phet, and in the interpretation of his dreams been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within twenty three years after.

An. 561.
Evilmerodach 1.

ON the death of this great Prince ^a *Evilmerodach* his son succeeded him in the *Babylonish* empire; and as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released *Jehoiachin* King of *Judah* out of prison, after he had lain there near thirty seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his table, and placing him there before all the other kings, and great men of his empire, that came to him to *Babylon*, and also made him a daily allowance to support him with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. *Jerom* ^o tells us from an ancient tradition of the *Jews*, that *Evilmerodach* having had the government of the *Babylonish* empire during his father's distraction, administered it so ill, that as soon as the old King came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment hapning to be the same, where *Jehoiachin* had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him, and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterwards shewed him. And since the old historical traditions of the *Jews* ^p are often quoted in the new Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded, and that especially since the male administrations which *Evilmerodach* was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he ^q proved a very profligate and vicious Prince, and for that reason was called *Evilmerodach*, that is, *Foolish Merodach*. For his proper name was only *Merodach*. But whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he shewed to the captive Prince, as soon as his father was dead. So that the last year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign was the last of the thirty seven years of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity, and this shews us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the *Babylonish* and *Jewish* history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the seventh year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Babylonish* account, ^{*} in the beginning of the *Jewish* year, that is, in the month of *April* according to our year, *Jehoiachin* was carried captive to *Babylon*. And therefore the first year of his captivity beginning in the month of *April* in the seventh year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the thirty seventh year of it must begin in the same month of *April* in the forty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, towards the end whereof that great King dying, with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of *Evilmerodach*, and the *March* following, ^r that is, on the twenty seventh day of the twelfth, or last month of the *Jewish* year, *Jehoiachin* was by the great favour of the new King released from his captivity in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully compleated thirty seven years in it.

An. 561.
Evilmerodach 1.

IN the same year, which was the first of *Evilmerodach* at *Babylon*, ^s *Craesus* succeeded *Alyattes* his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned

^a 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jeremiah lii. 31. Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Et Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. ^o Comment. in Esaiam xiv. 19. ^p By St. Stephen, Acts vii. By St. Paul to the Hebrews, xi. 35, 36, 37. and to Timothy, Ep. ii. 3, 8. and by St. Jude, 9. 14, 15. ^q Berosus, ibid. ^{*} 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. for there it is said, that it was at the return of the year. ^r 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31. ^s Herodotus, lib. 1.

there fourteen years. This was the twenty eighth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the forty sixth of the seventy years captivity of *Judah*.

WHEN *Evilmerodach* had reigned two years at *Babylon*, his lusts and his other wickedness made him so intolerable, ^r that at length even his own relations conspired against him and put him to death, and ^s *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was the head of the conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead. And since it is said, that *Jeboiachin* was ^t fed by him until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else as a favourite was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the prophesy of *Jeremiah* concerning him. For it is therein denounced against him, ^u that he should not prosper in his days, which could not be so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that prosperity, which *Evilmerodach* advanced him unto.

On the death of *Jeboiachin*, *Salathiel* his son ^v became the nominal Prince of the *Jews* after him. For after the loss of the authority they still kept up the title; and for a great many ages after in the parts about *Babylon*, there was always one of the house of *David*, which by the name of ^w *The Head of the Captivity*, was acknowledged and honoured as a Prince among that people, and had some sort of Jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the Princes that reigned in that Countrey. And it is said, ^x this pageantry is still kept up among them; and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the christians, when they urge the prophesy of *Jacob* against them. For whensoever from that prophesy it is pressed upon them that the *Messiah* must be come, because the scepter is now departed from *Judah*, and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *this head of the captivity*, their usual answer being, that the scepter is still preserved among them in *the head of the captivity*; and that they have also in their ^y *Nasi*, or *Prince of the Sanhedrim*, (another pageantry officer of theirs) a lawgiver from between the feet of *Judah* (that is of his seed) still remaining in *Israel*. But if these officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also, and the prophesy returns in its full force upon them, and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

THE same year that *Evilmerodach* was slain, died ^z *Astyages* King of *Media*, and after him succeeded *Cyaxares* the second, his son, in the civil government of the kingdom, and *Cyrus* his grandson by his daughter *Mandana* in the military. *Cyrus* at this time was ^a forty years old, and *Cyaxares* ^b forty one. And from this year those who reckon to *Cyrus* a reign

^r Berofus, *ibid.* Megasthenes apud Eusebium *Præp. Evang.* lib. 9. ^s Berofus, *ibid.* Ptolem. in *Canone.* Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 10. c. 12. Megasthenes, *ibid.* ^t Jer. lii. 33. ^u Jer. xxii. 30.

^v 2 Ezdras v. 16. ^w De eo vide Notas Constantini L'empereur ad Benjaminii Itinerarium, p. 192, 193, &c. ^x Vide Jacobi Altingi *Librum Shilo*, lib. 1. c. 3. 13, 14, 15, &c. Et Seldenum de *Synedriis*, lib. 2. c. 7. § 5.

^y Vide Buxtorfii *Lexicon Rabbinicum*, p. 1399. & Seldenum de *Synedriis*, lib. 2. c. 6. ^z Cyropædia, lib. 1. ^a Cicero, lib. 1. De *Divinatione* dicit de *Cyro*--- *Ad Septuagesimum pervenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cepisset.*

^b For he was sixty two when he began to reign in *Babylon* after the death of *Belshazzar*. *Dan.* v. 31. which being nine years before *Cyrus's* death, (who lived seventy years) it must follow that *Cyrus* was then sixty one, and therefore when he was forty *Cyaxares* must have been forty one.

of thirty years begin that computation. For *Neriglissar*, on his coming to the crown, * making great preparations for a war against the *Medes* *Cyaxares* called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and on his arrival with an army of thirty thousand *Persians*, *Cyaxares* made him general of the *Medes* also, and sent him with the joynt forces of both nations to make war against the *Babylonians*. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as King over both these nations, altho' in reality the regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was no more than general of the confederated army under him. But after his death he succeeded him in the kingdom of the *Medes*, as he did his father a little before in that of *Persia*, which with the countries he had conquer'd made up the *Persian* empire, of which he was the founder, and first monarch.

HE was a very extraordinary person in the age in which he lived, for wisdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being † the restorer of the state of *Israel*, but especially in being there appointed for it ‡ by name many years before he was born. Which is an honour therein given to none, save only to him and † *Josiah* King of *Judah*. He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) on the same year in which *Jeboiakim* died. It is on all hands agreed, that his mother was *Mandana* the daughter of *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, and his father *Cambyfes* a *Persian*. But whether this *Cambyfes* was King of that country, or only a private person, is not agreed. *Herodotus*, and those who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private nobleman of the family of *Achæmenes*, one of the ancientest in that country. But *Xenophon*'s account makes him King of the *Persians*, but subject to the *Medes*. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great prince, the relations of these two historians are very much different. But *Herodotus*'s account of him containing narratives which are much more strange and surprizing, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, most have chosen rather to follow him than *Xenophon*, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by *Plato* in his † giving a character of *Xenophon*'s history of *Cyrus*, (in which he was also followed by * *Tully*) as if therein under the name of *Cyrus* he rather drew a description of what a worthy and just Prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that Prince really was. It must be acknowledged, that *Xenophon* being a great commander as well as a great philosopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that history, and to make it a vehicle for this perchance was his whole design in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; and that it was so, its agreeableness with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reason why he chose the life of *Cyrus* before all others for the purpose above-mentioned, seemeth to be no other, but that he found the true history of that excellent and gallant Prince to be above all others the fittest for those maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the descants, discourses, and speeches interspers'd in

* *Cyropædia*, lib. 1.

† *De Legibus*, lib. 3.

‡ *Ezra* i.

* *Ep. 1. ad Quintum fratrem*.

† *Isaiah* xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.

‡ *1 Kings* xiii. 2.

that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of *Xenophon's* addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that author, as the true history of *Cyrus*. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* having travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did as travellers use to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But *Xenophon* was a man of another character,¹ who wrote all things with great judgment and due consideration; and having lived in the court of *Cyrus the younger*, a descendant of the *Cyrus* whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great Prince than *Herodotus* was; and confining himself to this argument only, no doubt he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large as they came in his way. And for these reasons in all things relating to this Prince I have chosen to follow *Xenophon*, rather than any of those who differ from him.

FOR the first^m twelve years of his life *Cyrus* lived in *Persia* with his father, and was there educated after the *Persian* manner, in hardship and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of *Persia* did then extend only to one province of that large countrey which hath been since so called. For then the whole nation of the *Persians* could number no more thanⁿ one hundred and twenty thousand men. But afterwards, when by the wisdom and valour of *Cyrus* they had obtained the empire of the east, the name of *Persia* became enlarged with their Fortunes, and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract, which is extended east and west from the river *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean. And so much that name comprehends even to this day. After *Cyrus* was twelve years old he was sent for into *Media* by *Astyages* his grandfather, with whom he continued five years. And there by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the *Medes* to him, and gain'd such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the sixteenth year of his age *Evilmerodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, being abroad on an hunting expedition a little before his marriage, for a shew of his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out^o *Astyages* with his forces to oppose him. On which occasion *Cyrus* accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war, in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory, which was at that time gained over the *Assyrians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after he went home to his father into *Persia*, and there continued till the fortieth year of his

¹ Diogenes Laertius in vitâ Xenophontis.

^m Cyropæd. lib. 1.

ⁿ Cyropæd. lib. 1.

^o From hence it may be inferred, that *Evilmerodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyitis* the daughter of *Astyages*, but by some other wife, it not being likely that the grandfather and grandson would thus engage in war against each other.

life. At which time he was called forth to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* on the occasion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of *Persia* with his army, and behaved himself so wisely, that from this small beginning in twenty years time he made himself master of the greatest empire that had ever been erected in the east to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation only it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men that ever governed an empire) thro' all that time to overthrow it.

An. 558.
Neriglissar 2.

NERIGLISSAR, upon intelligence that *Cyrus* was come with so great an army to the assistance of the *Medes*, farther to strengthen himself against them^p sent ambassadors to the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Capadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other neighbouring nations to call them to his aid, and by representing to them the strength of the enemy, and the necessity of maintaining the ballance of power against them for the common good of *Asia*, drew them all into confederacy with him for the ensuing war. Whereon the King of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore^q refused any longer to pay his tribute, or send his quota of auxiliaries for the war on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous consequence to the *Medes*, in the example it might give to other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with the best of his horse, and covering his design under the pretence of an hunting-match, entered *Armenia* before there was any intelligence of his coming, and having surprized the revolted King took him and all his family prisoners; and after this having seized the hills towards *Chaldea*, and planted good forts and garrisons on them for the securing of the countrey against the enemy on that side, he came to new terms with the captive King, and having received from him the tribute and the auxiliaries which he demanded, he restored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the rest of his army in *Media*. This hapned about the third year of the reign of *Neriglissar*, and the thirty second after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

An. 556.
Neriglissar 4.

AFTER both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of *Neriglissar* the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, and it came to a fierce battle between them, in which *Neriglissar* being slain, the rest of the *Assyrian* army was put to the rout, and *Cyrus* had the victory. *Cræsus* King of *Lydia* after the death of *Neriglissar*, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following *Cyrus* pursuing after them overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage, which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had the night before revolted to him.

^p *Cyropædia*, lib. 1.
lib. 3 & 4.

^q *Cyropædia*, lib. 2.

^r *Cyropædia*, lib. 3.

^s *Cyropædia*,

Hereon

Hereon *Cræsus* taking his flight out of *Assyria* made the best of his way into his own countrey. He being aware of what might happen, had the night before sent away his women, and the best of his baggage, and therefore in this respect escaped much better than the rest of the confederates.

THE death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*. For he was ' a very brave and excellent prince. The preparations, which he made for the war, shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it; and therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing else, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of *Cyrus*, whom God had designed for the empire of the east, and therefore nothing was to withstand him. But nothing made the loss of *Neriglissar* more appear, than the succeeding of *Laborosoarchod* his son in the kingdom after him. For he was ' in every thing the reverse of his father, being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice, to which on his advancement to the throne he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the regal office which he was now advanced to were for nothing else, but to give him a privilege of doing without controul all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two acts of his tyrannical violence towards two of his principal nobility, *Gobrias* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he flew at an hunting to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild beast when he himself had missed it. And the other he caused to be castrated, only because one of his concubines had commended him for an handsome man. These wrongs done those two noblemen, drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to *Cyrus*, and the whole state of the *Babylonish* empire suffered by it. For *Cyrus* encouraged hereby * penetrated into the very heart of the enemies countrey, first taking possession of the province, and garrisoning the castles of *Gobrias*, and afterwards doing the same in the province and castles of *Gadates*. The *Assyrian* King was before him in the latter, to be revenged on *Gadates* for his revolt. But *Cyrus* on his coming having put him to the rout, and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to *Babylon*. After *Cyrus* had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole countrey, and twice shewn himself before the walls of *Babylon* to provoke the enemy to battel, at the end of the year he led back his army again towards *Media*, and ending the campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, there entred into winter quarters, and sent for *Cyaxares* to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war.

As soon as *Cyrus* was retreated, *Laborosoarchod* being now freed from the fear of the enemy gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him, which carried him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those which *Gobrias* and *Gadates* had suffered from him, that being no longer tolerable, his ' own people conspired against him and slew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the canon of *Ptolemy*, for it is the method of that canon to

' Cyropædia, lib. 4.

v Cyropædia, lib. 4. & 5.

w Cyropædia, lib. 5.

* Berofus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.

lib. 9. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

ascribe all the year to him that was King in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor but from the first day of the year ensuing; and therefore if any King reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the canon at all. And this was the case of *Laborosoarchod*. For *Neriglissar* his father being slain in battel in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began, and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of *Neriglissar*, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor, and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that canon.

An. 555.
Belshaz-
zar 1.

AFTER him succeeded ^y *Nabonadius*, and reigned seventeen years. ^z *Berosus* calls him *Nabonnedus*, *Megasthenes* ^a *Nabonnidochus*, *Herodotus* ^b *Labyntus*, and *Josephus* ^c *Naboandelus*, who he saith is the same with *Belshazzar*. And there is as great a difference among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called. Some ^d will have him to be of the royal blood of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ^e others no way at all related to him. And some say he was a *Babylonian*, and others ^f that he was of the seed of the *Medes*. And of those who allow him to have been of the royal family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, some will have it that he was his son, and others, that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter these following particulars are to be taken notice of, 1st, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonish* Kings. 2^{dly}, That therefore he must have been the same who in Scripture is called *Belshazzar*. For immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, [*Dan. v. 28, 30, 31.*] 3^{dly}, That he was of the seed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is called his Son, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to be his father in several places of the same vth chapter of *Daniel*, and in the 2^d book of *Chronicles* [*chap. xxxvi. 20.*] it is said that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children, or offspring, reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*. 4^{thly}, That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar* and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, [*chap. xxvii. 7.*] and therefore he must have had a son, and a son's son, successors to him in the throne of *Babylon*. 5^{thly}, That as *Evilmerodach* was his son, so none but *Belshazzar*, of all the Kings that reigned after him at *Babylon*, could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborosoarchod* was the son of *Neriglissar*, and therefore neither of them was either son, or son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. 6^{thly}, That this last King of *Babylon* is said by ^h *Herodotus* to be son to the great Queen *Nitocris*, and therefore she must have been the wife of a King of *Babylon* to make her so, and he could have been none other than *Evilmerodach*. For by that King of *Babylon* only could she have a son, that was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore putting all this together, it appears, that this *Nabonadius* the last King of *Babylon* was the same with him that in Scripture is called *Belshazzar*, and that he was the son of *Evilmerodach* by *Nitocris* his Queen, and so son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And that whereas he is

^y Can. Ptol.

^z Apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^a Apud Euseb. Præp.

Evang. lib. 9.

^b Herodot. lib. 1.

^c Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

^d Josephus, Ibid.

^e Megasthenes, Ibid.

^f Berosus, Ibid.

^g Scaliger in notis ad fragmenta veterum Græcorum selecta, & de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. cap. De Regibus Babyloniis.

^h Herodotus, lib. 1.

called

called the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* in the vth chapter of *Daniel*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is there called his father, this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendent downward son, according to the usual style of Scripture.

THIS new King came young to the crown, and had he been wholly left to himself, the *Babylonians* would have gotten but little by the change. For he hath in *Xenophon* the character ⁱ of an impious prince, and it sufficiently appears, by what is said of him in *Daniel*, that he was so. But his mother, who was a woman ^k of great understanding and a masculine spirit, came in to their relief. For while her son followed his pleasures she took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

ON the coming of *Cyaxares* to *Cyrus's* camp, and ^l consultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war, it was found, that by ravaging and plundering the countries of the *Babylonish* empire, they did not at all enlarge their own, and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the fortresses, and the taking of their Towns, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

IN the mean time ^m *Nitocris* did all that she could to fortify the country against them, and especially the city of *Babylon*, and therefore did set her self diligently to perfect all the works that *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unfinished there, especially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this last she fortified the city as much against the river by walls and gates, as it was against the land, and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover while the river was turned for the finishing of these banks and walls, she ⁿ caused a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river, leading cross it from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen foot wide, and having covered it over with a strong arch, and over that with a layer of bitumen six foot thick, she turned the river again over it. For it is the nature of that bitumen to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone, and thereby the vault or gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the river pierce through into it. The use this was intended for was to preserve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one stood on the one side of the river, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both fortresses strongly fortified) it might be relieved from the other; or in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions served in no stead, when the city was taken by surprize, because in that hurry and confusion, which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

IN the first year of this King's reign, which was the thirty fourth after ^{An. 555.} the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Daniel* had revealed unto him the vision of ^{Belshazzar I.} the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the *Messiah*, that was to succeed after them, which is at full related in the viith chapter of *Daniel*.

ⁱ Cyropædia, lib. 7.^k Herodotus, lib. 1.^l Cyropædia, lib. 6.^m Herodotus, lib. 1.ⁿ Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

An. 553.
Belshaz-
zar 3.

IN the third year of King *Belshazzar*, *Daniel* saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the *Persian* empire by *Alexander the Great*, and the persecution that was to be raised against the *Jews* by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*. This vision is at full related in the viiith chapter of *Daniel*, and it is there said, that it was revealed unto him at *Shushan* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, while he attended there as a counsellor and minister of state about the King's business, which shews, that *Shushan* with the province of *Elam*, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the *Babylonians*. But about three years after *Abradates*, Viceroy or Prince of *Shushan*, revolting to *Cyrus*, it was thenceforth joyned to the empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the *Elamites* came up with the *Medes* to besiege *Babylon*, according to the prophecy of *Isaiah*, (chap. xxi. 2.) and *Elam* was again restored, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, (ch. xlix. 39.) For it recovered its liberty again under the *Persians*, which it had been deprived of under the *Babylonians*.

An. 551.
Belshaz-
zar 5.

THE *Medes* and *Persians* growing still upon the *Babylonians*, and *Cyrus* making great progress in his conquests by taking fortresses, towns and provinces from them, to put a stop to this prevailing power ° the King of *Babylon* about the fifth year of his reign, taking a great part of his treasure with him, goes into *Lydia* to King *Cræsus* his confederate, and there, by his assistance, framed a very formidable confederacy against the *Medes* and *Persians*; and with his money hiring a very numerous army of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of lesser *Asia*, he appointed *Cræsus* to be their general, and sent him with them to invade *Media*, and then returned again to *Babylon*.

An. 548.
Belshaz-
zar 8.

CYRUS having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidents, who by his order, under the pretence of a deserter, had gone over to the enemy, made suitable preparations to withstand the storm, and when all was ready, marched against the enemy. By this time *Cræsus* had passed over the river *Halys*, taken the city of *Pteria*, and in a manner destroyed all the countrey thereabout. But before he could pass any farther *Cyrus* came up with him, and having engaged him in battel put all his numerous army to flight, whereon *Cræsus* returning to *Sardis* the chief city of his kingdom, dismissed all his auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing spring, and sent to all his allies for the raising of more forces, to be ready against the same time for the carrying on of the next year's war, not thinking that in the interim, now winter being approaching, he should have any need of them. But *Cyrus* pursuing the advantage of his victory followed close after him into *Lydia*, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his auxiliaries. However, *Cræsus* getting together all his own forces stood battel against him. But the *Lydians* being most horse, *Cyrus* brought his camels against them, whose smell the horses not being able to bear, they were all put into disorder by it, whereon the *Lydians* dismounting fought on foot, but being soon over-powered were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where *Cyrus* immediately shut them up in a close siege.

WHILE he lay there, he celebrated the funeral of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. He was prince of *Shushan* under the *Babylonians*, and had

° Cyropædia, lib. 6.

p Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 6.

q Cyropædia, lib. 7.

revolted

revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, * had been taken prisoner by *Cyrus* in his first battle against the *Babylonians*. *Cyrus* having treated her kindly, and kept her chafly for her husband, the 'sense of this generosity drew over this Prince to him, and he hapning to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his service, his wife out of grief for his death flew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it remained many ages after.

CROESUS being shut up in *Sardis* 'sent to all his allies for succours, but *Cyrus* pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and *Cræsus* in it, whom he condemned to be burnt to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution, in which extremity calling to mind the conference he formerly had with *Solon*, cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. This *Solo* ' was a wife *Athenian*, and the greatest philosopher of his time, who coming to *Sardis* on some occasion, *Cræsus*, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, caused all his riches, treasures and stores to be shewn unto him, expecting that on his having seen them he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein. But on his discourse with him *Solon* plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before his death. Of the truth of which *Cræsus* being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of *Solon*; whereon *Cyrus* sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story related to him, which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for *Cræsus*, that he caused him to be taken down from the pile, just as fire had been put to it; and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable subsistence, and made use of him, as one of his chief counsellors all his life after, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyfes*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened * in the first year of the fifty eighth olympiad, which was the eighth year of *Belshazzar*, and the forty first after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

CROESUS being a very religious Prince according to the idolatrous superstition of those times, * entered not on this war without having first consulted all his gods, and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular answers given him from them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his kingdom. The one of them was, That *Cræsus* should then only think himself in danger, † when a mule should reign over the *Medes*; and the other, That when he should pass over *Halys* to make war upon the *Medes*, he should overthrow a great empire. The first

* Cyropædia, lib. 5.

† Cyropædia, lib. 6.

‡ Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

§ Plutarchus in vitâ Solonis. Herodotus, lib. 1.

¶ Solinus, cap. 7. Eusebius in Chro-

nico. * Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

† Nebuchadnezzar prophesied of the

coming of *Cyrus* under the same appellation, telling the *Babylonians* at the time of his death, that a

Persian mule should come and reduce them into servitude. So saith *Megasthenes* in *Eusebius de*

Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

from the impossibility of the thing, that ever a mule should be a King, made him argue, that he was for ever safe. The second made him believe, that the empire that he should overthrow on his passing over the river *Halys*, should be the empire of the *Medes*. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it. But now all things having hapned otherwise, than these oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to send messengers to the temples of those gods, who had thus mis-led him, to expostulate with them about it. The answers which he had hereto were, That *Cyrus* was the mule intended by the oracle, for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the *Persians* by his father, and of the *Medes* by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire which he was to overthrow by his passing over the *Halys*, was his own. By such false and fallacious oracles did those evil spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days, rendring their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

An. 540.
Belshaz-
zar 16.

AFTER this *Cyrus* ^z continued some time in lesser *Asia*, till he had brought all the several nations which inhabited in it, from the *Egean* sea to the *Euphrates*, into thorough subjection to him. From hence he went into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and there did the same thing, and then marched into the upper countries of *Asia*, and having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entred *Assyria*, and marched on towards *Babylon*, that being the only place of all the east which now held out against him. And having overthrown *Belshazzar* in battle he shut him up in *Babylon*, and there besieged him. This hapned in the ninth year after the taking of *Sardis*, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of *Belshazzar*. But this siege proved a very difficult work. For the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of provisions for twenty years, and ^a the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more. And therefore the inhabitants thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing, and therefore from the top of their walls scoffed at *Cyrus*, and derided him for every thing he did towards it. However he went on with the attempt, and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of palm-trees, ^b which usually grow in that countrey to the height of an hundred foot, he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault, but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But that he might not over-fatigue his army by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the trenches. But after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which with little

^z Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.
pædia, lib. 7.

^a Vide Q. Curtium, lib. 5. c. 1.

^b Cyro-

difficulty made him master of the place. For ^c understanding, that a great annual festival was to be kept at *Babylon* on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the *Babylonians* on that solemnity, to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprize them, and for the effecting of it he had this device. He sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above-described, with orders at a time set to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim, getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the city, and the other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the chanel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then toward the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties according to their orders enter'd the chanel, the one having *Gobrias*, and the other *Gadates*, for their guides, and finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprized the guards, and slew them all; and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them and took the palace. Where finding the King with his sword drawn, at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him, valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and *Cyrus* without any farther resistance became master of the place, and this concluded all his conquests after a war of one and twenty years. For so long was it from his coming out of *Persia* with his army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his taking of *Babylon*, during all which time he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till he at length had subdued all the east, from the *Egean* sea to the river *Indus*, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in *Asia* to that time, which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him, and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

THIS account *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* both give of the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, and herein they exactly agree with the Scripture. For *Daniel*^d tells us, that *Belshazzar* made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and *Darius the Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares* the uncle of *Cyrus*, took the kingdom. For *Cyrus* allowed him the title of all his con-

^c Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^d Daniel v

quests as long as he lived. In this feast *Belshazzar* having impiously profaned the gold and silver vessels which were taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*, in causing them to be brought into the banqueting-house, and there drinking out of them, he and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner express his wrath against him for the wickedness hercof. For he caused an hand to appear on the wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The King saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it, for it was exactly over against the place where he sat. And therefore being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wife men, magicians, and astrologers to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But ^e none of them being able to do it, the Queen-mother on her hearing of this wonderful thing came into the banqueting-house, and acquainted the King of the great skill and ability of *Daniel* in such matters, whereon he being sent for did read to the King the writing, and boldly telling him of his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in profaning at that banquet the holy vessels which had been consecrated to his service in his temple at *Jerusalem*, made him understand that this hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him for it, the interpretation of it being, That his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and *Belshazzar* slain. For ^f candles were lighted before the hand-writing appear'd, some time after this must be required for the calling of the wise men, the magicians, and astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that, the Queen-mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-house to direct the King to send for *Daniel*, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many hours of the night must have been spent, and therefore we may well suppose that by the time *Daniel* had interpreted the writing, the *Persians* were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it by slaying *Belshazzar*, and all his lords that were with him. The Queen that entred the banqueting-house, to direct the King to call for *Daniel*, could not be his wife; for all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast. And therefore it must have been *Nitocris* the Queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the Queen by way of eminency, because she had the regency of the kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And *Belshazzar* seemeth to have left this entirely to her management. For when *Daniel* was called in before him, he did ^g not know him, though he was one of the chief ministers of state that ^h did the King's business in his palace, but asked of him whether he were *Daniel*. But *Nitocris*, who constantly employed him in the publick affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shews *Belshazzar* to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him, which is a

^e The reason why they could not read it was because it was written in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of. ^f Dan. v. 5.

^g Dan. v. 13.

^h Dan. viii. 13.

conduct too often followed by such princes, who think kingdoms made for nothing else but to serve their pleasures and gratify their lusts. And therefore that he held the crown seventeen years, and against so potent an enemy as *Cyrus*, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whose hands the management of his affairs fell. For she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost that could be done to save the state of *Babylon* from ruine. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that *Herodotus* speaks of her as if she had been sovereign of the kingdom, in the same manner as *Semiramis* is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about *Babylon* which other authors ascribe to her son. For although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best title to the honour that was due for them; tho', as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it, (which, tho' reckoned among the works of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must at least have been finished by her according to *Herodotus*) how wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and countrey, turned to the great damage of both. For *Cyrus* draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former channel by repairing the breach, ^k all the countrey on that side was overflowed and drowned by it. And the current by long running this way, at length making the breach so wide as to become irreparable, unless by an expence as great as that whereby the bank was first built, a whole province was lost by it. And the current which went to *Babylon* afterwards grew so shallow, as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a farther damage to that place. *Alexander*, who intended to have made *Babylon* the seat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the bank anew, which was on the west side of it, but when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was stopp'd by some difficulties that he met with in the work from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome had he lived, but his death, which hapned a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all other his designs. And a while after *Babylon* falling into decay on the building of *Seleucia* in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of, but that country hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better situation.

IN the taking of *Babylon* ended the *Babylonish* empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of *Nabonassar* (who first founded it) two hundred and nine years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, just fifty years after it had destroyed the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many prophecies which were by the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Habakkuk*, and *Daniel*, delivered against it. And here it is to be observed, that in reference to the present besieging and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, That it ^l should be shut up, and besieged by the *Medes*,

^l Berofus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. lib. 7.

^k *Isaiah* xlii. 17. and xxi. 2. *Jer.* li. 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

^k *Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri*,

Elamites, and Armenians; That the river ^m should be dried up; That the city should be taken in the time ⁿ of a feast, while her princes and her wife men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men were drunken, and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, *Belshazzar*, and all his thousand princes who were drunk with him at the feast, having ^o being all slain by *Cyrus's* soldiers when they took the palace. And so also was it particularly foretold by the prophet *Isaiah* (*chap. xiv.*) that God would make the countrey of *Babylon* a possession for the bittern, and pools of water, (*ver. 23.*) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city, which I have above given an account of. And so also that God would cut off from that city *the son and the grandson*, (*ver. 22.*) that is, the son and grandson of their great King *Nebuchadnezzar*; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, *Evilmerodach* the son before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and *Belshazzar* the grandson in the present taking of *Babylon*, and hereby the scepter of *Babylon* was broken, as was foretold by the same prophecy, (*ver. 5.*) for it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read *the son and the grandson*, (*ver. 22.*) it is, I confess, in the *English* translation *the son and nephew*. But in the *xxist* chapter of *Genesis*, (*ver. 23.*) the same *Hebrew* word *Neked* is translated *son's son*, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word, which appears from the use of the same word, (*Job xviii. 19.*) For *Bildad* there speaking of the wicked, and the curse of God which shall be upon him in the want of a posterity, expresseth it thus, *Lo nin lo velo Neked*, i. e. *he shall have neither son nor grandson*. For nephew, in the *English* signification of the word, whether brother's son or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

An. 538.
Darius
the Mede
I.

AFTER the death of *Belshazzar*, *Darius the Mede* ^p is said in Scripture to have taken the kingdom. For *Cyrus*, as long as his unkle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, altho' it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire which he had erected, and therefore there is no notice at all taken of *Darius* in the canon of *Ptolemy*, but immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* (who is there called *Nabonadius*) *Cyrus* is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was, the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in *Media*, which was his own proper dominion.

THERE are ^q some that will have *Darius the Median* to have been *Nabonadius*, the last *Babylonish* King in the cannon of *Ptolemy*. And their scheme is, that after the death of *Evilmerodach* *Neriglissar* succeeded only as guardian to *Laborsoarchod* his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that *Laborsoarchod* was the *Belshazzar* of the Scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by *Cyrus* (say they) but by a conspiracy

^m Jer. l. 38. and li. 36.

ⁿ Jer. li. 39, 57.

^o Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^p Dan. v. 31.

^q Scaliger, Calvisius, and others.

of his own people; That the Scriptures attribute to him the whole four years of *Belshazzar*, which the canon of *Ptolemy* doth to *Neriglissar* (or *Nericassolassar*, as he is there called) because *Neriglissar* reigned only as guardian for him; And that hence it is that we hear of the first and the third year of *Belshazzar* in *Daniel*, tho' *Laborsoarchod* reigned alone after his father's death only nine months; That after his death the *Babylonians* made choice of *Nabonadius*, who was no way of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but a *Median* by descent, and that for this reason only is he called *Darius the Median* in Scripture. As to what they say of *Nabonadius*'s not being of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it must be confessed, that the fragments of *Megasthenes* may give them some authority for it. But as for all the rest, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to Scripture. For 1st, The hand-writing on the wall told *Belshazzar*, that his kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to 'the *Medes* and *Persians*, and immediately after 'the sacred text tells us, that *Belshazzar* was slain that night, and *Darius the Median* took the kingdom, who could be none other than *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who in conjunction with *Cyrus* the *Persian* conquered *Babylon*. 2^{dly}, Therefore *Belshazzar* must have been the last *Babylonish* King, and consequently the *Nabonadius* of *Ptolemy*. 3^{dly}, This last King was not a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for the sacred text makes him 'his descendent. 4^{thly}, *Darius* is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws^w of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which cannot be supposed till after the *Medes* and *Persians* had conquered that kingdom. Had this *Darius* been *Nabonadius* the *Babylonish* King, he would certainly have governed by the *Babylonish* laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the *Medes* and *Persians*, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and fought his ruine. 5^{thly}, *Darius* is said to have divided his empire into * an hundred and twenty provinces, which could not have been true of the *Babylonish* empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the *Persian* empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspis*, it had seven other provinces added to its former number. And therefore in the time of *Esther* it consisted of an hundred twenty and seven provinces. And this having been the division of the *Persian* empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also. For if the *Persian* empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but an hundred and twenty seven provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain an hundred and twenty. The testimony which *Scaliger* brings to prove *Nabonadius* to have been a *Mede* by descent, and by election made King of *Babylon*, is very absurd. In the prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, delivered to the *Babylonians* a little before his death, concerning their future subjection to the *Persians*, which is preserved in the fragments of *Megasthenes*, there are these words, 'A *Persian mule shall come, who by the help of your own Gods fighting for him shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede.* By

^r Dan. vii. 1. viii. 1.

^f Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

^s Dan. v. 28.

^t Dan. v. 30. 31.

^v Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.

^w Dan. vi. 8, 15.

^x Dan. vi. 1.

^y Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

which *Mede* is plainly meant *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who was confederate with *Cyrus* in the war, wherein *Babylon* was conquered. But *Scaliger* saith, it was *Nabonadius*, and hence proves that he was a *Mede*, and quotes this place in *Megasthenes* for it. If you ask him why he saith this, his answer is, that the person, who is in that prophesy said to be the assistant of *Cyrus*, and fellow-causer with him in bringing servitude upon *Babylon*, must be *Nabonadius*, because he was an assistant and fellow-causer with him herein in being beaten, and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes, that the arguments which *Scaliger* brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*. *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 144.

AFTER *Cyrus* had settled his Affairs at *Babylon*,² he went into *Persia* to make a visit to his father and mother, they being both yet living, and on his return through *Media*, he there married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, having with her for her dower the kingdom of *Media* in reversion after her father's death, for she was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to *Babylon*. And *Cyaxares* being earnestly invited by him thither accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at *Babylon*, they there took counsel in concert together for the settling of the whole empire; and³ having divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces, which I have before spoken of, they^b distributed the government of them among those, that had born with *Cyrus* the chief burden of the war, and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed^c three presidents, who constantly residing at court, were to receive from them from time to time an account of all particulars relating to their respective government, and again remit to them the King's orders concerning them. And therefore in these three, as the chief ministers of the King, was entrusted the superintendency and main government of the whole empire. And of them *Daniel* was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom (which was of eminent fame all over the east) but also his seniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the justest title. For he had now from the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* been employed full sixty five years as a prime minister of state under the Kings of *Babylon*. However this station advancing him to be the next person to the King in the whole empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other courtiers, that they laid that snare for him which cast him into the lion's den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and *Daniel* being thenceforth immoveably settled in the favour of *Darius* and *Cyrus*,^d he prospered greatly in their time as long as he lived.

IN the first year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing that the seventy years of *Judah's* captivity, which were prophesied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an end,^e earnestly prayed unto God, that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to *Jerusalem*, and make his face again to shine upon the holy city and his sanctuary, which he had placed there. Whereon in a vision he had assurance given him by the angel *Gabriel*, not only of the deliverance of *Judah* from their temporal

² *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.³ *Dan.* vi. 1.^b *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.^c *Dan.* vi. 2.^d *Dan.* vi. 28.^e *Dan.* ix.

captivity under the *Babylonians*, but also of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their spiritual captivity under sin and satan, to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*, that is, at the end of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according as is usual in the prophetic style of Scripture, so many years seventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest prophecy of the coming of the *Messiah*, that we have in the *Old Testament*. For it determines it to the very time on which he accordingly came, and by his death and passion, and resurrection from the dead, completed for us the great work of our salvation.

CYRUS immediately on his return to *Babylon* had issued out his orders for all his forces to come thither to him, which at a general muster he found to be an hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand sithed chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these, having distributed into garrisons as many as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the rest in an expedition into *Syria*, where he settled all those parts of the empire, reducing all under him as far as the *Red Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. In the interim *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius the Median*) staid at *Babylon*, and there governed the affairs of the empire, and during that time hapned what hath been above related concerning *Daniel's* being cast into the lion's den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

AND about the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called *Daric's*,^a which by reason of their fineness, were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the east. For we are told that the author of this coin was not *Darius Hystaspis*, as some have imagined, but an ancients *Darius*. But there is no ancients *Darius* mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius the Median*. And therefore it is most likely that he was the author of this coin; and that during the two years that he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent from thence on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold, which had been brought thither into the treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and *Cyrus* had been so long engaged in, from whence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into *Greece*, where it was of great reputation. According^k to Dr. *Bernard* it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value. For it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none or at least very little alloy in it, and therefore may well be reckon'd, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us in respect to each other, to be worth twenty five shillings of our money. In those parts of Scripture, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and in the *Talmudists* by the name of *Darkonoth*, both from the Greek *Δαρεικοί*, i. e. *Daricks*. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold, which were afterwards

coined,

^f *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.

^g *Dan.* v. 31.

^h *Herodotus*, lib. 4. *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*.

ⁱ *Harpocration*. *Scholias* *Aristophanis* ad *Eccles.* p. 741, 742. *Suidas* sub voce *Δαρεικός*.

^k *De ponderibus & mensuris antiquis*, p. 171.

^l *1 Chron.* xxix. 7. & *Ezra* viii. 27.

^m *Vide Buxtorffii Lexicon Rabbinicum*, p. 577.

coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding Kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian* race, were all called *Darics* from the *Darius*, that was the first author of them. And these were either whole *Darics* or half *Darics*, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

BUT about two years after *Cyaxares* dying, and *Cambyfes* being also dead in *Persia*,ⁿ *Cyrus* returned and took on him the whole government of the empire, over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* with an army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his death, to have been thirty years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire after the death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyfes* seven years. *Tully*^o reckons by the first account, ^r *Ptolemy* by the second, and ^q *Xenophon* by the third. And the first of these seven years is that first year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the first verse of the book of *Ezra*, wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and a license given them by a publick decree of the King's, again to return into their own country. The seventy years which *Jeremiah* had prophesied should be the continuance of this captivity were now just expired. For it began a year and two months before the death of *Nabopollassar*, after that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty three years, *Evilmerodach* two years, *Neriglissar* four years, *Belshazzar* seventeen years, and *Darius the Median* two years, which being all put together make just sixty nine years and two months, and if you add hereto ten months more to compleat the said seventy years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same month in the first year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the last save one of *Nabopollassar*, *i. e.* in the ninth month of the *Jewish* year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that month *Nebuchadnezzar* first took *Jerusalem*, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it happened also in the same month may be thus inferr'd from Scripture. The first time the *Jews* are found at *Jerusalem* after their return was in their *Nisan*, *i. e.* in our *April*, as will hereafter be shewn. If you allow them four months for their march thither from *Babylon*, (which was the time^r in which *Ezra* performed the like march) the beginning of that march will fall in the middle of the *December* preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of *November* in the first year of *Cyrus*, which was the very time, on which it began just seventy years before. And that this first of *Cyrus* is not to be reckoned with *Ptolemy* from the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belshazzar*; but with *Xenophon* from the death of *Darius the Mede*, and the succession of *Cyrus* into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the Scripture reckoning. For therein after the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belshazzar*, *Darius the Mede*^r is named in the succession before *Cyrus the Persian*, and the years^r of the reign of *Cyrus* are not there reckoned, till the years of the reign of *Darius* had ceased, and therefore

ⁿ *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.

^o *De Divinatione*, lib. 1.

^r In Canone.

^q *Cyropædia*,

lib. 8. *Where Xenophon saith, that Cyrus reigned after the death of Cyaxares seven years.*

^r *Ezra*. vii. 9.

^r *Dan*. vi. 28.

^r Compare *Daniel* ix. 1. with the xth chap. ver. 1.

according

according to Scripture, the first of *Cyrus* cannot be till after the death of *Darius*.

THERE can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* first came into *Babylon* on his taking the city, he found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the east, and long experienced in the management of the publick affairs of the government, and such counsellors wise Kings always seek for; and moreover his late reading of the wonderful handwriting on the wall, which had puzzled all the wise-men of *Babylon* besides, and the event which hapned immediately after exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation. And therefore on *Cyrus's* having made himself master of the city, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the government on this Revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion he so well approved himself, that afterwards on the settling of the government of the whole empire, he was made first superintendent, or prime minister of state over all the provinces of it, as hath been already shewn. And when *Cyrus* returned from his *Syrian* expedition again to *Babylon*, he found a new addition to his fame from his miraculous deliverance from the lion's den. All which put together, gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent prince to have him in the highest esteem, and therefore it is said, that ^v he prospered under him, as he did under *Darius* the *Median*, with whom it appears he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the King, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he shewed him the prophecies of the prophet *Isaiab*, ^w which spake of him by name one hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror, and King over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of *Judah*, and the city of *Jerusalem* to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had seen and read these prophecies, ^x *Josephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did so. For they are recited ^y in his decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the temple. And who was there that should shew them unto him but *Daniel*; who in the station that he was in had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled in the restoration of *Sion*? Besides, *Cyrus* in his late expedition into *Syria* and *Palestine*, having seen so large and good a countrey as that of *Judea* lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited. For the strength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire, that any part of his dominions should lye unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated countrey of *Judea* than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out

^v Daniel i. 21. & vi. 28.

^y Ezra i. 2.

^w Isaiab xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.

^x Lib. II. c. 1.

of *Judea* by *Nebuchadnezzar* to people and strengthen *Babylon*, and perchance under this government of the *Persians*, to which the *Babylonians* were never well affected, the weakning and dispeopling of *Babylon* might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own countrey. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's over-ruling power, which turneth the hearts of Princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first year of *Cyrus's* monarchy over the east, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own countrey. And hereon the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* began to be restored, of which an account will be given in the next book.





T H E
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 J E W S and Neighbouring Nations,
 F R O M T H E
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



B O O K III.



TRUS^a having issued out his decree for the restoring of ^{An. 536.}
 the *Jews* unto their own land, and the rebuilding of ^{Cyrus 1.}
 the temple at *Jerusalem*, they gathered together out
 of the several parts of the Kingdom of *Babylon* to the
 number of forty two thousand three hundred and
 sixty persons, with their servants, which amounted to
 seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven more.

THEIR chief leaders were ^b *Zerubbabel* the son of *Salathiel* the son of
Jehoiachin or *Jeconias* King of *Judah*, and *Jeshua* the son of *Jozadack*

the high-priest. *Zerubbabel* (whose *Babylonish* name was ^c *Shezbazzar*) was made ^d governor of the land under the title of *Tirshatha*, by commission from *Cyrus*. But *Jeshua* was high-priest by lineal descent from the pontifical family. For ^e he was the son of *Jozadack*, who was the son of *Seraiah*, that was high-priest when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and the temple burnt by the *Chaldeans*. *Seraiah* being then taken prisoner by *Nebuzaradan*, and carried to *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Riblah* in *Syria*, was ^f then put to death by him. But *Jozadack* his son being spared as to his life, ^g was only with the rest led captive to *Babylon*, where he died before the decree of restoration came forth, and therefore the office of high-priest was then in *Jeshua* his son, and under ^h that title he is named next *Zerubbabel*, among the first of those that returned. The rest were ⁱ *Nehemiah*, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the resettling of them again in their own land, and are by the *Jewish* writers reckoned the chief men of the great synagogue. So they call the convention of elders, which, they say, sat at *Jerusalem* after the return of the *Jews*, and did there again re-establish all their affairs both as to church and state, of which they speak great things, as shall hereafter be shewn. But it is to be observed, that the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* above mentioned were not the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai*, of whom there is so much said in the books of *Nehemiah* and *Esther*, but quite different persons who bore the same name.

At the same time that *Cyrus* issued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, he ^j ordered all the vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar*, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were according to *Cyrus*'s order, by *Mithredath* the King's treasurer, delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carried them back again to *Jerusalem*. All the vessels of gold and silver that were at this time restored were five thousand four hundred, the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many years after.

AND not only those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, but several also of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land. For ^k some of them, who were carried away by *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, and *Esharhaddon*, still retained the true worship of God in a strange land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the *Jews*, when by a like captivity they were brought into the same parts. And some after all the *Assyrian* captivities were still left in the land. For we find some of them still there in the time ^l of *Josiah*, and they suffered the *Babylonish* captivity as well as the *Jews*, till at length they were wholly carried away in the last of them by *Nebuzaradan*, in the ^m twenty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. And many of them had long before ⁿ left their tribes for their religion, and incorporating themselves with their brethren of *Judah* and *Benjamin* dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the same cala-

^c Ezra i. 8, 11.

^d Ezra v. 14.

^e 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15.

^f 2 Kings xxv. 18.

^g 1 Chron. vi. 15.

^h Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2.

ⁱ Haggai i. 12. and ii. 2.

^j Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7.

^k Ezra i. 7---11.

^l Tobit i. 11, 12. xiv. 9.

^m 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. and xxxv. 18.

ⁿ Jer. lii. 30.

^o 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. and xxxi. 6.

mity with them in their captivity under the *Babylonians*. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree again to return and dwell in their own cities. For both *Cyrus's* decree, as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, extended to all the house of *Israel*. The decree of *Artaxerxes* is by name to all the people of *Israel*, and that of *Cyrus* ^p is to all the people of the God of *Israel*, that is, (as appears by the text) to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which must be understood of the people of *Israel* as well as of *Judah*. For that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore *Ezra*, when he returned in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, ^q sent a copy of the King's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all *Media*, where the ten tribes were in captivity, as well as through all *Chaldea* and *Affyria*, where the *Jews* were in captivity, which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of *Cyrus*, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in Scripture, that after the captivity ^r some of the children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* dwelt in *Jerusalem*, as well as those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. And it appears from several places ^s in the New Testament, that some of all the tribes were still in being among the *Jews*, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, tho' then all were comprehended under the name of *Jews*, which after the *Babylonish* captivity became the general name of the whole nation, as that of *Israelites* was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars, of those that returned upon *Cyrus's* decree. For the general number both in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* is said to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particulars, as reckoned up in their several families in *Ezra*, amount only to twenty nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and in *Nehemiah* to thirty one thousand thirty and one. The meaning of which is, they are only the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin* and *Levi*, that are reckoned by their families in both these places, ^t the rest being of the other tribes of *Israel* are number'd only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in *Ezra* differ from the particulars in *Nehemiah*, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

OF the twenty four courses of the priests, that were carried away to *Babylon*, only ^u four returned, and they were the courses of *Jedaiah*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*, which made up the number of four thousand two hundred eighty and nine persons; the rest either tarried behind or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by King *David*, were still kept up. For of the four courses that returned, ^v each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this *Mattathias* is said to have been of the course ^w of *Joarib*, and *Zacharias* of the course of ^x *Abias*, tho' neither of these courses were of

^o Ezra vii. 13.^p Ezra i. 3.^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.^r 1 Chron. ix. 3.^s Luke ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7.^t Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29.^u Ezra ii. 36--39.^v Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith.^w 1 Mac. ii. 1.^x Luke i. 5.

the number of those that returned. For the new courses took the names of the old ones tho' they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second temple as they had been under the first; only the fifth course, tho' of the number of these that returned, changed its name, and for that of *Malchijah*, under which it was first established, took the name of *Pashur*, that is, the name of the son instead of that of the father. For ^y *Pashur* was the son of *Malchijah*. It is a common saying among the *Jews*, that they were ^z only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to *Jerusalem* after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flower staid behind at *Babylon*. It is most certain, that notwithstanding the several decrees that had been granted by the Kings of *Persia*, for the return of the *Jews* into their own land, there were a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued still in *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and other eastern provinces, where they had been carried, and it is most likely that they were of the best and richest of the nation that did so. For when they had gotten houses and lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed that such would be very forward to leave good settlements, to new plant a countrey that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it's certain a great many staid behind, and never returned again into their own countrey. And if we may guess at their number by the family of *Aaron*, they must have been many more than those who settled again in *Judea*. For of the twenty four courses of the sons of *Aaron* which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of. And hereby it came to pass, that during all the time of the second temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and *Persia*, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, even in those times when that countrey was best inhabited by them.

An. 535.
Cyrus 2.

THOSE who made this first return into *Judea* arrived there in *Nisan*, the first month of the *Jewish* year (which answers to part of *March* and part of *April* in our calendar,) for the ^a second month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return, and therefore they must then have been a whole year in the land. As soon as they came thither, ^b they dispersed themselves according to their tribes, and the families of their fathers, into their several cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their houses, and again manure their lands, after they had now from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the flight of the remainder of the people into *Egypt* on the death of *Gedaliah*, lain desolate and uncultivated fifty two years, according to the number of the sabbatical years, which they had neglected to observe. For according to the *Mosaic* law they ought to have left their lands fallow every seventh year. But among other commandments of God this also they had neglected, and therefore ^d God made the land lie desolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the *Jews* had neglected this law of the sabbatical year. For it's certain the land was desolated only fifty two years,

^y 1 Chron. ix. 12.
and ii. 70. and iii. 1.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

^z Talmud Bab. in Kiddushim.
Nehem. vii. 6.

^c Levit. xxv. 2---4.

^a Ezra iii. 8.

^b Ezra ii. 1.

^d Levit. xxvi. 34, 35, 43.

that is, from the death of *Gedaliah* till the end of the seventy years captivity in the first year of the empire of *Cyrus*. And fifty two sabbatical years make fifty two weeks of years; which amount to three hundred sixty four years, which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of *Asa*, and therefore from that time the *Jews* having neglected to observe the sabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of fifty two of them, God made that land lie desolate without cultivation or inhabitants just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the captivity into those years of desolation, which were to make amends for the sabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the observation of them to have been laid aside for seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of *David* and *Samuel*, in whose time it is not likely, that such a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

ON the seventh month, which is called the month *Tisri*, all the people which had returned to their several cities gathered together at *Jerusalem*, and there, on the first day of that month celebrated the feast of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was formerly the first month of the year, till it was changed at the time of the coming up of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For that hapning in the month of *Abib*, afterwards called *Nisan*, that month for this reason had the honour given it as thenceforth to be reckoned among the *Israelites* for the first month of the year, that is in all ecclesiastical matters. Before this time *Tisri* was reckoned every where to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) the beginning of all things, it being the general opinion among the ancients, that the world was created and first began at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reason the *Jews* do still in their *Aera* of the creation of the world, as well as in their *Aera* of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of *Tisri*, and all their bills and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts are still dated among them according to the same computation. And from this month also they begun all their jubilees, and sabbatical years. And therefore altho' their ecclesiastical year began from *Nisan*, and all their festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from *Tisri*, and the first day of that month was their new-years day; and for the more solemn celebration of it, this feast of trumpets seems to have been appointed.

ON the tenth day of the same month was the great day of expiation, when the high-priest made atonement for all the people of *Israel*, and on the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles, and lasted till the twenty second inclusively. During all which solemnities the people staid at *Jerusalem*, and employed all that time to the best of their power, to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place, toward which,

^e Ezra iii. 1. ^f Ezra iii. 6. ^g Levit. xxiii. 24. ^h Num. xxix. 1. ⁱ Exod. xxiii. 16. and xxxiv. 22. ^j Exod. xii. 2. ^k Chaldee Paraphrast on Exodus xii. 2. ^l Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 366, &c. ^m Levit. xxv. 9. ⁿ Levit. xvi. 29, 30. and xxiii. 27. ^o Num. xxix. 7. ^p Levit. xxiii. 34. ^q Num. xxix. 12, &c.

all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the ° free-will offerings which were made on this occasion, besides an hundred vestments for the priests, amounted to sixty one thousand drams of gold, and five thousand minas of silver, which in all comes to about seventy five thousand five hundred pound of our money. For every dram of gold is worth ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver nine pound, for ° it contained sixty shekels, and every ° shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings. And upon this fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the *Rabbins* say. It must be supposed that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the *Jews*, that is, by those who staid behind, as well as by those who returned, otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter. For all having an equal interest in that temple; and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it, and that especially seeing that as long as that temple stood, ° every *Jew* annually paid an half shekel, *i. e.* about eighteen pence of our money, towards its repair, and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

THE first thing they did, was ° to restore the altar of the Lord for burnt offerings. This stood ° in the middle of the inner court of the temple, exactly before the porch leading into the holy place, and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it ° was built, and stood in another place with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finished and compleated, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place, ° that is in the same place where it before stood; and there they daily offered sacrifices upon it, even before any thing else of the temple was built about it. It was ° a large pile built all of unhewn stones, thirty two cubits (*i. e.* forty eight foot) square at the bottom. From thence it rising one cubit benched in one cubit: And from thence, being thirty cubits square, it did rise five cubits, and benched-in one cubit. And from thence being twenty eight cubits square, it did rise three cubits, and benched-in two cubits. From whence it did rise one cubit, which was the hearth, upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching-in of two cubits breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood, when they tended the fire, and placed the sacrifices on it. So this hearth was a square of twenty four cubits, or thirty six foot on every side, and one cubit high, which was all made of solid brass, and from hence it was called the ° brazen altar. For it is not to be

° Ezra ii. 69. ° Ezek. xlv. 12. ° Vide Bernardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis, p. 129. ° Exod. xxx. 13---15. Maimonides in Shekalim, cap. 1, 2, 4. ° Ezra iii. 3.
 ° See Lightfoot of the Temple, ch. xxxiv. ° Bishop Patrick in his Comment on the first of Chronicles, ch. ix. ° Ezra iii. 3. For there it is said, that they did set the altar upon its bases or foundations, *i. e.* upon the same bases or foundations, on which it before had stood. ° Misnaioth in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechira, cap. i. ii. ° 1 Kings viii. 64.

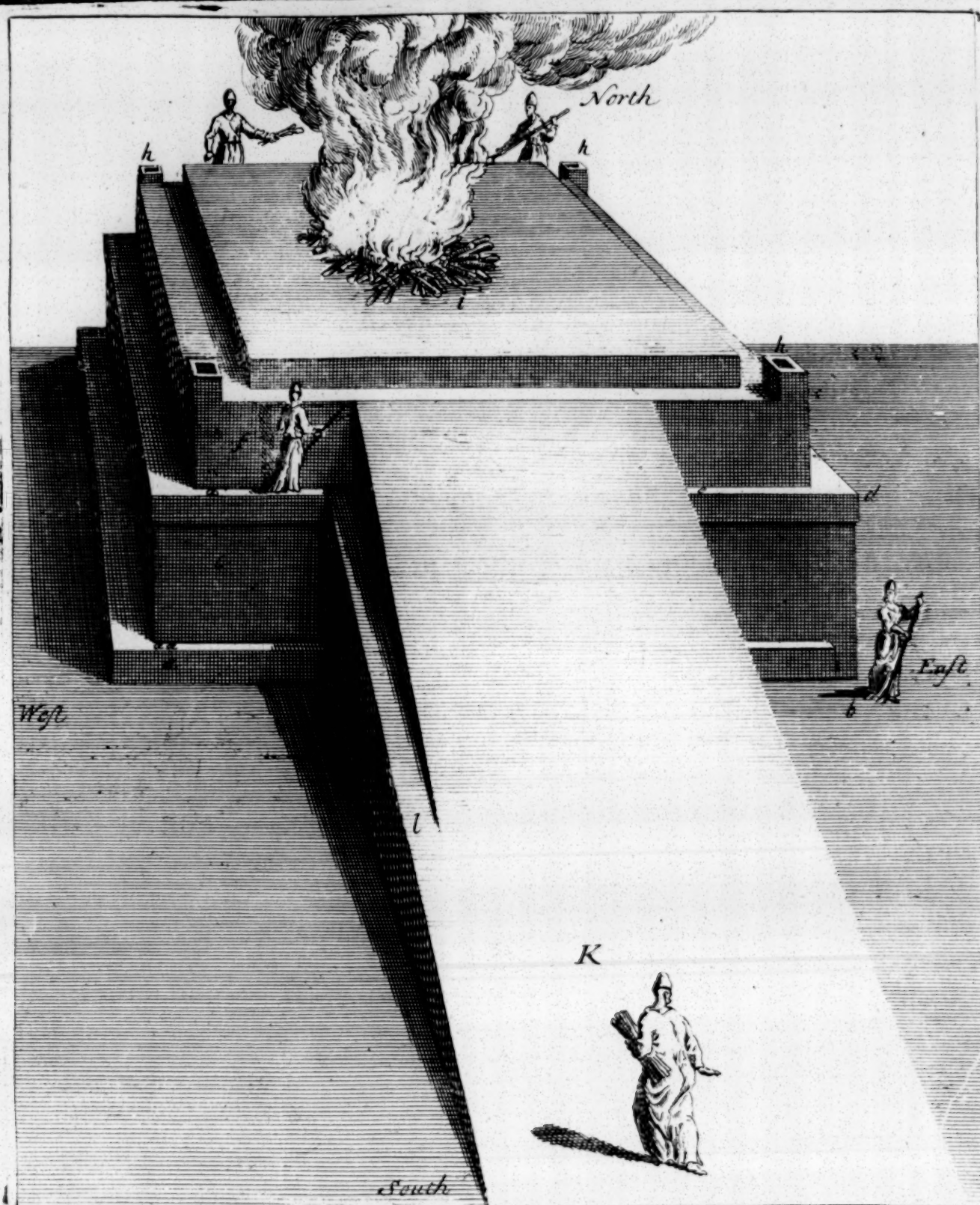
imagined,

imagined, that it was all made of solid brass. For to make up so big a pile all of that metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides if it were so made, it would not only be against the law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they should make it ^x of earth, or else of unhewn stone. And it would be impracticable for the use intended, because if it were all of brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it, would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the priests to stand on it, when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded, that the priests should officiate bare-footed, but among the garments assigned for the priests (*Exod.* xxviii.) shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid, and the text saying verse the 4th *These are the garments which they shall make*, this (they say) excludes all that are not there named. And *Moses* being commanded at the burning bush ^y to put off his shoes, for that the ground on which he stood was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that Place; this they make a further argument for it. For, say they, the temple was all holy for the same reason, that is because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in the *Sheshbub* over the mercy seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted, that the priests should be always bare footed in the temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching-in, where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube. And these were the horns of the altar so often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called the *Kibbesh*, which was thirty two cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth, or the top of the altar. For ^z to go up to the altar by steps was forbid by the law. The form of the whole will be best understood by the annexed Draught.

^x *Exod.* xx. 24, 25.

^y *Exod.* iii. 5. *Acts* vii. 33.

^z *Exod.* xx. 26.



(a) The foundation of the altar thirty two cubits square, and one cubit high.

(aa) The first inbenching one cubit broad.

(b) A square space of one cubit square, cut out of the foundation at the south-east corner of the altar, at the bottom of which were two holes, through which the blood of the altar did run down into a sink underneath the pavement.

(c) The rising of the altar from the first inbenching, thirty cubits square and five cubits high.

(d) A red line, which went round the altar to distinguish the holy part, *i. e.* that above it, from the prophane, *i. e.* that which was below it, was exactly in the middle of the altar, five cubits above the floor or pavement of the court, and five cubits below the top of the hearth.

(e) The second inbenching, being a cubit broad.

(f) The rising of the altar from the se-

cond inbenching, being twenty eight cubits square and three cubits high.

(g) The last inbenching, being two cubits broad, which was the passage round the altar where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices and tended the altar.

(h) The four horns of the altar placed at the four corners of the last inbenching, each of which was a cube of one cubit every way, and hollow in the middle, where some of the blood of the sacrifices were always put.

(i) The brazen hearth on which all the sacrifices were burnt, it was twenty four cubits square, and one cubit high from the last inbenching.

(k) The kibbesh, or sloping ascent to the top of the altar, being sixteen cubits broad and thirty two long.

(l) A passage from the kibbesh to the second inbenching, one cubit broad.

BUT

The Ichnography of the Temple of Jeru

AAAA The outer Wall of y^e Temple which was a Square of 500 Cubits on Every Side, i.e. 2000 in y^e whole Circumference it was 25 Cubits high measuring on y^e inside, which was y^e size of all other y^e walls of y^e Temple, as well in y^e inner part as y^e outer, excepting only that of the Chel, every Cubit was a foot and an halfe (B) The East Gate or Gate of Shasham (CC) The Shops where Wine, Oyle, Salt, Meale, and other things used in the Sacrifices, were sold with Chambers, over on either side (D) The North Gate called Te di (EE) y^e Porters lodges & Chambers over on either side Between this Gate & y^e Western corner upon a jetting out of y^e Mountain stood y^e Castle Antonia formerly called Baris, where y^e Romans kept a Garrison to cover the Temple from hence y^e Captain of it was called y^e Cap^t of y^e Temple Luke 22. v. 52. Acts 4. v. 1. It was a Square 2 Furlongs in compass standing at a little distance from y^e Temple Wall, & from which there was a passage by stairs down into y^e Cloysters at y^e North west corner, through which y^e Soldiers ran down to appease the tumult risen about Paul Acts 21. v. 32 & from which Paul Spoke to y^e people v. 40.

(FF) the 2 Gates in y^e South Side called y^e Gates of Huldah (G) the Porters lodges & Chambers over on either side (H) the Gate, Shallacheth or Coponius on the West Side (I) the Gate Parbor on y^e same side (K) the Porters lodge and Chambers over on either side of y^e said two Gates (L) the two Gates of Asuprim on the same West side (M) The Rooms & Chambers over on either side of y^e said 2 Gates Where a Treasury of y^e Temple was kept the Title of each Gate was 15 Cubits broad & 30 high & y^e entrance 10 Cubits broad & 20 Cubits high. And all y^e Gates, as well in the inner parts

of y^e Temple as the outer were every one of them of the same size (N) the Portico or Cloysters round y^e Temple on y^e South side was called the Royall Cloysters, because of its largenes for it contained 3 Isles of middle 42 Cubits & an halfe broad & 50 Cubits high which was y^e size of all the other Cloysters of this Court, that on y^e East Side was called Solomons Porch because it stood upon y^e vast Terrasse, which Solomon built up from y^e Valley beneath of 400 Cubits height, which was y^e only worke of Solomons temple y^e remained in our Saviours time & therefore it was called Solomons Porch or Cloyster John 8. v. 23. Act 3. v. 11.

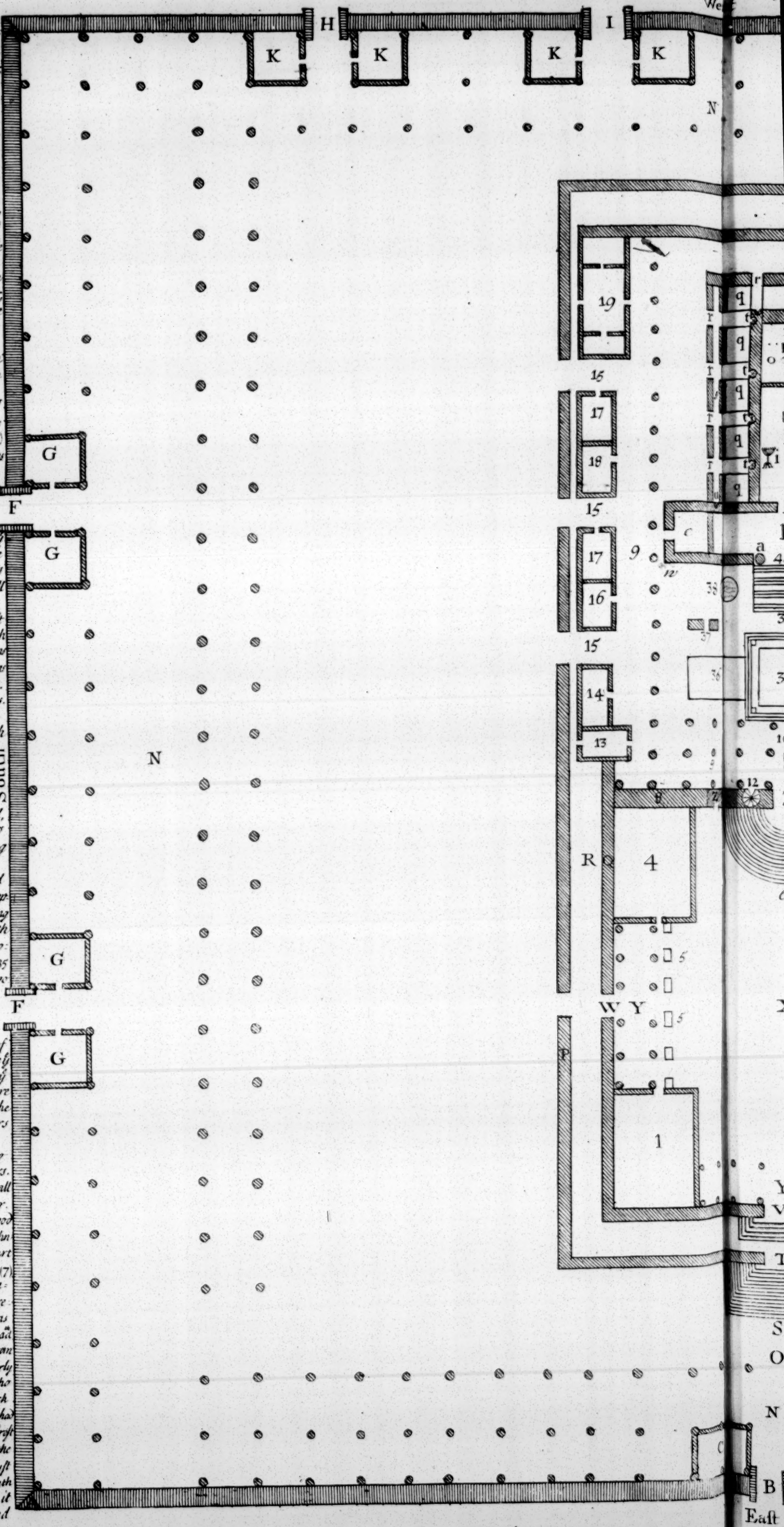
(O) the Outer Court of y^e Temple called y^e Court of y^e Gentiles. (P) the Outer Inclosure of y^e Inner Courts, being a Wall curiously wrought of 3 Cubits height, within which no Gentile was to enter, or any polluted with the dead (Q) the Wall inclosing y^e Inner Court of y^e Temple (R) the Space between y^e said Wall & y^e outer inclosure 10 Cubits broad called y^e Chel (S) the Stairs on y^e East end leading from y^e Court of y^e Gentiles into the Chel, consisting of 14 steps each 9 inches high (T) The stairs from the Chel into y^e Court of y^e women consisting of 5 steps each 9 inches high.

(V) the Gate entering into y^e Court of y^e women on y^e East called the Beautyfull Gate of y^e Temple Acts 3. v. 2 because of its sumptuousness & beautifull a dormerment (W) other 2 Gates entering into y^e Court of y^e women one on y^e South & y^e other on y^e North (X) the Court of y^e women soe called because thus far y^e women might enter to worship, but not further, it was 135 Cubits square (Y) Cloysters on 3 sides of y^e Court of the women over which were Galleries for y^e women

(ZZ) Two Rooms under y^e Floor of y^e Court of Israel where y^e Musicians did lay up their instruments 1234 Four smaller Courts in y^e 4 corners of the Court of the women each 40 Cubits Long, & 30 broad (1) where y^e Nazarens performed what y^e Law required (2) where y^e wood for y^e Altar was wormed by y^e blenishd Prigts before it was used (3) where y^e Lepor was cleansed (4) where the Wine & Oyle was laid up for y^e use of y^e Altar in Cellars built round it on y^e inside.

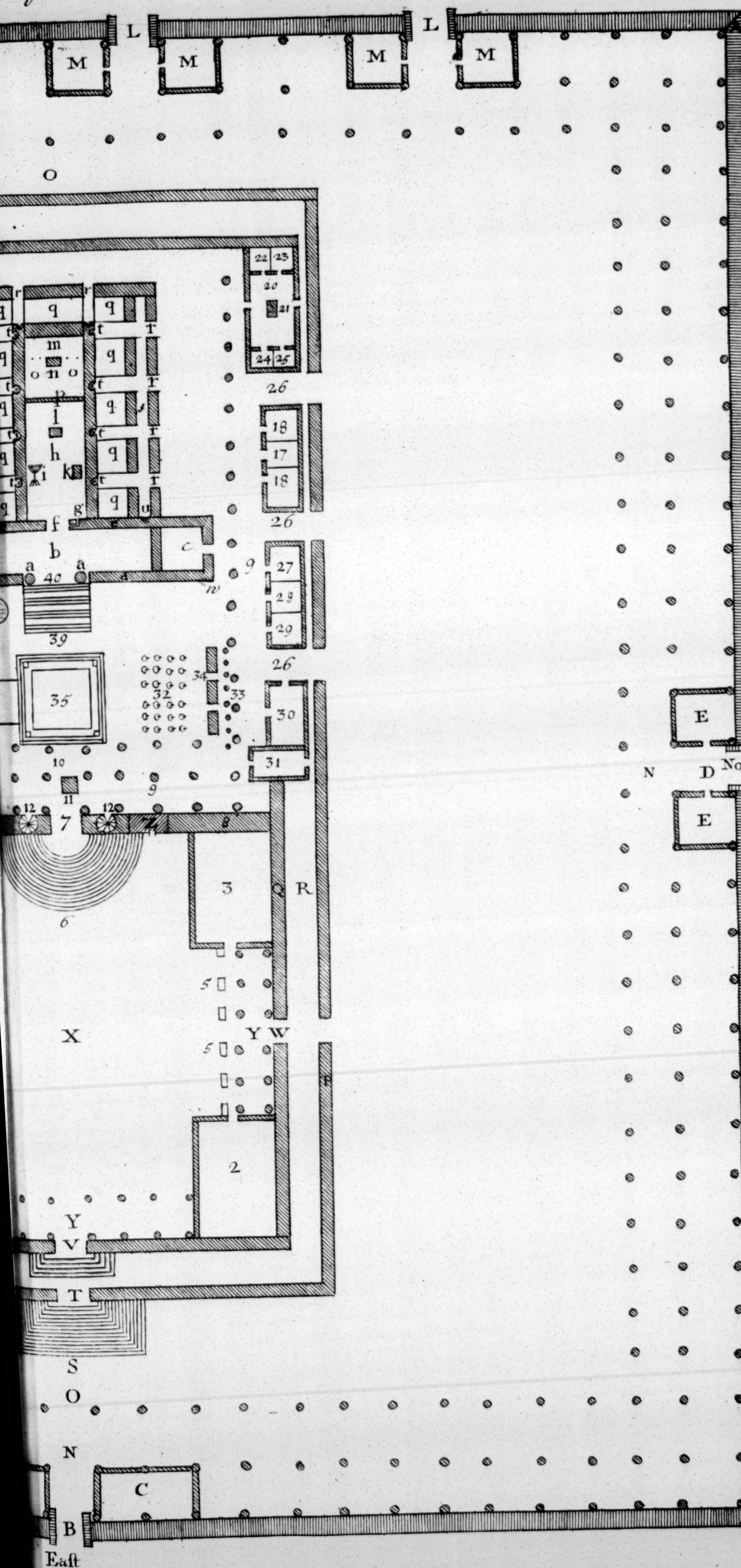
(5) The Treasury Chests where our Saviour saw y^e Widdow cast in her 2 mites he then sitting on y^e Bench in y^e Cloysters. For all y^e Cloysters of y^e Temple had Benches neare y^e Inner wall for y^e people to sell in this Court as well as in y^e Outer, and of some place nigh these Chests is it to be understood where our Saviour is said to preach in y^e Treasury John 8. v. 20. (6) The Semicircular Stairs leading up from y^e Court of y^e women to y^e great Brazen Gate consisting of 15 steps (7) The Great Brazen Gate or y^e Gate Nicanor leading into y^e inner Court in which y^e Temple & Altar stood, which Court represented y^e Tabernacle & contained that part, which was properly called y^e Sanctuary it was 135 Cubits in breadth and 187 in length (8) The Wall parting y^e Sanctuary from the Court of y^e women (9) The place within y^e Sanctuary properly called y^e Court of Israel, For here stood y^e Stationary men who represented y^e whole people of Israel at all times of publick worship, & hither came up all other Israelites when they had any Sacrifice to be offered (y^e ordinary place where all y^e worship was in y^e Court of y^e women y^e men on y^e floor & the women in y^e Galleries) It continued y^e 2^d Isle of y^e double Cloysters, on y^e East end & both y^e single Cloysters on y^e North & South Sides (10) The place properly called y^e Court of y^e Priests it contained y^e 2^d Isle of y^e double Cloysters at y^e East end

Line 36 after 60 Cubits high add, The other 2 Each 15 Cubits broad & 25 Cubits high.



5 10 20 30 40 50 100
A Scale of 100 Cubits Each Cubit one foot & an half

Jerusalem with a Description of the same.



of y^e Sanctuary the 1st two Cubits of its breadth next the Court of Israel were taken up by y^e Depts of y^e Singers and Musicians, the other part was y^e place where y^e Priests did worship that were out of attendance.

(11) the Kings Seat near y^e Pillar a Gen 6. 13. and ch 28. v. 13

(12) Winding stairs leading up to y^e Rooms over y^e Gate Nicor, that on y^e right hand to y^e Wardrobe, where y^e Vestments for y^e Priests were kept and that on y^e left to y^e Room where were provided y^e Cakes for the high Priests daily meat Offering (13) the Room Gazeth, where y^e Sanhedrim sat, part was within the Sanctuary and part without y^e Sanhedrim Gate in that part which was without. (14) The well Room where was a well from whence water was drawn for y^e use of the Temple.

(15) Three Gates leading into y^e Sanctuary on y^e South Side y^e first next y^e Draw well Room was from thence called y^e Well Gate over which was y^e Room of Afflictions where y^e Incense was made y^e 2nd was y^e Gate of Firstlings & y^e Gate of Kindling (16) The Wood Room where y^e wood for y^e Altar after it had been wormed was laid ready for use over it was y^e Chamber of the High Priest called Poradrim where he held y^e Council of the Temple (17) a Guard Room for y^e Levites.

(18) a Treasury Room (19) The common fire Room & Chief Guard Room for y^e Levites (20) The common fire Room & Chief Guard Room for y^e Priests (21) a Stone in y^e middle of y^e said Room, under which y^e keys of y^e Temple were layd every night (22) the Room where y^e Lambs for y^e daily Sacrifice were kept. (23) The Bath Room where y^e Priests Bathed on their continuing uncleanness. (24) The Room where y^e shew bread was made.

(25) the Room where y^e Stones of y^e Altar polluted by Antiochus were layd up by the Maccabees.

(26) Three Gates on the North Side leading into y^e Sanctuary the 1st towards y^e East end called y^e Gate Nitzotz, or of Singing y^e 2nd y^e Gate of Women & y^e Gate Cortan (27) The Room where y^e Salt was kept for y^e service of y^e Altar (28) The Room where y^e skins of y^e Sacrifices were layd up (29) The Room where y^e innards of y^e Sacrifices were washed (30)

Another Guard Room for y^e Levites over which was a Guard Chamber for y^e Priests (31) The Room where the Priest was set apart seven days, that was to burn y^e red cow (32) Ringles where y^e Sacrifices were layd down to be slain (33) Posts on which y^e Sacrifices were hung up to be stead (34) Marble Tables where y^e Sacrifices were cut out in pieces (35) The Altar of Burnt Offerings 24 Cubits Square

(36) The Altar of Incense 24 Cubits Square (37) The Altar of Burnt Offerings 24 Cubits Square (38) The Brazen Sea

(39) The stairs up into y^e Porch being 12 in number (40) The entrance into y^e Porch 20 Cubits broad & 40 high

(a) The 2 Pillars Jachin & Boaz standing in y^e entrance (b) The Porch 11 Cubits broad and Sixty long

(c) The Room where y^e Butchering Instruments used about the Sacrifices were layd up (d) The outer wall of the Porch (e) The inner wall of the Porch

(f) The Gate from the Porch into the Holy Place (g) The wicket through which the Priest went to untie the Gate on the inside for y^e opening of it in y^e morning & come out after having band it in the Evening

(h) The Holy place 20 Cubits broad and 40 long in which were (i) The Candlestick having Seven Lamps (k) The shew bread Table (l) The Altar of Incense

(m) The Holy of Holys 20 Cubits Square in which were (n) The Ark of y^e Covenant (o) The two Cherubims 10 Cubits high with their faces inwards and their wings extended to each other over y^e Ark & to y^e walls on either side (p) The Veil of y^e Temple parting between y^e Holy & y^e Holy of Holys which was rent in pieces at our Saviours death

(q) The Treasury Rooms on the sides & west end of y^e Temple 3 stories high in which the tithes were layd up (r) The Passages into the said Rooms

(s) The Galleries running before them (t) The winding staircases leading into y^e upper story (u) winding stairs leading up into y^e Rooms over y^e Porch & Temple

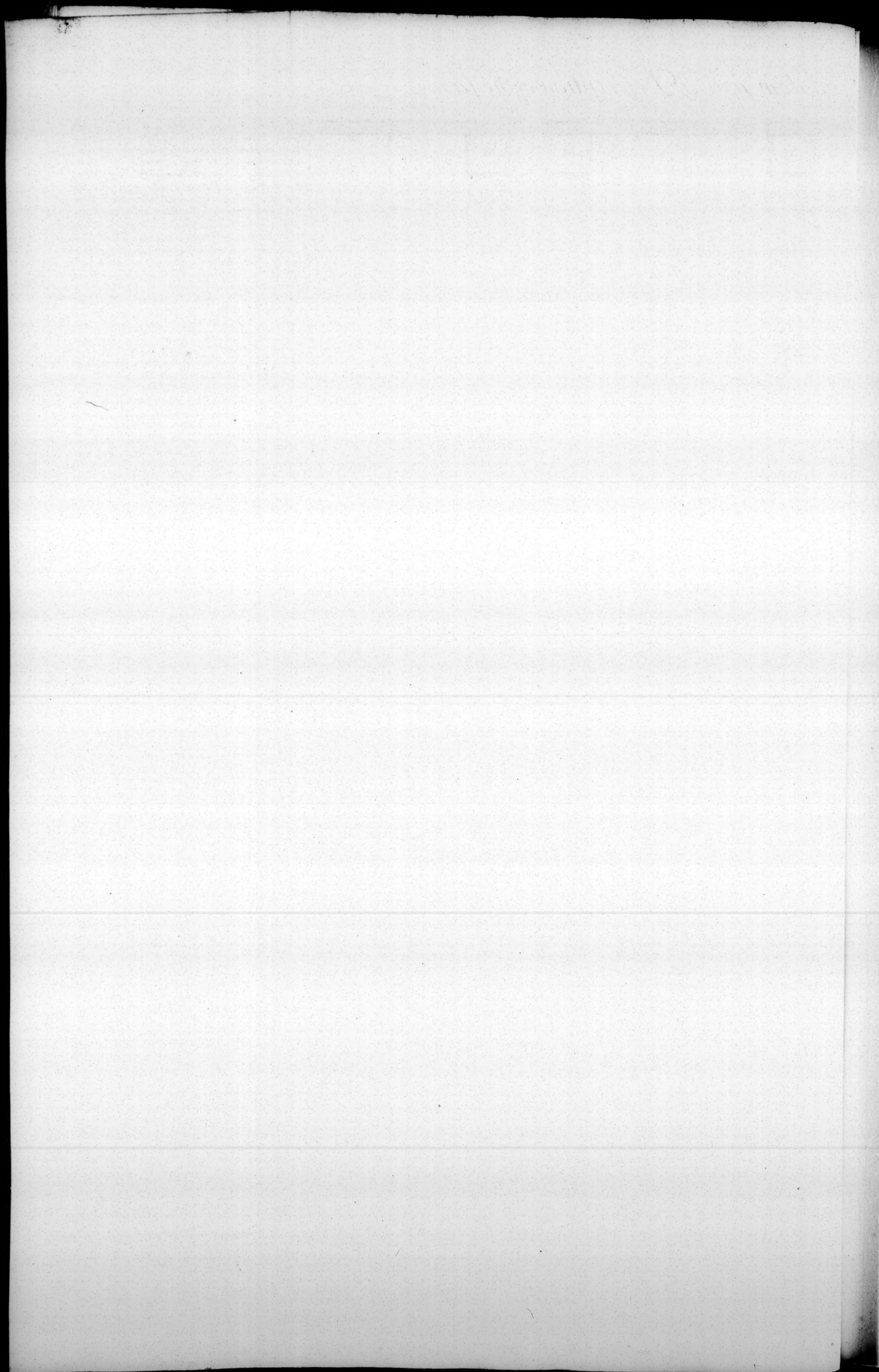
(v) The 11 & 12 y^e wings of y^e Temple stretching out on either side

The length of the Temple from out to out was 100 Cubits The breadth of the Temple at the 11 & 12 y^e wings from out to out 100 Cubits y^e breadth of y^e Temple beyond y^e 11 & 12 y^e wings from out to out 70 Cubits the height of y^e Temple 100 Cubits The height of the 11 & 12 y^e wings 120 Cubits at y^e top of which it was that the Devil did set our Saviour

Math 4. v. 5

Delincated & Described according to y^e Scriptures Josephus & the Talmud by A. Pridaux MD

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BUT their zeal for the temple being that, which had brought most of ^{An. 534.} them back again into *Judea*, the rebuilding of this was what they had ^{Cyrus 3.} their hearts most intent upon. And therefore having employed the first year ² in preparing materials, and contracting with carpenters and masons for the work, ³ in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the house, which was done with great solemnity. For *Zerubabel* the governor, and *Jeshua* the high-priest, being present with all the congregation; the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and the musicians sounded their instruments, and singers sung, all in praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the people shouted for joy, while the first stones were laid: only the old men, who had seen the glory of the first temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now a building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their countrey, could ever equal that which had all the riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthiest princes of the east, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former temple, and this which was now a building, was so great, that God himself tells the prophet ^b *Haggai*, that the latter in comparison with the former was as nothing, so much did it come short of it; but this is not to be understood of its bigness. For the second temple was of the same dimensions with the first, it being built upon the very same foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same length and breadth. *Cyrus's* commission may seem to make it broader. For that allows sixty cubits to its breadth, whereas *Solomon's* temple is said to have been but ^d twenty cubits in breadth. But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances, between which the said measures were taken. The twenty cubits breadth said of *Solomon's* temple was only the breadth of the temple it self, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the sixty cubits breadth in *Cyrus's* commission was the breadth of the whole building, measuring from the inside of the outer wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer wall on the other side. For ^e besides the temple it self, which contained the holy place, and the holy of holies, each twenty cubits broad, there were thick walls inclosing it on each side, and without them chambers on each side, then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all enclosing the whole building, being five cubits thick; which all together made up the whole breadth to be seventy cubits from out to out; from which deducting the five cubits breadth of the outer wall on each side, you have remaining the breadth of *Cyrus's* commission, that is, sixty cubits, which was the breadth of the whole building, from the inside of one outer wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said twenty cubits breadth, and of the said sixty cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer walls of the said temple.

BUT the glory of *Solomon's* temple was not in the temple it self, much less in the bigness of it. For that alone was but a small pile of building, ^f as containing no more than an hundred and fifty foot in length, and an

² Ezra iii. 7.³ Ezra iii. 8, 9, 10, &c.^b Haggai ii. 3.^c Ezra vi. 3.^d 1 Kings vi. 2. ² Chron. iii. 3.^e See Lightfoot of the temple.^f See my map of

the temple.

hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our parish churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it consisted ^{1st}, In its ornaments, its workmanship being every where exceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious. For the overlayings of the holy of holies only, which was a room but thirty foot square and thirty foot high, amounted to six hundred talents of gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pound of our sterling money. ^{2dly}, In its materials. For *Solomon's* temple was all built of new large stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful manner, whereas the second temple was mostly built of such stones only as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. ^{3dly}, In its out-buildings. For the court in which the temple stood, and that without it, called the court of the women, were built round with stately buildings and cloysters, and the gates entring therein to were very beautiful and sumptuous. And the outer court, which was a large square encompassing all the rest, of seven hundred and fifty foot on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent cloyster, sustained by three rows of pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth. And all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbish, without any prospect of a speedy reparation. And there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new temple, as there were in the former. In process of time indeed all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added on *Herod's* repairing of it, that the second temple after that came little short herein of the former. And there are ^h some who will say that it exceeded it. But still what was the main glory of the first temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The *Jews* reckon them up in these ⁱ five particulars; ^{1st}, The ark of the covenant, and the mercy seat which was upon it: ^{2dly}, The *Shecinah*, or divine presence: ^{3dly}, The *Urim* and *Thummim*: ^{4thly}, The holy fire upon the altar: And ^{5thly}, The spirit of prophecy.

I. THE ark of the covenant was ^k a small chest, or coffer, three foot nine inches in length, and two foot three inches in breadth, and two foot three inches in height: In which were put the two tables of the law, as well the broken ones (say ^l the *Rabbins*) as the whole; and that there was nothing else in it, when it was brought into *Solomon's* temple, is said in ^m two places of Scripture. But the *Rabbins* raise a controversy concerning *Aaron's* rod, and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by *Moses's* own hand, whether they were not also in the ark. It is said of ⁿ *Aaron's* rod, and the ^o pot of manna, that they were laid up before the testimony, and it being agreed on all hands, that by the testimony are meant the two tables, those who interpret these words [*before the testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said rod and pot of manna to

^g 2 Chron. iii. 8.

^h R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, part 3. c. 51.

ⁱ Talmud Bab. in

Yoma, c. 1. f. 21. & Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65.

^k Exod. xxv. 10--22.

^l For the proof of this they bring the 2^d verse of the xth chapter of Deuteronomy, which they read thus: And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest, and hast put in the ark; and it is true the word is *Veshamata*, i. e. thou hast put, in the prater tense, but it being with a *Vau* before it, that turns the prater tense into the future, and therefore it must be read thou shalt put them, as in our translation, and not thou hast put them, as the fauters of this opinion would have it. ^m 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10. ⁿ Num. xvii. 10.

^o Exod. xvi. 33. where to lay up before the Lord, is by the Jewish commentators interpreted as the same with before the testimony of the Lord.

have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark. For otherwise (say they) they would not have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not understand the word in so strict a sense, say they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it, thinking that in this position without the ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apostle St. *Paul* decides this controversy. For he positively tells us, *That^p within the ark were the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant.* As to the book or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put ^q *Mitzzad*, i. e. *on the side* of the ark, those who interpret that word of the inside, place it within the ark; and those who interpret it of the outside, place it on the outside of it, in a case or coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the right side, meaning by the right side that end of it which was on the right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter. For, 1st, The same word ^r *Mitzzad* is made use of, where it is said, that the *Philistines* sent back the ark, with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer *by the side of it*. And there it is certain, that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. 2^{dly}, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of *Moses* with the other things placed therein. 3^{dly}, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved there as the authentick copy, by which all others were to be corrected and set right, and therefore to answer this end it must have been placed so, as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it, which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy seat over it, which was not to be removed. And 4^{thly}, When ^s *Hilkiah* the high-priest in the time of *Josiah* found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing said of the ark, neither is it there spoken of as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple. And therefore putting all this together it seems plain, that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *Mitzzad*, which answers to the *Latin à latere* cannot truly bear any other meaning in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which goes under the name of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, in paraphrasing on these words of *Deuteronomy*, *'Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant,* renders it thus, *Take the book of the law, and place it in a case or coffer on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.* Over ^t the ark was the mercy seat, and it was the covering of it. It was all made of solid gold, and of the thickness (say the *Rabbins*) of an hand's breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubins looking inward towards each other with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy seat, did meet on each side in the middle. All which (say ^u the *Rabbins*) was made out of the same mass, without joyning any of the parts by solder. ^v Here it was where the *Shecinah* or divine presence rested both in

^p Hebrews ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. & R. Levi Ben Gersom.

^q Deuteron. xxxi. 26.

^r 1 Sam. vi. 8.

^s 2 Kings xxii. 8.

^t Deut. xxxi. 26.

^v Exod. xxv. 17---22.

^u R. Levi Ben. Gersom, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others.

^x Lev. xvi. 2.

the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. And from hence ^y the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is, that God is so often said in Scripture ^z to dwell between the cherubins, that is, between the cherubins on the mercy seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And ^a for this reason the high-priest appeared before this mercy seat once every year, on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole people of *Israel*. And all else of that nation, who served God according to the *Levitical* law, made it the centre of their worship. And not only in the temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, when ever they prayed ^b they turned their faces towards the place where the ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book *Cozri* justly saith, that the ark, with the mercy seat and cherubins, were the foundation, root, heart and marrow of the whole temple, and all the *Levitical* worship therein performed. And therefore had there nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept, when they remembered the first temple, in which it was, and also for the saying of *Haggai*, That ^d the second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a part had it in the glory of this temple, as long as it remained in it. However the defect was supplied, as to the outward form. For in ^e the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But tho' it was there substituted in its stead, (as there was need, that such an one should, for the service, that was annually performed before it on the great day of expiation) yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it. For there were no tables of the law, no *Aaron's* rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it, was to be representative of the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a repository of the holy Scriptures, that is, of the original copy of that collection, which was made of them after the captivity by *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue, as will be hereafter related. For when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their synagogues have a like ^f ark or coffer of the same size or form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great solemnity whenever they use it, and return it with the like when they have done with it. That there was any ark at all in the second temple,

^y Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. ^z 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15.
¹ Chron. xiii. 6. Psal. lxxx. 1. and Psal. xc. 1. ^a Levit. xvi. 29---34. Numb. xxix. 7.
 Heb. ix. 7. Talmud in *Yoma*. ^b 1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10. ^c Part II. §. 28.
^d Chap. ii. 3. ^e Lightfoot of the Temple, c. 15. §. 4. ^f Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, c. 14.

many of the *Jewish* writers do deny, and say that the whole service of the great day of expiation was performed in the second temple, not before any ark, but before ^f the stone on which the ark stood in the first temple. But since on their building of the second temple they found it necessary for the carrying on of their worship in it to make a new altar of incense, a new shew-bread table, and a new candlestick, instead of those which the *Babylonians* had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated, as in the first temple, there is no reason to believe, but that they made a new ark also, there being as much need of it for the carrying on of their worship, as there was of the others. And since the holy of holies, and the veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the ark, what need had there been of these in the second temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear that it is the figure of the ark, that is on the triumphal arch of *Titus*, still remaining at *Rome*, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say. For therein his triumph for the taking of *Jerusalem* being set forth in sculpture, there is to be seen even to this day carried before him in that triumph the golden candlestick, and another figure, which *Adrichomius* and some others, say, is the ark; but *Villalpandus*, *Cornelius a Lapide*, *Ribera*, and the generality of learned men, who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us, that it is the table of shew-bread. The obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty; but by the exactest draughts which I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on the top of it. For two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. *Josephus*, who was present at the triumph of *Titus*, and saw the whole of it, ^g tells us of three things therein carried before him, 1st, The shew-bread table; 2^{dly}, The golden candlestick; (which he mentions in the same order as they are on the arch) and, 3^{dly}, The law; which is not on the arch: Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it. For as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the shew-bread table, and another before the golden candlestick, to express by the writings on them, what the things were which they were carried before, so after the golden candlestick there is on the said arch a third table without any thing after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what *Josephus* saith, was carried in the third place, that is, The law; which is not to be understood of any common volume, (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands) but of that which was found in the temple, (as the other two particulars were) and laid up there, as the authentick and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it should be carried otherwise, than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark, which was made for it under the second temple. But to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing. It was made ^h of wood, excepting only the mercy seat, but over-laid with gold all over both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold surrounding it on the top in form of

^f This the Rabbins call the stone of foundation, and give us a great deal of trash about it. See the Mishnah in Yoma, and Buxtorf de Arcâ, c. 22.

^g Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.

^h Exod. xxv. 10---22.

a crown, into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood ⁱ was the innermost and most sacred part of the temple, called, *The holy of holies*, and sometimes, *The most holy place*, which was ordained and made of purpose for its reception. The whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other, but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was ^k of an exact cubic form, as being thirty foot square, and thirty foot high. In the centre of it the ark was placed, upon a stone (say ^l the *Rabbins*) rising there three fingers breadth above the floor, to be, as it were, a pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood ^m two cherubins fifteen foot high, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side wall; where having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side walls, and with the other two they did meet, and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubins. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the cherubins, but in respect of the cherubins only, which were on the mercy seat, as hath been observed. For most of those places of Scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before *Solomon's* temple was built, and till then there were no such cherubins in the most holy place. For they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubins stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces ⁿ inward, and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolary do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried ^o by slaves on the shoulders of the *Levites*. These slaves were overlaid with gold, and put thorough golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it: which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of *Solomon*, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared of purpose for it, the Scriptures tell us, ^p that the slaves being drawn out reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies. For had they been on the sides of the ark length-way, they would on their being drawn out have reached towards the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideway with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high-priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it ^q between the slaves; but if these slaves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two foot three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high-priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed up between them towards the ark for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of the slaves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders, but they must necessarily have incommoded each

ⁱ 1 Kings viii. 16.^k 1 Kings vi. 20.^l Yoma, c. v. §. 2.^m 1 Kings vi. 23.² Chron. iii. 10.ⁿ 2 Chron. iii. 13.^o Exod. xxv. 13, 14, &c. and xxvii. 5. Numb.

iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 Chron. xv. 15.

^p 1 Kings vii. 8.² Chron. v. 9.^q Mishnah in Yoma,

c. v. Maimonides in Avodhath. Yom. Haccipurim.

other both before and behind, in going so near together. What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is^r a dispute among the *Rabbins*. Had it been carried to *Babylon*, with the other vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so, is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow that it was destroyed with the temple; as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick. For all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the *Jews* contend that it was hid and preserved; by *Jeremiah*, say some, out of the^t second book of *Maccabees*. But most of them will have it, that King *Josiah* being foretold by *Huldah* the prophetess, that the temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which *Solomon* foreseeing this destruction had caused of purpose to be built for the preserving of it. And for the proof hereof they produce the text, where *Josiah* commands the *Levites* to put the holy ark in the house, *which Solomon the Son of David King of Israel did build*, interpreting it of his putting of the ark into the said vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since, even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested, and brought out again in the days of the *Messiah*; whereas the words import no more, than that *Manasseh* or *Ammon* having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, *Josiah* commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the *Rabbins*, concerning this ark, I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. THE second thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Shecinah*, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat, as hath been already shewn. This cloud did there first appear when *Moses* consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterwards on the consecrating of the temple by *Solomon* translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner till that temple was destroyed, but after that it never appeared more. Its constant place was^u directly over the mercy-seat, but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place in the tabernacle first, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. THE third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various opinions have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be enquired into concerning it are these two: 1. What it was; and 2. What was the use of it.

1. As to what it was, the Scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say that it was^v something which *Moses* did put into the breast-plate of the high-priest. This breast-plate^w was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel* engraven on them, which being fixed to the *Ephod*, or upper vestment of the high-priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say^x the Scriptures, were put. They who

^r Vide Buxtorfium de Arca, c. 21, 22.

^t 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

^u Levit. xvi. 2.

^w Exod. xxviii. 15---30. and xxix. 8---21.

^t 2 Macc. ii.

^s Vide Buxtorfium, Ibid.

^v Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

^x Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

hold them to have been some corporeal things there placed besides the stones, will have them to be enclosed within the folding or doubling of the breast-plate, which they say was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit as in a purse to contain them in it. ¹ *Christophorus à Castro*, and from him ² *Dr. Spencer* tell us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate, did from thence give the oracular answer by a voice. But this is a conceit which ³ a late very learned man hath sufficiently shewn to be both absurd and impious, as favouring more of heathenism and idolatry, than of the pure institution of a divine law. Some will have them to be the ⁴ *Tetragrammaton*, or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things signified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which *Moses* is said to have put into the breast-plate, and that these did give the oracular power to it. And ⁵ many of the *Rabbins* go this way. For they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name. And therefore not being able to gainsay the evidence which there is for the miracles of *Jesus Christ*, their usual answer is, ⁶ that he stole this name out of the temple from the stone of foundation, on which it was there written, (that is, the stone on which the ark formerly stood) and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things corporeal, denoted by the names of *Urim and Thummim*, ⁷ think not fit to enquire what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion that they were things of a mysterious nature, hid and closed up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which *Moses* only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things that gave the oracular power to the high-priest when he had the breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a teleme, or a spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no such things, but only the divine virtue and power, given to the Breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim* *perfection*. For these answers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifest, not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of fulness in the answer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is that the *Septuagint* translate *Urim and Thummim* by the words *Δι' αὐτῶν ἐκάλυπται ἡ ἀλήθεια*, i. e. *Manifestation and Truth*, because all these oracular answers given by *Urim and Thummim* were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the use which was made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask counsel of God in difficult and momentous cases relating to the whole

¹ De Vaticinio.

² In Dissertatione de Urim & Thummim.

³ Dr. Pocock, in his

comment on Hosea, c. 3. v. 4.

⁴ Paraphrasis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber Zohar, fol. 105.

editionis Cremonensis.

⁵ R. Solomon, R. Moses Ben Nachman, R. Becai, R. Levi

Ben Gersom, alique.

⁶ Toledoth Jesu, ex editione Wagenfeldii, p. 6, 7. Raymundi Pugio

Fidei, part II. c. 8. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rab. p. 2541.

⁷ R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva,

Aben Ezra, alique.

state of *Israel*. In order whereto the high-priest did put on his Robes, and over them his breast-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of him. But he ^a was not to do this for any private man, but only for the King, for the president of the sanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or publick governor in *Israel*; and not for any ^e private affairs, but for such only as related to the publick interest of the nation, either in church or state. For he appeared before God with the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel* upon his breast-plate, and therefore whatever counsel he asked, was in the name, and on the behalf, of all the tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publickly to them all. The place where he presented himself before God, was ^e before the ark of the covenant, not within the veil of the holy of holies, (for thither he never entred, but once a year on the great day of expiation) but without the veil in the holy place. And there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark, and the mercy-seat over it, on which the divine presence rested, he propos'd the matter, concerning which counsel of God was asked; and directly behind him, at some distance without the holy place, perchance at the door, (for farther no lay-man could approach) stood the person in whose behalf the counsel was asked, whether it were the King or any other publick officer of the nation, and there with all humility and devotion expected the answer that should be given. But how this answer was given, is that which is made the great dispute. The ^h most common received opinion among the *Jews* is, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes, graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest, and that in them he did read the answer. They explain it by the example which we have in the ith chapter of the book of *Judges*. There the children of *Israel*, either by the president of the sanhedrim, or some other officer entrusted with the publick interest, did ask counsel of God: ^k *Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites, first, to fight against them?* The answer given by the high-priest, who did by *Urim and Thummim* then ask counsel of God for them, was, ^l *Judah shall go up*. For having asked the counsel, he did immediately (say they) look into the breast-plate, and saw there those letters shining above the rest, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words made up the answer which was given. And this notion was very ancient among them. For both ^m *Josephus* and ⁿ *Philo Judæus* have it, and from them several of the ^o ancient fathers of the christian church, give the same account of this matter. But there are unanswerable objections against it. For 1st, All the letters of the *Hebrew* alphabet are not to be found in these twelve names, four of them, that is, *Cheth, Teth, Zaddi*, and *Koph*, being wholly want-

^a Mishnah in Yoma, c. 7. §. 5. *The Talmudists prove this from Num. xxvii. 21.* See Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. §. 12. ^e Abarbanel in Exod. xxviii. & in Deuteron. xxxiii.

R. Levi Ben Gersom, Maimonid. ibid. alique. ^g Maimonides, ibid. Yalkut fol. 248. col. 1.

^h Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. §. 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro Siphre. R. Becai in Deuteron. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gersom, Abarbanel, R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, R. Abraham Seba, alique. ⁱ Abarbanel in legem, Ramban in legem.

^k Judg. i. 1. ^l Judg. i. 2. ^m Antiq. lib. iii. c. 9. ⁿ De monarchiâ, lib. 2.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. 37. adversus Judæos. Augustin. lib. 2. *Questionum supra Exodum*, alique.

ing in them. And therefore an answer could not be given this way to every thing, concerning which counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this they have added the names of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* to the breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting, and therefore farther to botch up the matter they have added also these words, *Col elleh shilte Israel*, i. e. *All these are the tribes of Israel*. But this is not only without any foundation in Scripture, but rather contrary to it. For the description of the breast-plate in scripture being very particular in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2dly, The assertors of this opinion do not tell us, where the words which they would have added were placed in the breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breast-plate it self, for that was only a piece of cloth. They must therefore be engraven, either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any one of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel*. And they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two particulars the Scriptures are sufficiently positive to exclude all such additions. 3dly, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the spirit of prophesy in the high-priest, for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters, that were to make up the words of which the answer did consist, which is a difficulty of it self alone sufficient to explode this conceit. 4thly, There were some answers given of that length (as particularly that in the second of *Samuel*, ch. v. ver. 23, 24.) that all the letters in the breast-plate, taking in all those also which the assertors of this opinion have added, will not suffice for them. It would be too tedious to add all else, that might be said to shew the absurdity of this opinion. Dr. *Spencer* deservedly saith of it, that it is a Talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever swallow.

THERE are also other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high-priest appeared before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within behind the veil. There it was that ^p *Moses* went to ask counsel of God in all cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice. For from thence God communed with him of all those things, which he gave him in commandment unto the children of *Israel*. And in the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of *Israel*, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas *Moses* through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him, and speak to him, as it were, ^q face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend, none other was admitted thither to ask counsel of him, but through ^r the mediation of the high-priest, who in his stead asked counsel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is, by presenting himself with the breast-plate on over all his other robes before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself

^p Exod. xxv. 22. xxx. 6. Num. vii. 89. Judg. xx. 28.

^q Exod. xxxiii. 11.

^r Num. xxvii. 21.

in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto *Moses*, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy seat. For in ^fmany instances, which we have in Scripture of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, ^fexcept two, is ushered in with *the Lord said*; And when the *Israelites* made peace with the *Gibeonites*, they are blamed in that they asked not counsel ^vat the mouth of God; both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer, and taking them both together, I think they can scarce import any thing else. And for this reason it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy seat stood, from whence this answer was given, is so often in Scripture called ^w*the oracle*, because from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to those that asked counsel of him.

THIS, I take it to be plain, was the manner of consulting God by *Urim* and *Thummim* in the tabernacle, but how it was done in the camp raiseth another question. For it appeareth by Scripture, that either the high-priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the armies of *Israel* to the wars, and carried with him the *Ephod*, and breast-plate, therewith to ask counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus ^x*Phineas* went to the wars against the *Midianites*, with the holy instruments, that is, say the *Jewish* commentators, ^vwith the ephod and the breast-plate, which were, say they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpose for it, and carried by *Levites* on their shoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they understand that place of Scripture, where *Saul* saith to *Abiah* the high-priest, ^z*Bring hither the ark of God*. For this could not be the ark of the covenant. For that was then at *Kirjath-jearim*, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or any where else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the *Philistins*, and then God gave the armies of *Israel*, and also the ark it self into the hands of the enemy, for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other ark which *Saul* called to *Abiah* for, than that ark or coffer, in which the ephod and breast-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it shews the thing. For it was to ask counsel of God, for which the ephod and breast-plate served. So that the saying of *Saul* to *Abiah* (*Bring hither the Ark*) importeth no more, than the saying of *David* afterwards to *Abiathar* in the like case, ^a*Bring hither the Ephod*. For this ark was the coffer in which the ephod was kept, and with which *Abiathar* fled to *David*, when *Saul* destroyed his father's house. And of the same ark they understand the saying of *Uriah* the *Hittite* unto *David*, when he excused his not going to his house, and lying with his wife. ^b*The ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents, and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into my house to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my wife?* For if this be understood of

^f Judg. i. 1, 2. xx. 18, 23, 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. xxiii. 2, 4, 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. and v. 19, 23.

^v 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. ^v Josh. ix. 14. ^w Psal. xxviii. 2. 1 Kings vi.

5, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31. and vii. 49. and viii. 6, 8. 2 Chron. iii. 16, iv. 20. and v. 7, 9.

^x Num. xxxi. 6.

^v Paraphrasis Chaldaica Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur his verbis. Et misit eos Moses, & Phineasum filium Eleazaris Sacerdotem ad bellum, & Urim & Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea.

^z 1 Sam. xiv. 18

^a 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.

^b 2 Sam. xi. 11.

the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his wife. For that was always kept in such a tent or tabernacle, till the temple of *Solomon* was built. It is most likely therefore, that the ark which he speaks of, was the ark or coffer in which the ephod and breast-plate were put, which the priest carried with him, who was sent to the war.

THE priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the high-priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, was ^c consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil, in the same manner as the high-priest was, and therefore he was called, *The anointed for the wars*. But how he had the answer is the difficulty. For there was no mercy seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that such oracles were given in the camp is certain from several Instances which we have of it in Scripture. For *David* did by the *ephod* and breast-plate only ask counsel of God ^d three several times in the case of *Keilah*, and ^{*} twice at *Ziglag*, once on the pursuit of those who had burnt that city, and again on his going from thence for *Hebron*, there to take possession of the kingdom of *Judah* on the death of *Saul*, and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, tho' it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that *the priest anointed for the wars*, had a tent in the camp on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle, and that when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the same manner, as the high-priest on the like occasion did before that in the tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, tho' no ark or mercy seat was there. And the words of *Uriah* above recited plainly refer us to such a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of so much ceremony and solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an office.

ALTHO' this way of asking counsel of God was frequently used during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no instance of it in scripture during the whole time of the first temple; and it is most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second temple. For ^e both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the *Jews*, That the holy spirit spake to the children of *Israel* during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by [†] *Bath-Kol*.

THEY who would have the *Urim* and *Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first temple, give two reasons for it. 1st, 'That it was an appendent of the theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate go-

^c Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 7. & in *Melachim*, c. 7.

^d 1 Sam. xxiii.

^{*} 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1.

^e Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.

[†] By this the

Jews mean a voice from the clouds, such as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour. Matth.

iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.

^f Spencerus de *Urim & Thummim*. c. 2. §. 2.

vernor of *Israel*, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to, and consulted with, by his people; and for this reason, they tell us the oracle by *Urim* and *Thummim* was appointed. But when the theocracy ceased, (which they say it did, when *Solomon* the first hereditary King sat upon the throne) this oracle ceased with it. And, 2^{dly}, they say, That the *Urim* and *Thummim* was established to ask counsel only about that, which belonged to the common interest of all *Israel*, and therefore whenever the high-priest asked counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of *Israel* upon his breast, to denote, that what was asked, was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the division of the kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must in the nature of the thing have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

IV. THE fourth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the holy fire, which came down from heaven upon the altar. ^a It descended first upon the altar in the tabernacle at the consecrating of *Aaron*, and his sons, to the priesthood, and afterwards it descended anew ^b upon the altar in the temple of *Solomon*, at the consecrating of that temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out in the same manner, as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And for using other fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say some of the *Jewish* writers, was extinguished in the days of *Manasseh*. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more restored, but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple. For what is said of its being ^c hid in a pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard.

V. THE fifth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the spirit of prophesy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, lived after the second temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their death, which (say the *Rabbins*) hapned all in one year, the prophetick spirit wholly ceased from among them.

BESIDES these five things there was wanting also a sixth, that is, the holy anointing oil, ^d which was made by *Moses* for the anointing and consecrating of the King, the high-priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the children of *Israel* throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant, so perchance the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept till the first temple being destroyed that also was destroyed with it. Every ^e King was not anointed, but only the first of the family. For he being anointed for himself, and all the successors of

^a Lev. ix. 24.
18, 19.

^b 2 Chron. vii. 1.

^c Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6.

^d 2 Mac. i.

^e Exod. xxx. 22---33.

^f Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. i §. 11.

his race, they needed no other anointing, only if there arose any difficulty or dispute about the succession, then he that obtained it, though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and after that no one was to question the title; and this was the case of *Solomon*, *Joash*, and *Jehoahaz*. But ^a every high-priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the office, and so also was ^o the priest, that went in his stead to the wars. The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the ^p ark of the covenant, the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all other the vessels and utensils belonging to them. And as by this ^a anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle by *Moses*, so in case any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second temple, the want hereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it. For although on the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did anew make an ark, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses, yet through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple, which they had under the first. And their high-priest, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwise consecrated than ^r by the putting on of his vestments. So that the want of this one thing only in the second temple, caused a great want and defect in all things else that were therein, every thing in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well under the second temple have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it. But the *Jews* superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For in the 8th verse of the 1st chapter of *Haggai*, where God saith of the second temple, *I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified*, the *Hebrew* word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as ^r if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpose, that the want of it might denote the five things of the first temple, that were wanting in the second, and therefore will not add a sixth. But however there are some among them, who to make room for it contract the *Shecinah* and the *spirit of prophecy* under one and the same head, and instead of them two (which are two of the particulars above-mentioned) put *the holy spirit*, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same holy spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them, and therefore name them ^s as followeth. 1. The ark of the covenant with the mercy-seat. 2. The holy fire,

^a Exod. xxx. 30.^o Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 7.^p Exod. xxx. 26--29.^q Exod. xi.
Taanih. c. 2.^r Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 8.^s Talmud Hierosol. in^t Talmud Hierosol. in Taanih.

3. The *Urim and Thummim*. 4. The holy anointing Oil. And 5. The holy spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the first temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second temple, who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the second temple, 'when the desire of all nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his temple, and *Christ* our Saviour; who was the truest *Shecinah* of the divine majesty, honoured it with his presence, and in this respect the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former house. And herein the prophecies of the prophet *Haggai*, ' which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

THE *Samaritans* hearing that the *Jews* had begun to rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*, ' came thither, and expressing a great desire of being admitted to worship God at the same temple, in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in the building of it, telling them, that ever since the days of *Efarhaddon* King of *Assyria* they had worshipped the same God that they did. But *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, and the rest of the elders of *Israel*, made answer to them, That they not being of the seed of *Israel* had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them: That *Cyrus's* commission being only to those of the house of *Israel*, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and according to the tenor of it build the house to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief. And besides, they were not truly of their religion. For altho' from the time that they had been infested with lions in the days of *Efarhaddon*, they had worshipped the God of *Israel*, yet it was only ' in conjunction with their other Gods whom they worshipped before, and therefore notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false gods too at the same time, they were in this respect idolaters; and this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the *Samaritans* being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work, and altho' they could not alter *Cyrus's* decree, yet * they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with his ministers, and other officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on; which the *Jews* resenting, according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever since been between them and the *Samaritans*; which being improved by other causes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a *Jew* than a *Samaritan*, of which we have several instances in the gospels, and so it still continues. For even to this day a *Cuthean* (that is, a *Samaritan*) in their language, is the most odious name among them, and that which in the height of their anger by way of infamy and reproach they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us christians, when they would express the bitterest of their hatred against us.

By these under-hand and subdolous dealings the work of the temple

* Malachi iii. 1. Haggai ii. 7.

† Haggai ii. 9.

‡ Ezra iv.

§ 2 Kings xvii. 3.

¶ Ezra iv. 5. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

being much retarded, and *Cyrus's* decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that in the third year of *Cyrus*, in the first month of that year, ^y *Daniel* did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this, on the twenty fourth day of that month, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the Kings of *Persia*, the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the conquests of the *Romans*, of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after, and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of *Cyrus* being the seventy third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to *Babylon*, (as I have shewn before, is the least that can be supposed) he must have been in the ninety first year of his age at this time, which was a length of years given to few in those days. He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest and the fullest of all that we have in the holy Scriptures, infomuch that ^z *Porphyry*, in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done. For it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters afore transacted, than a prediction of things to come, so great an agreement was there between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies which foretold them. But notwithstanding all this, ^{*} the *Jews* do not reckon him to be a prophet, and therefore place his prophecies only among the *Hagiographa*, and they serve the *Psalms* of *David* after the same rate. The † reason which they give for it, in respect of both, is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly, *David* in his own palace, as King of *Israel*, and *Daniel* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, as one of his chief counsellors and ministers in the government of that empire. And in respect of *Daniel*, they farther add, ‡ That altho' he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night, which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But ^a *Josephus*, who was one of the ancientest writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets, and says farther of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretel future events, as other prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass. And that whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill will both of princes and people, *Daniel* was a prophet of good things to come, and by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good will of all men. And the event of such of them, as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contra-

^y Daniel x. ^z Hieronymus in Proemio ad Comment. in Daniele. ^{*} Hieronymi Præfatio in Daniele. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim, Part. II. c. 45. † Vide Grotium in præfatione ad Comment. in Esaiam, & Huetii demonstrationem Evangelicam, Prop. 4. c. 14. §. De prophetiâ Danielis. ‡ Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmos.

^a Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

dict it, our Saviour *Christ* acknowledgeth *Daniel* to be a prophet. For ^b he so styles him in the gospel, and this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

BUT *Daniel's* wisdom reached not only to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And *Josephus* ^c tells us of a famous edifice built by him at *Susa*, in the manner of a castle (which he saith was remaining to his time) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he saith, was the place where the *Persian* and *Parthian* Kings used to be buried, and that for the sake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewish* nation even to his time. The copies of *Josephus* that are now extant, do indeed place this building in *Ecbatana* in *Media*, but ^d St. *Jerom*, who gives us the same account of it word for word out of *Josephus*, and professeth so to do, placeth it in *Susa* in *Persia*, which makes it plain, that the copy of *Josephus*, which he made use of, had it so, and it is most likely to have been the true reading. For *Susa* being within the *Babylonish* empire, the Scripture tells us that *Daniel* had sometimes his residence ^e there, and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, That *Daniel* ^f died in that city which is now called *Tuster*, and there they shew his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed, that *Josephus* calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which *Daniel* himself calls the castle or palace at *Shushan* or *Susa*. For what we translate *at Shushan in the palace*, is in the original *Beshushan Habirah*, where no doubt the *Birah* of *Daniel* is the same with the *Baris* of *Josephus*, and both signify this palace or castle there built by *Daniel*, while he was governor of that province. For ^h there he did the King's business, i. e. was governor for the King of *Babylon*.

PART of the book of *Daniel* is originally written in the *Chaldee* language, that is, from the 4th verse of the ii^d chapter to the end of the viith chapter. For there the holy prophet treating of *Babylonish* affairs, he wrote of them in the *Chaldee* or *Babylonish* language. All the rest is in *Hebrew*. The ⁱ *Greek* translation of this book, used by the *Greek* churches through all the eastern countries, was that which was translated by *Theodotion*. In the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, there is added in the iii^d chapter after the 23^d verse, between that and the 24th verse, the song of the three children; and at the end of the Book, the history of *Susannah*, and of *Bel and the Dragon*; and the former is made the xiiith, and the other the xivth chapter of the book in that edition. But these additions ^k were never received into the canon of holy writ by the *Jewish* church, neither are they extant either in the *Hebrew* or the *Chaldee* language, nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are hebraisms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by an *Hebrew* in the *Greek* tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the *Greek* tongue, by some hellenistical *Jew*, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, That in the histo-

^b Matth. xxiv. 15.

^c Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

^d Comment. in Dan. c. viii. 2.

^e For *Susa* is the same which the Scriptures call *Shushan*.

^f *Bejaminis Itinerarium*.

^g Dan. viii. 2.

^h Dan. viii. 27.

ⁱ Hieronymus in Prefatione ad *Danielem* & in

Proœmio ad *Comment. in eundem*.

^k Hieronymus, *ibid.*

ry of *Susanna*, *Daniel* in his replies to the elders ¹ alludes to the *Greek* names of the trees, under which they said the adultery, which they charged *Susanna* with, was committed, which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However, the church of *Rome* allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of *Daniel*, and by their decree ^m at *Trent* have given them an equal place with it among the canonical Scriptures. But the ancients never did so. *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinarius*, have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and ⁿ *Jerom* gives the history of *Bel* and the *Dragon* no better title, than that of the fables of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. And others, who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical Scripture, whom the protestant churches following herein do give them a place in their Bibles among the *Apocryphal* writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

IN the death of *Daniel* the *Jews* having lost a powerful advocate in the *Persian* Court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But altho' they prevailed by under-hand dealings to divert those encouragements which *Cyrus* had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that as far as the *Jews* of themselves were able they still carried on the work, in which they were much helped by ^p the *Tyrians*, and the *Zidonians*, not only in furnishing them with masons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars which *Cyrus* had given them out of the forest of mount *Libanus*, from thence to *Joppa* by sea, from which place they were carried by land to *Jerusalem*. For the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of oliveyards or vineyards, or the tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any territory for either. For their gain being very great by sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they dwelt, and therefore having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended mostly on their neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities which they supplied them with; and they were mostly furnished this way ^q out of the *Jews* countrey, and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour, and shipping, to be supplied with these necessaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that *Solomon* built the first temple, so also was it by their help that the *Jews* were enabled to build the second.

An. 530.
Cyrus 7.

IN the seventh year after the restoration of the *Jews* ^r died *Cyrus* their great benefactor, after he had reigned from his first taking on him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies ^s thirty years; from his taking of *Babylon* ^t nine years; and from his being sole monarch of the east

¹ In the examination of the elders, when one of them said that he saw the adultery committed *ὑπὸ ξύρου*, i. e. under a mastick tree, *Daniel* answers in allusion to *ξύρου*, The angel of God hath received sentence of God *χίσται σε μέσον*, i. e. to cut thee in two. And when the other elder said it was *ὑπὸ πείρου*, i. e. under an holm-tree, *Daniel* answers in allusion to the word *πείρου*, The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword *πέισται σε μέσον*, i. e. to cut thee in two. Vide Hieron. *ibid*.

^m Sessione 4^{ta}. ⁿ Hieronymus, *ibid*. ^o Peter Comestor doth also so call them, as doth likewise Erasmus in Schol. super Præf. Hieronymi in *Danielem*. ^p Ezra iii. 7.

^q Acts xii. 20. ^r *Cyropædia*, lib. 8. ^s Cicero de *Divinatione*, lib. 1. ^t Can. *Ptolemæi*. after

after the death of *Cyaxares* or *Darius* the *Median* his uncle ^v seven years, being at the time of his death ^v seventy years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. ^w *Herodotus*, ^x *Diodorus Siculus*, and ^y *Justin* tell us, that having invaded the *Scythians* he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of two hundred thousand men. But ^z *Xenophon* makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own country, and this is by much the more probable account of the two. For it is by no means likely, that so wise a man as *Cyrus* was, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that *Scythian* expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how after such a blow his new erected empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as *Cambyfes* was, or how it could be possible, that he should so soon after it be in a condition to wage such a war, as he did with the *Egyptians*, and make such an absolute conquest of that country, as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his father's new erected empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and so soon after his coming to it enlarge it with such conquests abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else, but that it was founded in the highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides all authors agree, that *Cyrus* ^a was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, in which country *Xenophon* saith he died, and his monument there continued to the time of *Alexander*. But if he had been slain in *Scythia*, and his body there mangled, by way of indignity to it, in such a manner as *Herodotus* and *Justin* do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged Barbarians to be buried at *Pasargada*?

THIS *Cambyfes*, who succeeded his father *Cyrus*, is ^b in Scripture called *Ahasuerus*. As soon as he was settled in the throne, the enemies of ^{an. 529.} *Camby-* the *Jews* knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the ^{ses 1.} doing of mischief, instead of opposing the *Jews* in their building of the temple by secret machinations, and underhand dealings with the ministers of the court, and other subordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed to the King himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his father that he could not be induced publicly to revoke his decree, however he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it by several discouragements which he put upon it, so that the work went but heavily on all his reign.

CAMBYSES had not long been King, ere ^c he resolved upon a war ^{an. 528.} with the *Egyptians*, by reason of some offence taken against *Amasis* their ^{Camby-} King. *Herodotus* tells us, it was because *Amasis*, when he desired of him one ^{ses 2.} of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of *Apries* instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because *Apries* having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to *Cambyfes*. They speak with more probability, ^d who

^v *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.

^z *Cyropæd.* lib. 8.

Arrianus, *aliquæ*.

næus, lib. 13. p. 560.

in initio. *Athenæus*, *ibid.*

VOL. I.

^w Lib. 1.

^x *Strabo*, lib. 15. p. 730. *Plutarchus* in *vitâ Alexandri*, *Q. Curtius*,

^b *Ezra* iv. 6.

^c *Herodotus*, lib. 2. *Justin*, lib. 1. c. 9. *Athe-*

^d *Polyænus Stratagem.* lib. 8. Et *Ægyptii* apud *Herodotum*, lib. 3.

An. 526.
Camby-
ses 4.

say, it was *Cyrus*, and not *Cambyſes*, to whom this daughter of *Apries* was ſent. Her name they ſay was *Nitetis*, and for ſome time ſhe concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of *Amasís*. But at length, having had ſeveral children by *Cyrus*, and fully ſecured her ſelf in his favour and affection, ſhe diſcovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all ſhe could, to revenge upon *Amasís* her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as ſoon as his other affairs would have permitted, but dying before he could execute his intentions, *Cambyſes* (who they ſay was her ſon) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon *Egypt* for no other reaſon, than to revenge upon *Amasís* the caſe of *Apries*. But it is moſt likely, that whereas *Amasís* had ſubjected himſelf to *Cyrus*, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his ſucceſſor, and that this was the true cauſe of the war. For * the carrying on whereof *Cambyſes* made great preparations both by ſea and land. For the ſea ſervice he engaged the *Cypriots* and the *Phœnicians* to help him with their fleets. And for the war by land, beſides his other forces, he had a great number of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, in his army, who were the main ſtrength of it. But the greateſt help he had in this war was from *Phanes*, an *Halicarnaffeſean*, who being a commander of ſome of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, that were in the ſervice of *Amasís*, on ſome diſguſt given him revolted to *Cambyſes*, and made thoſe diſcoveries to him, of the nature of the countrey, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the then ſtate of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that expedition ſucceſſful. And it was by his advice, that *Cambyſes* contracted with the *Arabian* King, that lay next the borders of *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, to ſupply him with water, while he paſſed the deſerts that lay between theſe two countries, where accordingly it was brought him on camel's backs, without which he could never have marched his army that way. Being therefore thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival on the borders he found *Amasís* was newly dead, and that *Pſammenitus* his ſon, being made King in his ſtead, was drawing together a great army to oppoſe him. To make his paſſage open into the country, it was neceſſary for him to take *Pelufium*, which was as the key of *Egypt* on that ſide. But that being a ſtrong place it was like to give him much trouble. For the preventing hereof, by the counſel it's ſuppoſed of *Phanes*, he had recourſe to this ſtratagem. Finding that the garrifon were all *Egyptians*, in an aſſault which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, ſheep, and other of thoſe animals, which the *Egyptians* reckon'd ſacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the ſoldiers not daring to throw a dart, or ſhoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing ſome of thoſe animals, *Cambyſes* made himſelf maſter of the place without any oppoſition. For theſe being the gods which the *Egyptians* then adored, † it was reckoned the higheſt impiety to kill any of them; and when they died of themſelves, they buried them with the greateſt ſolemnity. By the time that *Cambyſes* had taken this place, ‡ *Pſammenitus* came up with his army to oppoſe his farther progreſs, whereon enſued a bloody battel between them. At the beginning

* Herodotus, lib. 3.
lib. 1. p. 52.

† Polyænus, lib. 7.
‡ Herodotus, lib. 3.

§ Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus,

of it the *Greeks*, that were in *Psammenitus's* army, to be revenged on *Phanes* for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children, (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight) and slew them in the front of the battel in the sight of both armies, and drunk their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory. For the *Persians* being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature, fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole *Egyptian* army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where *Cambyfes* pursuing them, on his arrival thither sent into the city by the *Nile*, on which it stood, a ship of *Mitylene*, with an herald to summon them to a surrender, but the people rising on him, in their rage slew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyfes*, after a short siege, having taken the place, sufficiently revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those that were thus slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As to *Psammenitus* himself, *Cambyfes* was inclined to have dealt kindly with him. For at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live, but he not being contented herewith endeavoured to raise new troubles for the recovery of his crown, whereon he was forced to drink bulls blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of *Memphis*, when he fell into the hands of the enemy, and all his power ceased. For hereon all *Egypt* submitted to *Cambyfes*. This hapned in the fifth year of his reign, and he reigned three years after. The *Libyans*, *Cyrenians*, and *Barceans*, hearing of this success sent ambassadors with presents to make their submission to him. From *Memphis* he went to *Sais*, where the *Egyptian* Kings for several descents past had kept their usual residence, and there entering into the palace, caused the body of *Amasis* to be dug up out of his grave, and after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burnt. Which rage against the carcase, sheweth the anger which he had against the man, and whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause that brought him into *Egypt*.

THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he designed three expeditions, the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But the *Phœnicians* refusing to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, (they being a colony of the *Tyrians*) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the other two, he sent ambassadors into *Ethiopia* who under that name were to serve him as spies, to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the countrey. But the *Ethiopians* being fully apprised of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the *Ethiopian* King, in return for the present they brought him from *Cambyfes*, sent him back only his bow; advising him, then to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily draw that bow as they could; and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own countrey. With which answer *Cambyfes* being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it,

in

An. 525.
Camby-
fes 5.An. 524.
Camby-
fes 6.

in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march, (without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other necessaries for such an expedition) leaving only the *Græcian* auxiliaries behind to keep the countrey in awe during his absence. On his coming to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detach'd from his army fifty thousand men to go against the *Hammonians*, with orders to destroy their countrey, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, that stood in it. But after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought them in such a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim *Cambyfes* madly marched on with the rest of the army against the *Ethiopians*, tho' he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence, till at length, they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by lot for this purpose. By this *Cambyfes* being convinced, that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to *Thebes*, after having lost a great part of it in this wild expedition, and from thence returned to *Memphis*; when he came thither he dismissed all the *Greeks* to their respective homes, but on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoycing to have been for the ill success of his affairs. And when he called the magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lye upon him. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that their god having manifested himself unto them, (which seldom hapned) it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy that they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar, as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

THE chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, him they worshipped in the shape of a *Bull*, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of *Osiris*, which they worshipped in his stead. At *Heliopolis* he was called *Mnevis*, at *Memphis* *Apis*. The Marks of *Apis* ^k were these. His body was to be all black, excepting a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an eagle, say some, of an half moon, say others, on his back, a double list of hair on his tail, and a scarabæus, or knot under his tongue. When they had found such an one, they brought him with great rejoycing to the temple of *Osiris*, and there kept him, and worshipped him for that god as long as he lived, and when he was dead, they buried him with great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was many years ere they could find; and such an one they having found on *Cambyfes's* return to *Memphis* from his *Ethiopic* expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoycing at that time. And in imitation of this idolatry was it, that *Aaron* made the golden calf in the wilderness, and *Jeroboam* those in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and did set them up there to be worshipped

ⁱ Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.
cap. 35. Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 22.

^k Herod. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus,

by the children of *Israel*, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of *Egypt*.

THIS *Apis* being brought to *Cambyſes*, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the ſight of ſuch a god, and drawing out his dagger run it into the thigh of the beaſt, and then reproaching the prieſts for their ſtupidity and wretchedneſs, in worſhipping a brute for a God, ordered them ſeverely to be whipp'd, and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis* to be ſlain, that ſhould be found any more rejoicing there on this occaſion. The *Apis* being carried back to the temple, there languished of his wound, and died.

THE *Egyptians* ſay, that after this act (which they reckon to have been the higheſt inſtance of impiety that was ever found among them) *Cambyſes* was ſtricken with madneſs. But his actions ſhewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give divers inſtances. They tell us of theſe following.

HE had a brother, the only ſon of *Cyrus* beſides himſelf, and born of the ſame mother, his name according to *Xenophon* was *Tanaoxares*, but *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, and *Juſtin*, *Mergis*. He accompanied *Cambyſes* in his *Egyptian* expedition, but being the only perſon among all the *Persians* that could draw the bow, which *Cambyſes*'s embaſſadors brought him back from the *Ethiopian* King, *Cambyſes* from hence contracted ſuch an envy againſt him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but ſent him back into *Persia*. And not long after, dreaming that one came and told him that *Smerdis* ſat on the throne, he thereon ſuſpecting of his brother, what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, ſent after him into *Persia*, *Prexaſpes*, one of his chiefeſt confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. And when one of his ſiſters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it lamented his death, he gave her ſuch a blow with his foot in the belly, that ſhe died of it. She was the youngeſt of his ſiſters, and being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, ſo that nothing could ſatiſfie him but that he muſt have her to wife; whereon he called together all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, to whom the interpretation of their Laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any Law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and at the ſame time fearing his violent temper, ſhould they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter, but they had a law which allowed the King of *Persia* to do what he pleaſed. Which ſerving his purpoſe as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he ſolemnly married her, and hereby gave the firſt example to that inceſt which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being *Meroe*, he from her gave¹ that name to the iſland in the *Nile*, between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, on the conquering of it, which in all our maps of the old geography it ſtill bears, (for ſo far he advanced in his wild march againſt the *Ethiopians*.) And ſhe being with child by him when he ſtruck her, the blow cauſed an abortion, and of this ſhe died. And ſo vile a marriage deſerved no better an end. He cauſed alſo ſeveral of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without a-

¹ Strabo. lib. 17. p. 790. Joſephus Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

ny cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when *Cræsus* advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obeyed his commands, altho' at the same time he expressed great joy that *Cræsus* was alive. And out of a mere humour, only to shew his skill in archery, he shot to death a son of *Prexaspes*, who was the chief of his favourites, and in such wild actions he wore out the seventh year of his reign.

AN. 522.
Camby-
ses 8.

IN the beginning of the eighth year he left *Egypt*, and returned towards *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he there met with an herald, who being sent from *Shushan* came into the army, and there proclaimed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* King, and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, *Cambyfes*, when he departed from *Shushan* on the *Egyptian* expedition, placed there in the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, *Patizithes*, one of the chief of the Magians. This *Patizithes* had a brother who did very much resemble *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince, (which had been concealed from most others) and found that the extravagancies of *Cambyfes* were grown to an height no longer to be born, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis*, the son of *Cyrus*, and forthwith sent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hercof, and commanded obedience to be paid unto him. *Cambyfes* having seized him that came with this message to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of *Prexaspes*, whom he had sent to kill his brother, found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that this was none other than *Smerdis* the Magian who had invaded the throne; whereon much lamenting that he had been led by the identity of the name to murder his brother, he gave orders for his army forthwith to set forward to suppress the usurper; but as he mounted his horse for the march, his sword falling out of the scabbard gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The *Egyptians* remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had afore wounded the *Apis*, reckoned it as an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it. For it seldom hapning in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby, there are many instances in history, wherein God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus* in that countrey, he was told that he should die at *Ecbatana*, which understanding of *Ecbatana* in *Media*, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither, but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. For the town where he lay sick of this wound was of the same name, being also called *Ecbatana*,^m of which when he was informed, taking

^m There are many instances of such, who on their over-curious enquiry into their future fate have been in the same manner deceived. Thus Henry the IVth of England being foretold that he should die at Jerusalem,

king it for certain that he must there die, he called for all the chief of the *Persians* together, and acquainting them with the true state of the case, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was *Smerdis* the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the cheat, and thereby permit the sovereignty to pass from the *Persians* again to the *Medes*, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a King over them of their own people. But the *Persians*, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, but on his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. And it being the usage of the eastern Kings in those times to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidence, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct, and therefore being never seen in publick, this made it the harder for them to discover the cheat.

CAMBYSES reigned ^a seven years and five months, the remaining seven months of the eighth year was the reign of the Magian. *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, (as hath been already said) *Æschylus*, *Mardus*; *Ctesias*, *Spendadates*; and *Justin*, *Oropastes*; but in the Scripture he is called *Artaxarxes*. As soon as he was settled in the kingdom, after the death of *Cambyses*, the *Samaritans* ^{*} wrote a letter to him, setting forth that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple at *Jerusalem*, that they having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that as soon as they should have finished that work they would withdraw their obedience from the King, and pay no more toll nor tribute, which might give an occasion for all *Syria* and *Palestine* to revolt also, and the King be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river *Euphrates*. And for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made according to the purport of it into the records of former times, concerning the behaviour of the *Jews* under the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* empires, and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any farther, and sent to the *Samaritans* to see it put in execution, who immediately on the receipt hereof went up to *Jerusalem*, and having exhibited their order to the *Jews* made them desist by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of *Darius* King of *Persia*, for about the space of two years. The King that now reigned having been a chief leader of the sect of the Magians, against whom the *Jews* were in the utmost opposition in point of religion, the aversion he had to them on this account no doubt furthered this decree against them.

Jerusalem, was suddenly taken sick in the abbot of Westminster's house, and died there in the *Jerusalem* chamber. And so *Ferdinand* the Catholic, King of Spain, being foretold that he should die at *Madrigal*, carefully avoided going thither; but while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at *Madrigalejo*, or little *Madrigal*, a poor little village he had never before heard of. For as he was accidentally passing through it he was suddenly taken ill, and being carried into a poor cottage, the best reception the place could afford him, he died there in a hole scarce large enough to receive his bed. ^a Herodotus, lib. 3. ^o Ezra iv. 7. ^{*} Ezra iv. 7---24.

THAT *Cambyfes* was the *Abafuerus*, and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes*, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said † in Scripture to be the Kings of *Persia*, that reigned between the time of *Cyrus*, and the time of that *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished; but that *Darius* being *Darius Hystaspis* (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place) and none reigning between *Cyrus* and that *Darius* in *Persia*, but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, it must follow from hence, that none but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Abafuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* to have put a stop to this work.

BUT tho' *Smerdis* was thus unkind to the *Jews*,^p he studied to shew grace and favour to all others, that so gaining their affections, he might the better secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had usurped. And therefore as soon as he had taken on him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from taxes, and an immunity from all military services, for three years, and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And farther to secure himself he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in case of a discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of *Cambyfes*. For after he had, upon the decision above-mentioned, married one of his sisters, he took this other to wife also. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the same foot.

BUT these steps which he took for his security, made it the more suspected that he was not the true *Smerdis*, for if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the empire; and the care which he took never to be seen in publick augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, *Otanes* a noble *Persian*, brother of *Cassandana*, (who is said by *Herodotus* to have been mother to *Cambyfes*, and the true *Smerdis* his brother) having a daughter named *Phedyma*, that had been one of *Cambyfes*'s wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know whether it were *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer which she returned, was, That she having never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, bid her enquire of *Atossa* (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or no. Whereon she having informed him, that the present King kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at *Atossa* to ask this question of her, he sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For *Cyrus* having caused the ears of *Smerdis the Magian* to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy her self that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly *Smerdis the Magian*, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. *Phedyma* having received these instructions took the next opportunity of making the tryal she was directed to, and finding hereon that the person she lay with had no ears,

† *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.^p *Herodotus*, lib. 3.

she sent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon *Otanes*, taking to him six other of the nobility of the *Persians*, entered into the palace, and there falling on the usurper and his brother *Patizithes*, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both, and then bringing out their heads to the people declared unto them the whole imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect which the impostor was of, and slew all of them that they met with that day. For which reason the said day on which this was done, thenceforth became an annual festival among them, and for a long while after it was celebrated every year by the *Persians* in commemoration of the discovery of this imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called *Magophonia*, or the slaughter day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of *Magians*; which signifying the cropt-ear'd it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this impostor, who was thus cropp'd. For *Mige-Gush* signified in the language of the countrey then in use, one that had his ears cropp'd, and ^a from a ring-leader of that sect who was thus cropp'd, the author of the famous *Arabic* Lexicon called *Camus*, tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what *Herodotus*, and *Justin*, and other authors write of this *Smerdis*, plainly shews that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was under the name of a reformation again revived by *Zoroastres*, of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

IN the interim it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two sects, that is, the worshippers of images, who were called the *Sabians*, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the *Magians*. The true religion, which *Noah* taught his posterity, was that which *Abraham* practis'd, the worshipping of one God, the supreme governor and creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a mediator. For the necessity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning. For being conscious of their own meanness, vileness and impurity, they could not conceive, how it was possible for them of themselves alone to have any access to the all holy, all glorious, and supreme governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure; and themselves too low and polluted for such a converse. And therefore concluded that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by mediators of their own chusing. And their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles, or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs, in the same manner as the soul of man

^a Pocockii specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146.

^r Vide Pocockii specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 138. Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hottingeri Historiam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde.

animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions ; and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their Gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for, and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practis'd in the world. They first worshipped them *per Sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterwards by images also. By these *Sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *Sacella*, or *sacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet, in which they supposed he dwelt. But these orbs by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence as in the planets themselves, and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of image worship among them. To these images were given the names of the planets they represented, which were the same they are still called by. And hence it is, that we find *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus* and *Diana*, to be first ranked in the polytheism of the ancients. For they were their first gods. After this a notion obtaining, that good men departed had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those whom they thought to be such, and hence the number of their gods encreased in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion first began among the *Chaldeans*, which their knowledge in astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that *Abraham* separated himself when he came out of *Chaldea*. From the *Chaldeans* it spread it self over all the east, where the professors of it had the name of *Sabians*. From them it passed into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it to all the western nations of the world. And therefore those who mislike the notion advanced by *Maimonides*,^c that many of the *Jewish* laws were made in opposition to the idolatrous rites of the *Sabians*, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the *Sabians* were an inconsiderable sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now indeed since the growth of christianity and mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable sect ; but anciently they were all the nations of the world, that worshipped God by images. And that *Maimonides* understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us: The *Sabians* whom he spoke of, were a sect^d whose heresy had overspread almost all mankind. The remainder of this sect still subsists in the east under the same name of *Sabians*, which they pretend to have received from *Sabius* a son of *Seth*. And among the books, wherein the doctrines of their sect are contained,

^c In Moreh Nevochim.^d Moreh Nevochim, Part 1. c. 63.

they have one, which they call the book of *Seth*, and say, that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the people of the east is, that the best of their astronomers have been of this sect, as *Thebet Ebn Korrah*, *Albattani*, and others. For the stars being the gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their studies. These *Sabians* in the consecrating of their images used many incantations to draw down into them from the stars those intelligences, for whom they erected them, whose power and influence, they held, did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of *Telefms*, which some make so much ado about, had its original.

DIRECTLY opposite to these were the *Magians*, another sect, who had their original in the same eastern countries. For ^v they abominating all images worshipped God only by fire. They began first in *Persia*, and there and in *India*, were the only places where this sect was propagated, and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there ^u were two principles, one which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil, that is to say, God and the Devil: That the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols; and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good God they name *Tazdan*, and also *Ormuzd*, and the evil god *Abra-man*. The former is by the *Greeks* called *Oramasdes*, and the latter *Arimanius*. And therefore when *Xerxes* prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the *Athenians* had *Themistocles*, ^{*} he addressed his prayer to *Arimanius* the evil god of the *Persians*, and not to *Oramasdes* their good God. And concerning these two Gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended, that the good God only was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world: That then the good God shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself, that is, the good God his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his world with all evil men with him: That darkness is the truest symbol of the evil god, and light the truest symbol of the good God. And therefore they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being, in their opinion, the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest light. And for this reason, in all their temples they had fire continually burning on altars, erected in them for that purpose. And before these sacred fires they offered up all their publick devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the good God, but always hated darkness, as being what they thought the truest representative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmost detestation, as we now have the devil; and for an instance here-

^v Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147, &c. & Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Th. Hyde. ^u This Opinion Manes the Heretick received from them, and would have introduced it into the Christian Religion, it being the principal point, which those of his Heresy, called from him Manichees, endeavoured to impose upon the world. ^{*} Plutarchus in Themistocle.

of, whenever they had an occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inverfed, as thus, *uvuvraqv*. And these were the tenets of this sect, when on the death of *Cambyfes*, *Smerdis* and *Patizithes*, the two chiefest ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the usurping of the fovereignty, which I have mentioned.

An. 521.
Darius I.

THE ^w seven princes who had slain these usurpers, entering into consultation among themselves about the settling of the government, on the sixth day after came to this agreement, That the monarchy should be continued in the same manner, as it had been established by *Cyrus*, and that for the determining which of them should be the monarch, they should meet on horseback the next morning against the rising of the sun, at a place in the suburbs of the city, which they had appointed for it, and that he whose horse should first neigh should be the King. For the sun being then the great deity of the *Persians*, and equally adored by them all, whether of the *Sabian* or *Magian* sect, by this method they seemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of *Darius*, one of the seven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made use of a device which secured the crown to his master. For the night before having tyed a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought *Darius's* horse thither, and put him to cover the mare. And therefore as soon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, *Darius's* horse, at the sight of the place remembering the mare, ran thither and neighed, whereon he was forthwith saluted King by the rest, and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had followed *Cyrus* in all his wars. He was at that time governor of the Province of *Persia*, and so continued for many years after his son's advancement to the throne. This *Darius* in the writings of the later *Persians* is called *Gushtasph*, and his father *Lorasph*, and under these names they are much spoken of in that countrey even to this day.

THE empire of *Persia* being thus restored, and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new King. For they were to have access to his presence at all times, whenever they should desire, unless only when he was accompanying with any of his wives, and their advice was to be first had in the management of all the publick affairs of the empire. And whereas the King only wore his turbant directly upright, and all others till then with its top reversed, or turned backward, these had it by way of special privilege granted unto them from thenceforth to wear their turbants with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the *Magians*, turned the back part of their turbants forward, that they might by that signal be the better known to each other in the scuffle, in memory of this, as an especial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbants in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the *Persian* Kings of this race, had always seven chief counsellors in the same manner privileged, who were their prime assistants in the government, and by whose advice all the publick affairs of the empire were transacted, and under this character we find them both in ^x the book of *Ezra* and in ^y the book of *Esther* made mention of.

^w Herodot. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10.

^x Chap. vii. 14.

^y Chap. i. 14.

As soon as *Darius* was settled in the throne, ² to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, and also another daughter of his called *Artistona*. The former had been before wife to *Cambyſes* her brother, and afterwards to *Smerdis the Magian*, while he usurped the throne. But *Artistona* was a virgin when he married her, and was the most belov'd by him of all his wives. Besides these, he took also to wife *Parmys*, the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, brother of *Cambyſes*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, by whose means the imposture of the Magian was discovered, and by these had a great many children, both sons and daughters.

ALTHOUGH by the death of the usurper, his edict, which prohibited the building of the temple was now at an end, yet the *Jews* neglecting to resume the work ³ God did for this reason smite the land with barrenness, so that both the vintage and the harvest fail'd them. But in the second year of *Darius*, they being by the prophet *Haggai* informed of the cause of this Judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themselves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on ^b the first day of the sixth month (which answers to about the middle of our *August*) that the word of the Lord by *Haggai* the prophet came to *Zerubbabel* the son of *Salathiel*, governor of *Judea*, and to *Jeshua* the son of *Jozadack* the high-priest, concerning this matter. And ^d on the twenty fourth day of the same month they being excited hereby arose with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themselves with all diligence to provide stone and timber, and all other materials, that were necessary for the again carrying on of the work. And to encourage them to go on vigorously herewith, on the twenty first day of the seventh month (*i. e.* about the beginning of our *October*) ^e another message from God came to them by the same prophet, which not only assured them of his presence with them herein, to make it prosper in their hands, but also promised them that ^f the glory of the later house, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former house; which was accordingly accomplished, when *Christ* our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this later temple, the ^f same prophet tells us, at its first building was nothing in comparison of the former.

IN the ^g eighth month of the same year (which answers to part of our *October* and part of *November*) the word of the Lord came by *Zechariah* the prophet to the people of the *Jews*, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

ON the ^h twenty fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our *December*) the *Jews*, after they had been employ'd from the twenty fourth day of the sixth month, in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of it; ⁱ whereon the prophet *Haggai* promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their land, with which it had been smitten, and plentiful encrease of all its fruits for the future. And also ^k delivered unto *Zerubbabel* a message from God, of mercy and favour unto him.

² Herodotus, lib. 3.

^a Haggai i. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. ii. 17, 19.

^b Haggai i. 1.

^c Haggai i. 15.

^d Haggai ii. 1.

^e Haggai i. 9.

^f Haggai ii. 3.

^g Zech. i. 1.

^h Haggai ii. 18.

ⁱ Haggai ii. 10---19.

^k Haggai ii. 20---23.

An. 519.
Darius 3. IN the beginning of the next year, (which was the third year of *Darius* according to the ¹ *Babylonian* and *Persian* account, but the second according to the *Jewish*) the *Samaritans* understanding that the building of the temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in the last reign, they ^m betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work, and therefore applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made chief governor or prefect of all the provinces of *Syria* and *Palestine* (which was ⁿ one of the twenty prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire) and made complaint to him against the *Jews* as to this matter, suggesting that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the King. Whereon *Tatnai* being accompanied by *Setharboznai* (who seems to have been then governor of *Samaria*) came to *Jerusalem*, to take an account of what was there a doing. But *Tatnai* being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first enquired of the elders of the *Jews* by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him *Cyrus's* decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own authority, but first wrote letters to the King, to know his pleasure concerning it, wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the *Jews* plea of *Cyrus's* decree for the justifying of themselves herein, and thereon requested, that search might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any such decree granted by *Cyrus* or no, and that thereon the King would be pleased to signify unto him what he would have done herein. Whereon ^o search being made, and the decree being found among the rolls in the royal palace of *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where *Cyrus* was when he granted it, the King resolv'd to confirm the same. For having lately married two of the Daughters of *Cyrus*, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing that might tend to support the honour and veneration which was due to the memory of that great prince, and therefore would suffer nothing to be infringed of that which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn, wherein recitement being made of the decree of *Cyrus*, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to *Tatnai*, and *Setharboznai*, to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his house pulled down, and that a gallows being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

ON ^p the twenty fourth day of the eleventh month (that is, about the beginning of our *February*) the prophet *Zechariah* had in a vision that revelation made unto him, which is contained in the book of his prophecies, from the 7th verse of the 1st chapter to the 9th verse of the 6th chapter. The

¹ For the *Babylonians* and *Persians* at this time began their year from the beginning of January; but the *Jews* from *Nisan*, about ten or eleven weeks after. And therefore seeing the eighth month (which answers in part to our *October*) was according to *Zechariah* (ch. i. v. 1.) in the second year of *Darius*, whatsoever was acted from the beginning of January, within a year after must be in the third year of *Darius*, according to the *Babylonish* account, and also according to the exact truth of the matter. For *Darius* began his reign with the beginning of the *Babylonish* year. ^m *Ezra* v. 3---17.

ⁿ *Herodotus*, lib. 3.

^o *Ezra* vi.

^p *Zechariah* i. 7.

substance of which is to express the mercy that God would shew unto his people in the restoration and redemption of *Sion*, and the vengeance which he would execute upon those that had oppressed them.

ABOUT the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius*, his decree which confirmed that of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* was brought to *Jerusalem*.^{An. 518. Darius 4.} It was about the beginning of the former year, that *Tatnai* sent to the King about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the dispatch of such an affair. For the King then residing at *Shushan* in *Persia*, was at such a distance from *Judea*, that the journey of the messenger thither to him could not take up less than three months time, (for ^a *Ezra* was four months in coming to *Judea* from *Babylon*, which was at least one quarter of the way nearer) and on his arrival it cannot be supposed, that in a court where the government of so great an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a dispatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time, before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his message, and when he had obtained an order to search among the records of the empire for the decree of *Cyrus*, (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance) he or some other messenger first went to *Babylon* to make the search there, and on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to ^r *Ecbatana* the capital of *Media*, where having found the enrolment of it (for it seems *Cyrus* was there when he granted it) he returned with it from thence to *Shushan*. In which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of records which in the registries of so large an empire must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could not have been expended. And when the record of *Cyrus's* decree was brought from *Ecbatana* to *Shushan*, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the dispatch of the new decree which *Darius* made in confirmation of it; and then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to *Tatnai*, and from him to *Judea*. All which put together make a full year, from the time of *Tatnai's* writing his letter, to the time of the arrival of *Darius's* decree in answer to it. When *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, on the perusal of it, found how strictly the King required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it, ^t and therefore they did immediately let the *Jews* know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time the building of the house went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three years after. For by virtue of this decree the *Jews* were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the expences of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by *Cyrus* in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the *Samaritans*, and other enemies, in corrupting those, thro' whose hands the administration of the publick affairs and publick revenues passed, this part of *Cyrus's* decree was rendered ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyses*. And therefore during all that time the *Jews* being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned

^a *Ezra* vii. 9.
Josephus Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 4.

^r This is the same that is now called Tauris.

^t *Ezra* vi. 13. and

from their captivity, it went very slowly on. But being now helped again by the King's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

THE publishing of this decree at *Jerusalem* may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the *Jewish* state. And from the thorough destruction of it in the burning of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to this time is just seventy years. The time falling so exactly, and the prophet *Zechariah* confirming it by expressing under ' the fourth year of *Darius*, that the mourning and fasting of the *Jews* for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of *Gedaliah* was then just seventy years; this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity, spoken of by *Jeremiah*, at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the end of them at the publication of this decree of *Darius*. But the Scripture plainly tells us, that these seventy years as prophesied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, began * from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and expired * on the first of *Cyrus*, on his then granting his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both computations may very well stand together. For though the *Babylonish* captivity did begin from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* first subjugated the land, and carried away to *Babylon* the first captives, yet it was not completed till he had absolutely destroyed it in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, which was just eighteen years after. And so likewise, tho' the deliverance from this captivity, and the restoration of the *Jewish* state thereon, was begun by the decree of *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree which *Darius* granted in the fourth year of his reign for the confirmation of it, which was also just eighteen years after. And therefore if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, we must reckon from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* to the first of *Cyrus*, which was just seventy years; and if we reckon from the completion of the captivity to the completion of the restoration, we must reckon from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah* to the fourth of *Darius*, which was also just seventy years. So that whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the restoration, *Jeremiah's* prophesy of the seventy years captivity will be both ways equally accomplished, and therefore I doubt not but that both ways were equally intended therein, tho' the words of the prophesy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

ON the publication of this decree of *Darius*, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it, which had rendered the former decree ineffectual, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* seemed so thoroughly restored, that the *Jews* who were in *Babylon*, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those fasts, which hitherto they had observed

' Zech. vii. 1.

* Zech. vii. 5.

° Jer. xxv.

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20---23.

for seventy years past, for the destruction which *Judah* and *Jerusalem* had suffered from the *Chaldeans* in the time of *Zedekiah*, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough restoration from it. And therefore ^y sent messengers to *Jerusalem*, *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech*, to ask advice of the priests and prophets that were there, concerning this matter. For from the time of the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* of the captivity had kept four fasts in commemoration of the calamities which then hapned to their nation; the ^z first on the tenth day of the tenth month, because then *Nebuchadnezzar* first laid siege to *Jerusalem* in the ninth year of *Zedekiah*; the ^a second on the ninth day of the fourth month, because on that day the city was taken; the third ^b on the tenth day of the fifth month, because then the city and temple were burnt by *Nebuzaradan*; and the fourth ^c on the third day of the seventh month, because on that day *Gedaliah* was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the land, which completed the desolation of it. Concerning all which fasts, and the question of the *Babylonish Jews* proposed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet *Zechariah* that answer, which we have in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies. Therein ^d the fasts of the fifth and seventh month are said to have been observed for seventy years past. And from the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account, (which was the seventeenth according to the *Babylonish* account) ^e when *Jerusalem* was destroyed to the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, when the *Jewish* state was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy years according to the canon of *Ptolomy*. So the sacred and prophane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The *Jews* still observe these four fasts even to this day, tho' not exactly on the same days in their ^{*} present calendar, as in the former.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius* hapned ^f the revolt of the *Babylonians*, which cost him the trouble of a tedious siege again to reduce them. For it lasted twenty months. This city having for many years during the *Babylonish* empire been the mistress of the east, and domineer'd over all the countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the *Persians*, especially after they had removed the imperial seat of the empire from *Babylon* to *Shushan*. For that much diminished the grandeur, pride and wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, under a King of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly done under *Nabopolassar* against the *Assyrians*. And therefore taking the advantage of the revolution which hapned in the *Persian* empire, first on the death of *Cambyses*, and after on the slaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of provisions for the war; and after they had covertly done this for four years together, till

An. 517.
Darius 5.

^y Zech. vii. Jer. xxix. 2. Zech. viii. 19. ^z 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. lii. 4. Zech. viii. 19. ^a 2 Kings xxv. 3. Jer. lii. 12. Zech. vii. 3. 5. and viii. 19. ^b Jer. lii. 12. Zech. vii. 3. 5. and viii. 19. ^c Jer. xli. 1. Zech. vii. 5. and viii. 19. ^d Zech. vii. 1. ^e 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12.

^{*} Their present Calendar was made by R. Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360. Their former year was a lunar year reconciled to a solar by intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal equinox, to which season the products of their flocks and their fields, which were required to be used at their feasts of the passover, and the pentecost, necessarily fixed it.

^f Herod. lib. 3. Justin. lib. I. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

they had fully stored the city for many years to come, in the fifth year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew *Darius* upon them with all his forces to besiege the city. In the beginning of the third year of *Darius*, we learn from the prophet *Zechariah*, that ^e the whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have hapned; and the message of *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech* from *Babylon*, ^h in the fourth year of his reign proves the same for that year also. And therefore it could not be till the fifth year that this war broke out. As soon as ⁱ the *Babylonians* saw themselves begirt by such an army as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the siege; in order whereto they took a resolution, the most desperate and barbarous that ever any nation practised. For to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths among them; and therefore drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children useless for the wars, excepting only that every man was allowed to save one of his wives, which he best loved, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of *Isaiab* against them, in which he foretold, *That* ^k *two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these should come upon them in their perfection for the multitude of their sorceries, and the great abundance of their enchantments.* And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by several of the prophets; and the *Jews* were as often ^l warned to come out of the place before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially ^m the prophet *Zechariah* about two years before sent them a call from God, that is, *to Zion, that dwelt with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that land*, that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech* returned to *Babylon*, no doubt they carried back with them from this prophet a repetition of the same call; and altho' it be no where said, that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves; yet we may take it for certain, that they did, and by seasonably removing from *Babylon* before the siege begun, avoided partaking of the calamities of it. For almost all the prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon *Babylon* speaking of it, as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy and favour to all that were of his people; and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before ⁿ by *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech*, it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour of these sacred predictions, that any of the *Jewish* nation should be sufferers with the *Babylonians* in this war, and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war begun.

An. 516.
Darius 6.

DARIUS having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months,

^e Zech. i. 11---15.

^h Zech. vii. 1---3.

ⁱ Herod. lib. 3.

^k Isai. xlvii. 9.

^l Isai. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8. & li. 6, 9, 45.

^m Zech. ii. 6---9.

ⁿ Zech. viii.

^o at

at length toward the end of the sixth year of his reign he took it by the stratagem of *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders. For he having cut off his nose and ears, and mangled his body all over with stripes, tied in this condition to the besieged, where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of *Darius*, he grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces, which trust he made use of to deliver the city to his master, which could scarce have been any other way taken. For the walls by reason of their height and strength made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries and assaults; and it being furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also ^p large quantities of void ground within the city, from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never have been starved into a surrender; and therefore at length it must have wearied and worn out *Darius* and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this stratagem of *Zopyrus*, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as *Darius* was master of the place, he took away ^q all their hundred gates, and beat down ^r their walls from two hundred cubits (which was their former height) to fifty cubits, and of these walls only ^s *Strabo*, and other after-writers are to be understood, when they describe the walls of *Babylon* to be no more than fifty cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his *Persians*, who had been before their servants, according to the prophecy of *Zechariah*, (c. ii. 9.) and impaled three thousand of the most guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the siege, he was forced to send for fifty thousand of that sex out of the other provinces of the empire to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

AND here it is to be observed, that the punishment of *Babylon* kept pace with the restoration of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to the prophecy of the prophet *Jeremiah* (ch. xxv. 12, 13.) whereby he foretold, That *when the seventy years of Judah's captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the King of Babylon, and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced against it.* For accordingly, when the restoration of *Judah* began in the first of *Cyrus*, after the expiration of the first seventy years, that is, from the fourth of *Jehoiakim* to the first of *Cyrus*, then began *Babylon's* punishment in being conquered and subjected to the *Persians*, in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the *Jews* to them, in the beginning of the said seventy years. And after the expiration of the second seventy years, that is, from the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were thoroughly desolated, to the fourth of *Darius*, when the restoration of both was completed, then the desolation of *Babylon* was also in a great measure completed in the devastation, which was then brought

^p Herod. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7. ^q Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90
Stadia habitatur, cætera serunt coluntque, ut si externa vis ingruat, obsecissis alimenta ex ipsius ur-
bis solo subministrantur. ^r Jer. li. 58. Herod. ibid. ^s Jer. l. 15. and li. 44, 58.
Herod. ibid. ^t Strabo, lib. 16.

upon it by *Darius*. In the first part of their punishment their King was slain, and their city taken, and thenceforth, from being *the lady of kingdoms*, and mistress of all the east, it became subject to the *Persians*. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial seat removed from thence to *Shushan* or *Susa*, (for this seems to have been done in the first year of *Cyrus*'s reign over the whole empire) and *Babylon* thenceforth instead of having a King, had only a deputy residing there, who govern'd it as a province of the *Persian* empire. And at the same time that the city was thus brought under, the countrey was desolated and destroyed by the inundation, that was caused by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became *a possession for the bittern, and pools of water*, as the Prophet *Isaiah* foretold, (ch. xiv. 23.) *and the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof*, according as *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof (ch. li. 42.) And in the second part of their punishment on *Darius*'s taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it, which hath been already spoken of, and from that it did never any more recover it self, but languished a while, and at length ended, according to the words of *Jeremiah*, *in a perpetual desolation*.

An. 515.
Darius 7.

IN the sixth year of *Darius*, according to the *Jewish* account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of *Adar*, (which answered to part of the third, and part of the fourth month of the *Babylonish* year, and consequently was in the seventh year of *Darius*, according to the *Babylonish* account) * the building of the temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the priests and *Levites*, and all the rest of the congregation of *Israel*, with great joy and solemnity. And among other sacrifices then offered, there was a sin-offering for all *Israel* of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*, which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above-said, that on the return of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the *Babylonish* captivity, some also of each of the other tribes of *Israel* returned with them out of *Assyria*, *Babylon*, and *Media*, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the temple, (to which they had originally an equal right) partaked also in the solemnity of this dedication, otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the tribe of *Judah*, that swallowed up the names of all the rest, for from this time the whole people of *Israel*, of what tribe soever they were, † began to be called *Jews*, and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

THIS work was twenty years in finishing. For so many years were elapsed from the second of *Cyrus* when it was first begun, to the seventh of *Darius* when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyses*, it met with such discouragements thro' the fraudulent devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but slowly on for all that time. And during the usurpation of the *Magians*,

* *Isaiah* xlvii. 5.
Demonst. Evang. lib. 8.

† *Ezra* vi. 15---18.

‡ *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. *Euseb.*

and for almost * two years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is, till towards the latter end of the second year of the reign of *Darius*. But then it being again resumed on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially thro' the exhortations and prophecies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that in the beginning of the seventh year of *Darius* it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this dedication the cxlvith, cxlviith, and the cxlvith *Psalms* seem to have been sung. For in the *Septuagint* version they are styled the *Psalms* of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion. And this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition, but in the original *Hebrew* these *Psalms* have no such title prefix'd to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

THE decree whereby this temple was finished, having been granted by *Darius* at his palace in *Shushan*, (or *Susa*, as the *Greeks* call the place) in remembrance hereof * the eastern gate in the outer wall of the temple was from this time called the gate of *Shushan*, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the *Romans*.

IN the next month after the dedication, which was the Month *Nisan*, the first of the *Jewish* year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine service, † the passover was observed in it on the fourteenth day of that month, according to the law of God, and solemnized by all the children of *Israel* that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart, because, saith the book of *Ezra*, ‡ *The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel*; from whence § archbishop *Usher* infers, that *Babylon* must necessarily have been reduced by *Darius* before this time. For otherwise he thinks he could not have been here styled King of *Assyria*, *Babylon* being then the metropolis of that Kingdom.

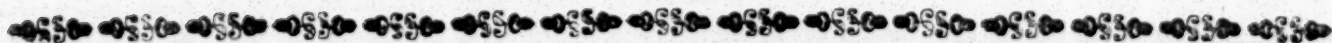
AND if we will add one stage more to the two above-mentioned, of the captivity and restoration of *Judah*, and place the full completion of the captivity in the twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account, (which was the twenty first according to the *Babylonish*) ¶ when *Nebuzaradan* carried away the last remainder of the land: And the full completion of the restoration at the finishing of the temple, and the restoration of the divine worship therein, this stage will have the like distance of seventy years. For the dedication of this temple, and the solemnizing of the first passover in it, being in the seventh year of *Darius*, it will fall in the seventieth year from the § said twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to *Ptolemy's* canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of *Jeremiah* will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuilding of the second temple, I shall herewith end this book.

* In the first of *Esdra*s, Ver. 73. it's said, That the time of the stop, which was put to the building, was two years. † See *Lightfoot* of the Temple, c. 3. ‡ *Ezra* vi. 19---22. § *Ezra* vi. 22.

¶ *Annales veteris Testamenti* sub A. M. 3489. ¶ *Jer.* lii. 30. ¶ That is, reckoning the twenty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account, to be the twenty first according to the *Babylonish* account, which *Ptolemy* went by.



THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



BOOK IV.

An. 514.
 Darius 8.



THE *Samaritans* still carrying on their former spite and rancor against the *Jews*, gave them new trouble on this occasion. The tribute of *Samaria* had been assigned first ^a by *Cyrus*, and afterwards ^b by *Darius*, for the reparation of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the furnishing of the *Jews* with sacrifices, that ^c oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the King and the royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the *Persian* empire. This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the *Samaritans*, and was in truth the source and the true

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1.

^b Joseph. lib. 11. c. 4.

^c Ezra vi. 8, 9, 10.

original reason of all the oppositions which they made against them. For they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the *Jews*, and therefore they did ^d by bribes, and other underhand dealings, prevail with the ministers, and other officers to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and all the time of *Cambyfes*, to put a stop to this assignment, and did all else that they could wholly to quash it. But the grant being again ^e renewed by *Darius*, and the execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finished, (though the out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many years after) they ^f refused to let the *Jews* any longer have the tribute, alledging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the *Jews*, to right themselves in this matter, sent *Zerubbabel* the governor, with *Mordecai* and *Ananias*, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to *Darius* of the wrong that was done to them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The King, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himself about it, issued out his royal order to his officers at *Samaria*, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the *Samaritans* observe his edict in paying their tribute to the temple of *Jerusalem* as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, give the *Jews* any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter, till the time of *Sanballat*, which was many years after.

FROM the time of the reduction of *Babylon*, ^g *Darius* had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the *Scythians*, that inhabited those countries which lye between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*; his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded *Asia*, and held it in subjection to them eight and twenty years, as hath been afore related. This was in the time of *Cyaxares*, the first of that name King of *Media*, about an hundred and twenty years before. But for want of a better colour for that, which his ambition and thirst for conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the war. In order whereto, having drawn together an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched with them to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over it on a bridge of boats he brought all *Thrace* in subjection to him, and then marched to the *Ister*, or *Danube*, where he appointed his fleet to come to him, (which consisted mostly of *Ionians*, and other *Grecian* nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of *Asia*, and on the *Hellespont*) he there passed over another bridge of boats into the countrey of the *Scythians*, and having there for three months time pursued them through several desert and uncultivated countries, where they drew him, by their flight, of

An. 513.
Darius 9.

^d Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

^e Ezra vi.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

^g Herod. lib. 4. Justin. lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

purpose to harass and destroy his army, he was glad at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill projected expedition. And had not the *Ionians* by the persuasion of *Hestius* prince of *Miletus*, (or tyrant, as the *Grecians* call him) contrary to the opinion of others among them, stayed with the fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, which lyes at the mouth of the *Hellepont*, being one of those who attended *Darius* with his ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that by their going away, and leaving *Darius* and his army to perish on the other side of the *Danube*, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the *Persians*, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that tyranny, which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders, and would certainly have taken place, but that *Hestius* in answer hereto soon made them sensible what a dangerous risk they were going to run. For he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the *Persians*, would immediately rise upon them to recover their liberties, and this would end in the ruine of every one of them, who now with sovereign authority under the protection of *Darius* securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them, so that they all resolved to stay, and this gave *Darius* the means of again repassing the river into *Thrace*, where having left *Megabyzus* one of his chief commanders with part of his army to finish his conquests in those parts, and thoroughly settle the countrey in his obedience, he repassed the *Bosphorus* with the rest, and retired to *Sardis*, where he stayed all the winter, and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and re-settle his affairs in those parts of his empire, after the shock that had been given them by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised expedition.

An. 512.
Darius
10.

MEGABYZUS having reduced most of the nations of *Thrace* under the *Persian* yoke, returned to *Sardis* to *Darius*,^a and from thence accompanied him to *Susa*, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed *Artaphernes*, one of his brothers, governor of *Sardis*, and *Otanes* chief commander of *Thrace*, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of *Megabyzus*. This *Otanes* was the son of *Sisamnes*, one of the royal judges of *Persia*, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by *Cambyfes*, there is related this remarkable instance of that King's justice towards him, ⁱ that he caused him to be flay'd alive, and making with his skin a covering for the seat of the tribunal, made this his son, whom he appointed to succeed him in his office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonish'd to avoid his crime.

An. 510.
Darius
12.

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for his invading their countrey, ⁱ pass'd over the *Danube*, and ravaged all those parts of *Thrace* that had submitted to the *Persians* as far as the *Hellepont*, whereon *Miltiades* to avoid their rage fled from the *Chersonesus*, but on the retreat of the e-

^a Herodotus, lib. 5.
Marcellinus, lib. 24.

ⁱ Herodotus, lib. 5. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus
Herodotus, lib. 6.

nemy he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the inhabitants of the countrey.

ABOUT this time *Darius*, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them, * for which purpose having built a fleet of ships at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*, and as far up upon it as the borders of *Scythia*, he gave the command of it to *Scylax* a Grecian of *Caryandia*, a city in *Caria*, and one well skill'd in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side, ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then passing through it into the southern ocean he could shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the streights of *Babelmandel* and the red sea, and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from *Caspatyrus* landed in *Egypt*, at the same place, from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* formerly sent out his *Phœnicians* to sail round the coasts of *Africa*, which it's most likely was the port where now the town of *Sues* stands, at the hither end of the said red sea. And from thence he went to *Susa*, and there gave *Darius* an account of all the discoveries which he had made. After this *Darius* entred *India* with an army, and brought all that large countrey under him, and † made it the twentieth prefecture of his empire, from whence he annually received a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then *Persian* year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, which was near the same with the *Attic*, and therefore according to the lowest computation it ‡ amounted to the value of one million and ninety five thousand pound of our money.

A § sedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, and the better sort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants were expelled the island, and driven into banishment. Whereon retiring to *Miletus*, they there begged the assistance of *Aristagoras*, for the restoring of them again to their countrey. This *Aristagoras* then governed that city as deputy to *Hestieus*, whose nephew and son-in-law he was, *Hestieus* being then absent at *Susa* in *Persia*. For *Darius* on his return to *Sardis*, after his unfortunate expedition against the *Scythians*, being thoroughly informed that he owed the safety of himself and all his army to *Hestieus*, in that he persuaded the *Ionians* not to desert him at the *Danube*, sent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his service bid him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, in order to build a city there, and having obtained his request, immediately on his return to *Miletus* he equipped a fleet and sailed for *Thrace*, and having there taken possession of the territory granted him, did forthwith set himself on the enterprize of building his intended city in the place projected. *Megabyzus* being then governor of *Thrace*, for *Darius*, soon saw what danger this might create

* Herodot. lib. 4.

† Herodot. lib. 3.

‡ For according to the lowest valuation an

Attic talent of gold amounts to three thousand pound of our money.

§ Herodot. lib. 5.

to the King's affairs in those parts. For he considered that the new-built city stood upon a navigable river, that the countrey thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships, that it was inhabited by several nations both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service both by sea and land; that if these should get such a crafty and enterprizing person as *Hestæus* at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power both by sea and land too hard for the King to master, and that especially since from their silver and gold mines, of which there were many in that countrey, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprize they should undertake. All this on his return to *Sardis* he represented unto the King, who being thereby made fully sensible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a messenger to *Myrcinus*, to call *Hestæus* to *Sardis* to him, under pretence that having great matters in design, he wanted his counsel and advice concerning them, by which means having gotten him into his power he carried him with him to *Susa*, pretending that he needed such an able counsellor and so faithful a friend to be always about him to advise with on all occasions that might happen, and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in *Persia*, that he should have no reason any more to think either of *Myrcinus* or *Miletus*. *Hestæus* hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying, accompanied *Darius* to *Susa*, and appointed *Aristagoras* to govern at *Miletus* in his absence, and to him the banished *Naxians* applied for relief. As soon as *Aristagoras* understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of *Naxus*, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired. But not being strong enough of himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to *Sardis*, and communicated the matter to *Artaphernes*, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile island into the King's hands; that if he had that, all the rest of the *Cyclades* would of course fall under his power also; and that then *Eubæa*, an island as big as *Cyprus*, lying next, would be an easy conquest, from whence he would have an open passage into *Greece*, for the bringing of all that countrey under his obedience, and that an hundred ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprize. *Artaphernes* on the hearing of the proposal was so much pleased with it, that instead of the hundred ships which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the King liked hereof, and accordingly on his writing to him having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates*, a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* or royal family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, this created a dissension between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that *Megabates* to be revenged on *Aristagoras* betrayed the design to the *Naxians*, whereon they provided so fully for their defence, that after the *Persians* had in the siege of the chief city of the island spent four months, and all their provisions, they were forced to retire for want wherewith there any longer to subsist, and so the whole plot miscarried; the blame whereof being by *Megabates* all laid upon *Aristagoras*, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* charged on him

An. 503.
Darius
19.

him all the expences of the expedition, and it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny; which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but also in his utter ruine, and therefore being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the King, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty, and while he had this under consideration came a message to him from *Hestieus*, which advised the same thing. For *Hestieus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of their manners, and exceeding desirous of being again in his own countrey, sent this advice unto *Aristagoras*, as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim herein. For he concluded that if there were any combustions raised in *Ionian*, he should easily prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. *Aristagoras* therefore finding his own inclinations backed with the order of *Hestieus*, communicated the matter to the chief of the *Ionians*, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he propos'd, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

THE *Tyrians*, after the taking of their city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full seventy years. But these being now expired, they were again, according to the ^o prophesy of *Isaiah*, restored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a King again of their own, and accordingly had so till the time of *Alexander*. This favour seems to have been granted them by *Darius*, in consideration of their usefulness to him in his naval wars, and especially at this time, when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the *Ionians* again to their obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the east, they soon grew to that greatness both of power and riches, as enabled them on *Alexander's* invading the east to make a greater stand against him than all the *Persian* empire besides. For they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months, before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shewn. This grant was made them by *Darius* in the nineteenth year of his reign.

THE next year after, *Aristagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* the more firmly to stick to him, ^p restored them all to their liberties. For beginning first with himself at *Miletus*, he there abolished his own authority, and reinstated the people in the government, and then going round *Ionian* forced all the other tyrants (as the *Greeks* then called them) in every city to do the same; by which having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the King, and armed both by sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of *Darius*. An. 502.
Darius
20.

ARISTAGORAS, to strengthen himself the more against the *Persians* in this war, which he had begun against them, ^q went in the beginning of the following year to *Lacedæmon*, to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected he came to *Athens*, where An. 501.
Darius
21.

^o *Isaiah* xxiii. 15, 17.^p *Herodot.* lib. 5.^q *Herodot.* lib. 5.

he had a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to come thither at a time, when he found the *Athenians* in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the *Persians* that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*, and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to say against the *Athenians*, and he spared not to do all that he could to set *Artaphernes* against them; which the *Athenians* having advice of, sent an Embassy to *Sardis* to make friendship with *Artaphernes*, and to desire him not to give ear to their exiles against them. The answer which *Artaphernes* gave them, was, that they must receive *Hippias* again if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to *Athens* did set the whole city into a rage against the *Persians*; and in this juncture *Aristagoras* coming thither, easily obtained from them all that he desired, and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ships for his assistance.

An. 500.
Darius
22.

IN the third year of the war ' the *Ionians* having gotten all their forces together, and being assisted with twenty ships from *Athens*, and five from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they sailed to *Ephesus*, and having there laid up their ships resolved on an attempt upon *Sardis*; and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But *Sardis* being built most of cane, and their houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole city was burnt down, excepting only the castle, where *Artaphernes* retired and defended himself. But after this accident the *Persians* and *Lydians* gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the *Ionians* saw it was time for them to retreat, and therefore marched back to their ships at *Ephesus* with all the speed they were able; but before they could reach the place they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with a great slaughter. Whereon the *Athenians* going on board their ships hoisted their sails and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest intreaties with which they were solicited to it by *Aristagoras*. However ' their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, which being carried on for several generations after between these two nations, caused infinite calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, on his hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and the part which the *Athenians* had therein, from that time resolved on a war against *Greece*, and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at dinner, to say aloud unto him three times, *Sir, remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis*, it hapned that the temple of *Cybele*, the goddess of the country, took fire, and was consumed with the rest of the city, which afterwards served the *Persians* for a pretence, to set on fire all the temples of the *Grecians* which came in their way, tho' in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

' Herod. lib. 5.

' Herod. lib. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

ON the departure of the *Athenians* † the rest of the confederate fleet sailed to the *Hellepont* and the *Propontis*, and reduced the *Byzantines*, and most of the other *Grecian* cities in those parts under their power. And then sailing back again, brought in the *Carians* to joyn with them in this war, and also the *Cypriots*, who all (excepting the *Amathusians*) entered into the same confederacy against *Darius*, and revolted from him, which drawing upon them all the forces that the *Persians* had in *Cilicia*, and the other neighbouring provinces, and also a great fleet from *Phœnicia*, the *Ionians* sailed thither to their assistance, and engaging the *Phœnician* fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But at the same time the *Cypriots* being vanquished in a battle at land, and the head of that conspiracy slain in it, the *Ionians* lost the whole fruit of their victory at sea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themselves or their allies by it. For after this defeat at land the whole island was again reduced; and within three years after, the same persons whom they had now assisted came against them with their ships, in conjunction with the rest of the *Persian* fleet, to complete their utter destruction.

THE next year after being the twenty third of *Darius*, † *Daurises*, *Hyme- An. 499.*
mees and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law of *Darius* by *Darius*
the marriage of his daughters, having divided the *Persian* forces between 23.
them, marched three several ways to attack the revolters. *Daurises* with his army directed his course to the *Hellepont*, but after having there reduced several of the revolted cities, on his hearing that the *Carians* had also joyned the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon *Hymeas*, who was first sent to the *Propontis*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, marched thence to supply his place on the *Hellepont*, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the *Ilian* coast; but falling sick at *Troas* he there died the next year after. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the third army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the confederacy fell into *Ionian* and *Æolia*, where the chief of their strength lay, and took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionian*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras* hereon despairing of his cause, resolved to leave *Miletus*, and shift elsewhere for his safety, and therefore getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on shipboard, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and there seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which *Darius* had formerly given to *Hestæus*, but the next year after, while he besieged the city, he was there slain by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Darius* † *Daurises* having fallen into the *An. 498.*
country of the *Carians*, overthrew them in two battels with a very great *Darius*
slaughter; but in a third battel, being drawn into an ambush, he was 24.
slain with several other eminent *Persians*, and his whole army cut off and destroyed.

ARTAPHERNES with *Otanes*, and the rest of the *Persian* gene- *An. 497.*
rals, seeing that *Miletus* was the head, and chief strength of the *Ionian* *Darius*
confederacy, † resolved to bend all their force against it, reckoning that 25.
if they could make themselves masters of this city, all the rest would fall of

† Herod. lib. 5.

† Herod. lib. 5.

w Herod. lib. 5.

x Herod. lib. 6.

course.

course. The *Ionians* being informed of this, agreed in their general council to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen *Miletus*, as well as they could, for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the *Persians* by sea, in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to prevail; in order where-to they appointed *Lada*, a small island before *Miletus*, for their rendezvous, and thither they came to the number of 353 ships; at the sight of which the *Persians*, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battel with them, till they had, by their emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that when they came to engage, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting their sails and departing home, there were not above an hundred ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being soon overborn by the number of the enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this *Miletus* being besieged both by sea and land soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which hapned in the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. From *Miletus* the *Persians* marched into *Caria*, and having there taken some cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that countrey again under their former yoke. The *Milesians*, who were saved from the sword in the taking of the city, being sent captives to *Darius* to *Susa*, he did them no farther harm, but sent them to inhabit the city of *Ampha*, which was situated at the mouth of the *Tigris*, where in conjunction with the *Euphrates* it falls into the *Persian* gulph, not far from the place where now the city *Balsora* stands, and there they continued a *Grecian* colony for many ages after.

An. 496.
Darius
26.

AFTER the taking of *Miletus* the *Persian* fleet, which mostly consisted of *Phœnicians*, *Cypriots* and *Egyptians*, having wintered on the coasts thereabout, the next year took in *Samos*, *Chius*, *Lesbus*, and the rest of the islands. And while they were thus employed at sea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent, and having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatned, that is, they made all the beautifullest of their youths eunuchs, sent all their virgins into *Persia*, and burnt all their cities with their temples; into so grievous a calamity were they brought by this revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, *Hestiaus* the *Milesian*, led them into, and he himself had his share in it. For this very year being taken prisoner by the *Persians*, he was carried to *Sardis*, and there crucified by the order of *Artaphernes*. He hastned his execution, without consulting *Darius* about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the *Persians* be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so hapned, as they conjectured, did afterwards appear. For when his head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cause of the *Ionian* war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of *Sardis*, ² *Darius* understanding that

¹ Herodot. lib. 6.

² Herodot. lib. 5.

Aristagoras, the deputy of *Hestæus*, was at the head of it, doubted not but that *Hestæus* himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter so craftily with *Darius*, as to make him believe not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it. For he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing, and that they had waited only for his absence to put it in execution; and that if he had continued at *Miletus* it could never have hapned; and that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts, was to send him thither to appease these combustions; which he promised not only to do, but to deliver *Aristagoras* into his hands, and make the great island of *Sardinia* to become tributary to him; swearing that if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had said. By which fair speech *Darius* being deceived,* gave him permission to return into *Ionian*. On his arrival at *Sardis* his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the government there, and he had drawn several of the *Persians* into it. But in some discourse which he had with *Artaphernes*, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the *Ionian* revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at *Sardis*, and therefore the next night after, getting privately away, he fled to the sea coast, and got over to the island of *Chios*. But the *Chians*, mistrusting that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of *Darius* among them, seized on his person, and put him in prison; but afterwards, being satisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one, whom he had confidence in, with letters to *Sardis*, to those *Persians* whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the person whom he trusted deceiving him, delivered the letters to *Artaphernes*, whereby the plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters, were he at the head of the *Ionian* league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*. But the *Milesians* having had their liberty restored to them by *Aristagoras* would by no means run the hazard of losing it again by receiving him into the city, whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulsed and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to *Chios*. While he was there, being asked the reason, why he so earnestly pressed *Aristagoras* to revolt, and thereby brought so great a calamity upon *Ionian*, he told them, it was because the King had resolved to remove the *Ionians* into *Phœnicia*, and to bring the *Phœnicians* into *Ionian*, and give them that countrey; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising. For *Darius* had never any such intention; but it very well served his purpose, first to excuse himself, and next to excite the *Ionians* with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war, which accordingly had its effect. For the *Ionians* hearing that their countrey was to be taken from them and given to the *Phœnicians*, were exceedingly alarmed at it, and therefore resolved with the utmost of their power to stand to their defence. However, *Hestæus* finding the *Chians* not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he de-

* Herod. lib. 6.

fired of them, he passed over to the isle of *Lesbus*, and having there gained eight ships he sailed with them to *Byzantium*, where making prize of all the ships that passed the *Bosphorus*, either to or from the *Euxine* sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there in a short time grow to a great power. But on his hearing of the taking of *Miletus*, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a deputy, and sailed to *Chius*, and after some little opposition at his first landing made himself master of the island, the *Chians* by reason of the loss they had lately sustained in the sea-fight against the *Persians* at *Lada* being too weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of *Ionians* and *Æolians* to *Thasus*, an island on the *Thracian* coast, and laid siege to the chief city of that island, but hearing that the *Phœnician* fleet in the service of the *Persians* was sailed to take in the islands on the *Asian* coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to *Lesbus* with all his forces to defend that place, from whence passing over into the continent, which was opposite to it, to plunder the countrey, *Harpagus*, one of the *Persian* generals, who hapned then to be there with a great army, fell upon him, and having routed his Forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to *Sardis*, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head, and the most enterprizing genius of any of his age, but he having wholly employed these abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it hapned to him as it doth most an end to such refined politicians, who while they are spinning fine webs of politicks for the bringing about of their self designs, often find them to become snares to their own destruction. For the providence of the wisest of men being too short to over-reach the providence of God, he often permits such *Achitophels*, for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it hapned to *Machiavel*, the famous master of our modern politicians, who after all his politicks died in jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of truth and justice to be the rules of their politicks.

An. 495.
Darius
27.

AFTER the *Phœnician* fleet had subdued all the islands on the *Asian* coast, *Artaphernes* ^b sent them to reduce the *Hellepont*, that is, all its coasts on the *European* side, for those on the *Asian* had been already brought under by the armies at land; which *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as *Tenedos* to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power, but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for *Athens*. But in his passage one of them, commanded by *Metiochus* his eldest son, was taken by the *Phœnicians*, and *Metiochus* was carried to *Darius* to *Susa*; but instead of doing him any hurt, he generously gave him an house, and lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a *Persian* lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into *Greece*. In the interim *Miltiades*, with his other four ships, got safe to *Athens*, and there again settled himself. For he was a citizen of that city, and of one of the most honourable families in it. *Miltiades*, his

^b Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

father *Cimon's* elder brother by the same mother (for they had different fathers) was the first of the *Athenians* that settled in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being called thither by the *Dolones*, the inhabitants of the countrey, to be their prince, who dying without issue left his principality to *Stesagoras* his nephew, the eldest son of his brother *Cimon*, and he dying also without children, the sons of *Pisistratus*, who then govern'd at *Athens*, sent this *Miltiades* his brother thither to succeed him, where he arrived and settled himself in that year in which *Darius* entred on his war against the *Scythians*, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the *Danube*, as hath been abovesaid. Three years after he was driven out by the *Scythians*, but being afterwards brought back, and restored again by the *Dolones*, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossess'd by the *Phœnicians*. While he lived in the *Chersonesus*, he married for his second wife *Hegesipyla* the daughter of *Olorus*, a *Thracian* King in the neighbourhood, by whom he had *Cimon*, the famous general of the *Athenians*. After the death of *Miltiades* she had by a second husband a son called also *Olorus*, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of *Thucydides* the historian. She could not have had them both by the same husband, for *Cymon*, and *Thucydides*, and consequently *Olorus*, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from *Miltiades*.

DARIUS recalling all his other generals^d sent *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, a young *Persian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of *Asia*, with orders to invade *Greece*, and revenge him on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* for the burning of *Sardis*. On his arrival at the *Hellepont*, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the execution of these orders, he marched with his land forces through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to take in *Thasus*, and then follow after him, and coast it by sea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this war. On his arrival in *Macedonia*, all that countrey dreading so great a power submitted to him. But the fleet, after they had subdued *Thasus*, as they were passing farther on towards the coasts of *Macedonia*, on their doubling of the cape of mount *Athos*, now called *Capo Santo*, met there with a terrible storm, which destroyed three hundred of their ships, and above twenty thousand of their men. And at the same time *Mardonius* fell into no less a misfortune by land; for lying with his army in an encampment not sufficiently secured, the *Thracians* took the advantage of it, and falling on him in the night broke into his camp, and slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, by which losses being disabled for any farther action either by sea or land, he was forced to march back again into *Asia*, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself, or the King's affairs, by this expedition.

DARIUS, before he would make any farther attempt upon the *Grecians*,^e to make tryal which of them would submit to him, and which would not, sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water, which was the form whereby the *Persians* used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these heralds se-

^c Plutarchus in Cimone.
VOL. I.

^d Herodot. lib. 6.
Y 2

^e Herodot. lib. 7.

veral

veral of the *Grecian* cities dreading the power of the *Persians* did as was required of them. But when those who were sent to *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* came thither with this commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it when come to a cooler temper. For thus to put heralds to death was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themselves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong, that would have been accepted of, and the *Lacedæmonians* sent a person of purpose to *Susa* to make an offer hereof.

An. 492.
Darius
30.

DARIUS, on the hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, suspecting the sufficiency of his conduct, ^f recalled him from his command, and sent two other generals in his stead to prosecute the war against the *Grecians*, *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* a *Persian*, the son of that *Artaphernes* his brother who was lately governor of *Sardis*, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the *Athenians*, and the *Eretrians*, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of *Sardis*. On their arrival on the coasts of *Ionia* they there drew together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of six hundred ships, and made the best preparations they could for this expedition against the *Grecians*.

An. 491.
Darius
31.

IN the beginning of the next spring, ^g the two *Persian* generals having shipp'd their army, rendezvoused their whole fleet at *Samos*, and from thence sailed to *Naxos*, and having there burned the chief city of the island, and all their temples, and taken in all the other islands in those seas, they shap'd their course directly for *Eretria*, and after a siege of seven days took the city by the treachery of some of its chief inhabitants, and burnt it to the ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then passing over into *Attica* they were led by the guidance of *Hippias*, the late tyrant of *Athens*, into the plain of *Marathon*, where being met and fought with by ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand *Plateans*, under the leading of *Miltiades*, that was lately prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their ships, and sail back again into *Asia* with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this expedition, ^h saith *Trogus*, by the sword, shipwrack, and other ways, two hundred thousand men. But ⁱ *Herodotus* tells us, they were no more than six thousand four hundred that were slain in the field of battel, of which *Hippias* was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war.

DATIS and *Artaphernes*, on their return into *Asia*, ^k that they might shew some fruit of this expedition, sent the *Eretrians* they had taken to *Darius* to *Susa*, who without doing them any farther harm sent them to dwell in a village of the region of *Cissia*, which was at the distance of about a days journey from *Susa*, ^l where *Apollonius Tyaneus* found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

An. 490.
Darius
32.

DARIUS, ^m on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces

^f Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.
Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

ⁱ Herodot. lib. 6.

^k Herodot. lib. 6.

^l Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 17.

^g Herodot. lib. 6.

^h Justin. lib. 2. c. 9.

^m Herodot. lib. 7.

from

from *Attica*, instead of being discouraged by that, or the other disasters that had hapned unto him in his attempts upon the *Grecians*, added the defeat of *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new cause to excite him with the greater vigor to carry on the war against them. And therefore resolving in person to make an invasion upon them with all his power, he sent orders thro' all the provinces to arm the whole empire for it. But after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new war broke out in the fourth, by the revolt of the *Egyptians*. But *Darius's* heart was so earnestly set against the *Grecians*, that resolving his new rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time, and that, while part of his forces were sent to reduce *Egypt*, he would in person with the rest fall upon *Greece*. But he being now an old man, and there being a controversy between two of his sons, to which of them two the succession did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this expedition, lest otherwise on his death it might cause a civil war in the empire. For the preventing of which, it was an ancient usage among the *Persians*, that before their King went out to any dangerous war his successor should be declared. The matter in dispute stood thus; *Darius* had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of *Gobrias*, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who were all born after it. Of the first, *Artabasan* (who is by some called *Artemines* and by others *Ariamenes*) was the eldest, and of the latter, *Xerxes*. *Artabasan* urged that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the usage and custom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the succession before the younger. To this *Xerxes* replied, that he was the son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who was the first founder of the *Persian* empire, and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it, and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the crown of *Cyrus* should come to a descendent of *Cyrus*, than to one who was not. And he farther added, that it was true, *Artabasan* was the eldest son of *Darius*, but that he was the eldest son of the King. For *Artabasan* was born while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be heir of his private fortunes; but as to him, he was the first-born after his father was King, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the *Lacedemonians*, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their Kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, should succeed before those who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by *Damaratus*, formerly King of *Lacedemon*, who having been unjustly deposed by his subjects, was then an exile in the *Persian* court. Hereupon *Xerxes* was declared the successor, tho' not so much by the strength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who was absolutely governed in this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was, the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed. For during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two brothers. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult

^a Herodot. lib. 7. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & in Apothegm. *πρὸς πρῶτον*
fo

so neither did the other repine or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given, and although the elder brother lost the cause, yet he cheerfully submitted to the determination, wished his brother joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered in his interest, and at last died in his service, being slain fighting for him in the *Grecian* war, which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake, as that of a crown; the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break through all other considerations whatsoever, where there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

An. 486.
Darius
36.

AFTER the succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the *Egyptian*, as well as the *Grecian* war, ° *Darius* fell sick and died in the second year after the *Egyptian* revolt, having then reigned ¶ fix and thirty years, and *Xerxes*, according to the late determination, quietly succeeded in the throne. There are writers ¶ who place this determination after the death of *Darius*, and say that it was settled by the judgment of *Artabanus*, uncle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this contest. But *Herodotus*, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us, that it was decided by *Darius* himself a little before his death. And his decision being that which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, *Herodotus's* account of it seemeth the much more probable of the two.

DARIUS was a prince of wisdom, clemency and justice, and hath the honour † to have his name recorded in holy writ for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at *Jerusalem*, and a promoter of his worship therein; For all which God was pleased to make him his instrument, and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign and great prosperity. For although he were not altogether so fortunate in his wars against the *Scythians*, and the *Grecians*, yet every where else he had full success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the empire of *Cyrus*, after it had been much shaken by *Cambyfes* and the *Magian*, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea.

THE *Jews* † have a tradition, that in the last year of *Darius* died the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, and that thereon ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the children of *Israel*, and that this was the obsignation or sealing up of vision and prophecy spoken of by the prophet † *Daniel*. And from the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of the *Persians* ceased also the same year. For they will have it, that this was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the whole continuance of the *Persian* empire was only fifty two years, which they reckon thus. *Darius the Median* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three years, *Cambyfes* (who they say was the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*) sixteen years, and *Darius* (whom they will have to be the son of *Esther*) thirty two years. And this

° Herod. lib. 7.

¶ Ptolem. in Canone, Africanus, Euseb. &c.

¶ Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

Plutarchus πρὸς Πισιστηνίου.

† Ezra v. and in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.

† Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemach David, Seder Olam Zuta, &c.

† Dan. ix. 24.

last *Darius*, according to them, was the *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem* to restore the state of the *Jews*. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* among the *Persians* was the common name of their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. This shews how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the *Persian* empire. And their countreyman *Josephus*, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

IN the time of his reign first appeared in *Persia* the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the *Persians* call *Zerduht*, or *Zaratush*, and the *Greeks* *Zoroastres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers much differ about him, some of them^v will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was King of *Bactria*; and others, that there were^w two of that name, who lived in different ages, one long before the other, both famous in the same kind. But the oriental writers^x all unanimously agree, that there was but one *Zerduht*, or *Zoroastres*, and that the time in which he flourished, was while *Darius Hystaspis* was King of *Persia*. It is certain he was no King, but one born of mean and obscure parentage, who did raise himself wholly by his craft in carrying on that imposture, with which he deceived the world. They who place him so high as the time of *Ninus*, by whom, they say, he was slain in battel, follow the authority of *Justin* for it. But^y *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, with whom *Ninus* had war, was called *Oxyartes*; and there are some ancient manuscripts of *Justin*,^z in which it is read *Oxyartes*, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and *Zoroastres* came into the text instead of it by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by some critic, who from the character of the person took upon him to alter the name. For he is there said, *Artes Magicas primo invenisse*, i. e. *That he was the first inventer of Magianisme*, which *Zoroastres* only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that sect, but only the restorer and reformer of it, as shall be hereafter shewn.

HE was the greatest impostor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterprizing boldness of that *Arab*, but much more knowledge. For he was excellently skill'd in all the learning of the east that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly versed in the *Jewish* religion, and in all the sacred writings of the old testament that were then extant, which makes it most likely, that he was as to his origine a *Jew*. And it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the prophets of *Israel*, and that it was by this means, that he came to be so well skill'd in the holy scriptures, and all other *Jewish* knowledge, which is a farther proof that he was of that people, it not being likely, that a prophet of *Israel* should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a disciple, if he were not of the same seed of *Israel*, as well as of the same religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people by principle of religion, as well as by long received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And

^v Justin. lib. 1. c. 1. Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. ^w Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. See Stanley of the Chaldaic Philosophy, ch. 2. ^x Abulfaragius, Ishmael Abulfeda, Sharrettani, &c. vide etiam Agathiam, lib. 2. & Thomam Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum, cap. 24. ^y Lib. 2. p. 94. ^z So saith Ligerius.

it is farther to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his original, ^a say that he was of *Palestine*, within which countrey the land of *Judea* was. And all this put together amounts with me to a convincing proof, that he was first a *Jew*, and that by birth, as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian sect.

THE prophet of *Israel* to whom he was a servant, some ^b say was *Elias*, and ^c others *Ezra*; but as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived; with this best agreeth what is said by a third sort of writers, ^d that it was one of the disciples of *Jeremiah* with whom he served, and if so, it must have been either *Ezekiel* or *Daniel*. For besides these two, there was no other prophet of *Israel* in those times, who could have been of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. And as *Daniel* was of age sufficient at his carrying away to *Babylon* (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been some time before under the discipline and tutorage of that prophet, so having continued till about the end of the reign of *Cyrus*, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impostor, which cannot be said of *Ezekiel*. For we hear nothing more of him after the twenty seventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the year next after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore it is most likely, that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be *Daniel* under whom this impostor served; and besides him, there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge both in things sacred and prophane, which he was so well furnished with. And no doubt his seeing that great, good, and wise man, arrive to such an height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one, hoping that by acting this part well he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that, which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said, that by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that while he served the prophet under whom he was bred, he did by some evil action ^e draw on him his curse, and that thereon he was smitten with leprosy. But they, who tell us this, seem to be such, who finding *Eliab* said to be his master, mistook *Elisha* for *Eliab*, and therefore thought *Gebazi* to have been the person.

HE did not found a new religion, as his successor in imposture *Mahomet* did, but ^f only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the ancient national religion of the *Medes* as well as of the *Persians*. For it having fall'n under disgrace on the death of those ringleaders of that sect, who had usurped the sovereignty after the death of *Cambyfes*, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low, that it became almost extinct, and *Sabianisme* every where prevail'd against it, *Darius* and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But

^a Religio veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde, c. 24.

^b Abulfaragius, p. 54.

^c Abu Mohammed Mustapha historicus Arabs. Religio veterum Persarum, cap. 24. p. 313.

^d Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita historico Arabe. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 314.

^e Migidi Persa Bundari. Abu Mohammed Mustapha. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 313, 114, 115.

^f Vide Pocockii specimen historię Arabicę, p. 147, 148, 149. Et Thomam Hyde de religione veterum Persarum.

the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, *Zoroastres* saw, that the revival of this was the best game of imposture that he could then play, and having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow, which he inserted into it.

HE first ^e made his appearance in *Media*, now called *Aderbijan*, in the city of *Xiz*, say some; in that of *Ecbatana*, now *Tauris*, say others. For *Smerdis* having been of that province, it is most likely that the sect which he was of had still there its best rooting. And therefore the impostor thought he might in those parts, with the best success, attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that, which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the countrey in which he was born.

THE chief reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion ^h was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held the being of two first causes, the first Light, or the good God, who was the author of all good; and the other darkness, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made, he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in the xlvth chapter of *Isaiah*, Ver. 5, 6, 7. *I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things.* For these words being directed to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, must be understood as spoken in reference to the *Persian* sect of the *Magians*, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the great God, who is superior to both. And, I doubt not, it was from hence that *Zoroastres* had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, ⁱ that God originally or directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine, as to this particular, was, ^k that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity. That ^l under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author and director of all evil; and that these two out of the mixture of light and darkness made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the most is good, and where the angel of darkness prevails, there the most is evil;

^e Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. Golii Notæ in Alfraganum, p. 207, & 227.

^h Abul Feda. Ebn Shahnâ. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio vet. Pers. cap. 9. p. 163. & cap. 22. p. 299.

ⁱ Shahrîstani. Religio vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 299.

^k Abul Feda. Shahrîstani. Religio vet. Pers. c. 22. ^l Religio vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148

that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world: that ^m then there shall be a general resurrection, and ⁿ a day of judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendred to all according to their works. After which ^o the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds. And the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds, and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And ^p all this the remainder of that sect which is now in *Persia* and *India* do without any variation after so many ages still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to the truth is plain enough to be understood without a comment. And whereas he taught, that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good, this plainly shews, that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed, how that God at first created all his angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil, became such wholly through their own fault in falling from the state which God first placed them in. All which plainly shews the author of this doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the *Jewish* religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken, only the crafty impostor took care to dress it up in such a style and form, as would make it best agree with that old religion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which he grafted it upon.

ANOTHER reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion, was, ^q that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills, and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where often by rain, tempests and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed, for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the publick offices of their religion the better performed before them. For all the parts of their publick worship were performed before these publick sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire (for this they always disowned) but God in the fire. For ^r *Zoroastres*, among other his impostures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as *Mahomet* after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the truest *Shecinah* of the divine presence; that the sun being the perfectest fire, God had there ^s the throne of his glory, and the residence of his di-

^m Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plutarchus in *Iside & Osiride*. Shahrîstani. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 296. ⁿ Relig. vet. Pers. c. 33. ^o Shahrîstani. Plutarchus de *Iside & Osiride*.

Relig. vet. Pers. p. 299, 395, &c. ^p Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's *Travels*.

^q Relig. vet. Pers. c. 1. c. 8. & c. 29.

^r Relig. vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.

^s Sanson in the present state of Persia, p. 185. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 4.

vine presence, in a more excellent manner than any where else, and next that in the elementary fire with us; and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God first towards the sun, (which they called *Mithra*) and next towards their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt, and their ordinary way of worship was to do so towards both. For when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both. And in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new institution of his. For thus to worship before fire and the sun, was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that sect, and according hereto is it, that we are to understand what we find in the sixteenth verse of the eighth chapter of *Ezekiel*, where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a vision to *Jerusalem* to see the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there shewn him *about five and twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs towards the temple of the lord, and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped the sun.* The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the *Magians*. For the holy of holies (in which was the *Shecinah* of the divine presence resting over the mercy seat) being on the western end of the temple at *Jerusalem*, all that entered thither to worship God, did it with their faces turned that way. For that was their *Kebla*, or the point towards which they always directed their worship. But the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is, towards the east. And therefore these five and twenty men by altering their *Kebla*, are shewn to have altered their religion, and instead of worshipping God according to the *Jewish* religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the *Magians*.

ZOROASTRES having thus retained in his reformation of *Magism* the ancient usage of that sect in worshipping God before fire, to give the sacred fires in the temples, which he had erected, the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst of fire, he brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire-temple that he erected, (which was that at *Xiz* in *Media*) from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason which is given for their so careful keeping of it. * For their priests watch it day and night, and never * suffer it to go out, or be extinguished. And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with * wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean, and they never * did blow it either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it, and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land,

* *Kebla* among the eastern nations signifieth the point of the heavens, towards which they directed their worship. The Jews did it towards the temple at *Jerusalem*, the Mahometans towards *Mecca*, the Sabians towards the Meridian, and the Magians towards the rising sun. * Relig. vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160. * Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 227. * Strabo, lib. 15. Ammianus Mar-

cellinus, lib. 23. Agathias, lib. 2. * Relig. vet. Pers. c. 28. p. 351. & c. 29. p. 355.

* Strabo, lib. 15. Relig. vet. Pers. ibid.

as long as those of that sect reigned in it, which from the time of *Zoroastres* to the death of *Yazdegerd*, the last *Persian* King of the *Magian* religion, was about eleven hundred and fifty years; yea, it went so far, ² that the priests themselves never approached this fire but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon, and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the *Popish* priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said, and if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them. For all their public prayers are even to this day in the old *Persian* language, in which *Zoroastres* first composed them above two thousand two hundred years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word. And in this absurdity also have they the *Romanists* partakers with them. When *Zoroastres* composed his liturgy, the old *Persic* was then indeed the vulgar language of all those countries where this liturgy was used. And so was the *Latin* throughout all the western empire, when the *Latin* service was first used therein. But when the language changed, they would not consider that the change, which was made thereby, in the reason of the thing did require that a change should be made in their liturgy also, but retained it the same, after it ceased to be understood as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason, that produced this absurdity in both of them; though it must be acknowledged, that the *Magians* have more to say for themselves in this matter than the *Romanists*. For they are taught, that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, tho' they stick to it as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us against altering any thing in our liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass. For all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former, and therefore as we do not now understand the *English*, which was here spoken by our ancestors three or four hundred years ago, so in all likelihood will not our posterity three or four hundred years hence, understand that which is now spoken by us. And therefore should our liturgy be still continued without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language, as now the *Roman* service is to the vulgar of that communion.

BUT to return to the reformatations of *Zoroastres*; How much he followed the *Jewish* platform in the framing of them, doth manifestly appear from the particulars I have mention'd. For most of them were taken either from the sacred writings, or the sacred usages of that people. *Moses* heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the bush, and all *Israel* heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from mount *Sinai*. Hence *Zoroastres* pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst of a flame of fire. The *Jews* had a visible *Shedinah* of the divine presence among them, resting over the mercy seat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore *Zoroastres* taught

² Strabo, lib. 15. p. 732. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 30.

his *Magians* to pretend to the like, and to hold the sun, and the sacred fires in their fire-temples, to be this *Shecinah*, in which God especially dwelt; and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both. The *Jews* had a sacred fire, which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, inextinguishably maintain, and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. And in like manner *Zoroastres* pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar, where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguished, from any other fire, than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the *Jews*,^a that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up, either with bellows or the breath of man, for the kindling of it; hence *Zoroastres*^b ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his *Magians*, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oyl, and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the *Jewish* religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it.

ZOROASTRES having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, sent to reform the old religion of the *Persians*, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions^c he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time as a recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and the more to amuse the people, who there resorted to him, he dressed up his cave with several mystical figures representing *Mithra* and other mysteries of their religion; from whence it became for a long while after a usage among them to chuse such caves for their devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner were called *Mithratic* caves. While he was in this retirement, he composed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And *Mahomet* exactly followed his example herein. For he also retired to a cave some time before he broached his imposture, and by the help of his accomplices there formed the *Alcoran* wherein it is contained. And^d *Pythagoras*, on his return from *Babylon* to *Samos*, in imitation of his master *Zoroastres*, (whom^e *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us he emulously followed) had there in like manner his cave to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abided both day and night, and for the same end as *Zoroastres* did in his, that is, to get himself the greater veneration from the people. For *Pythagoras* acted

^a See Lightfoot's *temple service*.^b Relig. vet. Pers. c. 29. & c. 30.^c Porphyrius in

libro de Nympharum Antro, p. 254. Edit. Cam.

^d Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 184.

Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 5.

^e Strom. I. p. 223.

a part of imposture as well as *Zoroastres*, and this perchance he also learnt from him.

AFTER he had thus acted the part of a prophet in *Media*, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into ^f *Bactria*, the most eastern province of *Persia*, and there settled in the city of *Balch*, which lyes on the river *Oxus* in the confines of *Persia*, *India*, and *Cowaresmia*, where under the protection of *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, he soon spread his imposture thro' all that province with great success. For altho' *Darius*, after the slaughter of the *Magians*, had with most of his followers gone over to the sect of the *Sabians*, yet *Hystaspes* still adhered to the religion of his ancestors, and having fixed his residence at *Balch*, (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the empire under his son) did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And in order to give it the greater reputation, ^g he went in person into *India* among the *Brachmans*, and having there learned from them all their knowledge in mathematicks, astronomy, and natural philosophy, he brought it back among his *Magians*, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of those times, skilful in these sciences, especially after they had been farther instructed in them by *Zoroastres*, who was the greatest mathematician, and the greatest Philosopher, of the age in which he lived, and therefore took care to improve his sect not only in their religion, but also in all natural knowledge, which so much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a *Magian* became equivalent terms. And this proceeded so far, that the vulgar looking on their knowledge to be more than natural entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by supernatural powers, in the same manner as too frequently among us ignorant people are apt to give great scholars, and such as are learned beyond their comprehensions, (as were Friar *Bacon*, ^h Dr. *Faustus*, and ⁱ *Cornelius Agrippa*) the name of conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of *Magians*, drew on it that ill signification which now the word *Magician* bears among us, whereas the true and ancient *Magians* ^k were the great mathematicians, philosophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what by their own study, and the instructions of the ancients of their sect, they had improved themselves in.

BUT it is not to be understood that all *Magians*, that is, all of the sect, were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is, their priests. For they being all ^{*} of the same tribe, as among the *Jews*, (none but the son of a priest being capable of being a

^f Abu Japhar Tabarita, Bundari, Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24.

^g Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

^h John Faustus was the first inventor of printing at Mentz, and from thence being taken for a conjurer, that story is here in England made of him, which goes under the name of Dr. Faustus.

ⁱ That which contributes most to the opinion, that *Cornelius Agrippa* was a *Magician*, is an impertinent piece published under his name, entitled, *The Fourth Book De Occultâ Philosophiâ*, which that learned man was never the author of. For it is not to be found in the folio edition of his works, in which only those that are genuine, and truly his, are contained.

^k Dion Chrysostomus tells us, (in *Oratione Borysthenicâ*) that the Persians call them *Magians* who are skilled in the worship of the Gods, and not as the Greeks, who being ignorant of the meaning of the word, called them so who were skilful in Goetic Magic, i. e. That which jugglers and conjurers pretend to make use of.

^{*} Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 30. p. 367. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 38.

priest among them) they mostly appropriated their learning to their own families, transmitting it in them from father to son, and seldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to those of the royal family, † whom they were bound to instruct, the better to fit them for government, and therefore there were some of them as tutors, as well as chaplains, always residing in the palaces of their Kings. And whether it were, that these *Magians* thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the Kings, that it would add a greater sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the royal family among the *Persians*, as long as this sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the sacerdotal tribe. They were divided into † three orders. The lowest were the inferior clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship; next above them were the super-intendents, who in their several districts governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops do with us; and above all was the *Archimagus*, or arch-priest, who in the same manner as the high-priest among the *Jews*, or the pope now among the *Romanists*, was the head of the whole religion. And according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which they officiated were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the parochial churches, or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us. And the duties which they there performed were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and at stated and solemn times to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire altars, but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were in the same manner, as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the super-intendent resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who in the same manner as the choral vicars with us performed all the divine offices under the super-intendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. 3dly, The highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the *Archimagus* resided, which was had in the same veneration with them, as the temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. *Zoroastres* first settled it at *Balch*, and there he, as their *Archimagus*, had his usual residence. But after the *Mahometans* had over-run *Persia*, in the seventh century after Christ, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove from thence into *Kerman*, which is a province in *Persia*, lying upon the southern ocean towards *India*, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there, erected at the place of his residency, do they now pay the same veneration as formerly they did to that of *Balch*. This temple of the *Archimagus*, as also the other fire-temples, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended solely on the tythes and offerings of the people. For this usage also had *Zoroastres* taken from the *Jewish* church, and made it one of his establishments among his *Magians*.

† Plato in Alcibiade 1. Stobæus, p. 496. Clemens Alexandrinus in *Pædagogico* 1. p. 81.

† Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 28. & cap. 30.

THE impostor having thus settled his new scheme of *Magianism* throughout the province of *Bactria*, with the same success as he had before in *Media*, he ^m went next to the royal court at *Susa*, where he managed his pretensions with that craft, address, and insinuation, that he soon got within *Darius* himself, and made him a proselyte to his new-reform'd religion; whose example in a short time drew after it into the same profession the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This hapned in the thirtieth year of *Darius*, and altho' it succeeded not without great oppositions from the ring-leaders of the *Sabians*, who were the opposite sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that countrey, and so continued for many ages after, till this imposture was at last supplanted by that of *Mahomet*, which was raised almost by the same arts. They who professed this religion ⁿ in *Lucian's* time, as reckoned up by him, were the *Persians*, the *Parthians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chowaresmians*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, the *Medes*, and many other barbarous nations. But since that, the new imposture hath grown up to the suppressing of the old in all these countries. However, there is a remnant of these *Magians* still remaining in *Persia* and *India*, who even to this day observe the same religion which *Zoroastres* first taught them. For they still have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner as the christians do the Bible, and the mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole rule both of their faith and manners.

THIS ^o book the impostor composed, while he lived in his retirement in the cave, and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he presented it to *Darius*, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each consisted of an hundred skins of vellum. For it ^p was the usage of the *Persians* in those times to write all on skins. This book is called *Zenda-vesta*, and by contraction *Zend*, the vulgar pronounce it *Zundavestow*, and *Zund*. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a tinder-box with us, which phantastical name the impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better understanding of which it is to be observed, that in those eastern countries their way of kindling fire is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane, one against another, till one of them takes fire; and such a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impostor would have his book to be, and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their liturgy, which is still used among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or disagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence in their language they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. *what the book Zend allows*; and an evil action *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *which the book Zend disallows*. This book *Zoroastres* feigned to have received from heaven, as *Mahomet* afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his alcoran. It is

^m Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 24.

ⁿ Lucian. De Longævis.

^o Relig. vet. Pers. c. 25, & 26.

^p Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.

still preserved among them in the old *Persian* language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple, even to this day, there is a copy of it kept, in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every parish church, out of which on certain stated times the priests read a portion of it to the people. ^a Dr. *Hyde*, late professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues at *Oxford*, being well skill'd in the old *Persic* as well as the modern, ^a offered to have published the whole of it with a *Latin* translation, could he have been supported in the expences of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world. For a book of that antiquity, no doubt, would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

IN this book are found a great many things ^r taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, besides those I have already mentioned, which farther proves the author's original to have been what I have said. For therein he inserts a great part of the *Psalms* of *David*; he makes *Adam* and *Eve* to have been the first parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same history of the creation and the deluge, that *Moses* doth; only as to the former, whereas *Moses* tells us, that *all things were created in six days*, *Zoroastres* converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days; so that putting them all together, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to three hundred sixty five days, that is, a whole year. He speaks therein also of *Abraham*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Solomon*, in the same manner as the Scriptures do. And out of a particular veneration for *Abraham* he called his book the book of *Abraham*, and his religion the religion of *Abraham*. For he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced was no more than to bring back the religion of the *Persians* to that original purity in which *Abraham* practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this *Mahomet* also (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his religion. For the name of *Abraham* hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the east, and among all sects, so that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themselves to him. For not only the *Jews*, the *Magians*, and the *Mahometans*, but the *Sabians*, and also the *Indians*, (if the *Brabama* of the latter be *Abraham*, as it is with good reason supposed) all challenge him to themselves, as the great patriarch and founder of their several sects, every one of them pretending that their religion is the same which *Abraham* professed, and by his reformation established among them, and to restore this reformation was all that *Zoroastres*, *Mahomet*, and the author of the *Sabian* sect, whoever he was, pretended to. This veneration for *Abraham* in those parts proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it's supposed) there spread among them by the *Israelites*, in their dispersion all over the east, first on the *Assyrian*, and after on the *Babylonish* captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And in this book *Zoroastres*

^a Vide eundem, de Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 1. p. 25.
bicæ, p. 148. Relig. vet. Pers.

^r Pocockii Specimen historię Ara-

commands also the same observances about beasts clean and unclean, as *Moses* doth, gives the same law of paying tythes to the sacerdotal order, enjoins the same care of avoiding all external as well as all internal pollutions, the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves by frequent washings, the same keeping of the priesthood always within the same tribe, and the same ordaining of one high-priest over all; and several other institutions are also therein contained, of the same *Jewish* extraction. The rest of its contents are an historical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reform'd superstition, and rules and exhortations to moral living, in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is, about incest. For therein he wholly takes this away, and as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, ^f allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother; and it went so far with that sect in the practice, that in the sacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this last and worst sort of incest, was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal function, none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it, than those that were born of mothers, who conceived them of their own sons; which was such an abomination, that tho' all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The *Persian* Kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their sect. But [†] *Alexander*, when he conquered *Persia*, did put an end to this abomination. For he did by a law forbid all such incestuous copulations among them.

ZOROASTRES having obtained this wonderful success in making his imposture to be thus received by the King, and the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, ^v he returned back again to *Balch*, where according to his own institution he was obliged to have his residence, as *Archimagus*, or head of the sect, and there he reigned in spirituals with the same authority over the whole empire, as the King did in temporals, and from hence perchance might proceed the mistake of making him King of *Bactria*, *Balch* being in that province. And his being said to have been there slain in battel by *Ninus*, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that countrey, although from another hand. For after his return to *Balch*, having enterprised upon *Argasp* King of the oriental *Scythians* (who was a zealous *Sabian*) to draw him over to his religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of *Darius*, the more prevalently to induce him to it; the *Scythian* prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded *Bactria* with an army, and having there defeated the forces of *Darius* that opposed him, slew *Zoroastres* with all the priests of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of eighty persons, and demolished all the fire-temples in that province. This hapned in the thirty fifth year of the reign of *Darius*. The *Persians* tell us that *Lorasp* or *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, was slain also in the same war. But if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old. For allowing him

^f Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Strabo, lib. 15. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus, p. 778. Tertullian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogico 1. p. 81. & Strom. 3. p. 314.

[†] Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri.

^v Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 24.

to have been no more than twenty on his first coming with *Cyrus* out of *Persia*, he must now have been ninety three years old. But this is no strange thing in those parts. For the air being there thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they, who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury, usually live to a great age, of which we have lately had two instances, in *Aurang-Zeb* King of *India*, and *Rajah-Singah* King of *Candia*, in the island of *Ceylon*; the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near an hundred, and the other about twenty years before, much older.

BUT *Darius* soon revenged the injury upon the *Scythian* King. For falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that of *Balch*, which he erected with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the sect, and therefore from the name of its restorer it was thenceforth called ^w *Azur Gustasp*, i. e. the fire-temple of *Darius Hystaspis*. And the care which he took in this matter shews the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its author with the same ardour as before. And the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their *Archimagus*. For ^x *Porphry* tells us he ordered before his death, that among other his titles it should be engraven on his monument, that he was *Master of the Magians*, which plainly implies that he bore this office among them. (For none but the *Archimagus* was master of the whole sect.) But it was not long that he was in it, for he died the next year after. However from hence it seems to have proceeded, that the Kings of *Persia* were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always ^y initiated into the sacred order of the *Magians*, before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

THE ^z *Greeks* had the name of *Zoroastres* in great esteem, speaking of him as the great master of all humane and divine knowledge. ^a *Plato*, ^b *Aristotle*, ^c *Plutarch*, and ^d *Porphry*, mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning, and so do others. ^e *Pliny* saith much of him, and particularly remarks, that he was the only person, that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it; which last he saith was a presage of his future learning. *Solinus* tells the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth, and saith that ^f he was *optimarum artium peritissimus*, i. e. *most skilful in the knowledge of the best arts*. And *Apuleius*'s character of him is that he was, ^g *omnis divini arcani antistes*, i. e. *the chief doctor in all divine mysteries*. *Cedrenus* names him as a famous astronomer among the *Persians*, and ^h *Suidas* saith of him, that he excelled all others in that science. And this reputation he still hath over all the east, even among those who are most averse

^w Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 23.

^x Porphyrus de abstinencia, lib. 4. p. 165. Edit. Cantab.

^y Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

^z Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.

^a In Alcibiade 1.

^b In libro de Magia citante

Laertio in Proœmio. ^c De Iside & Osiride.

^d In vitâ Pythagoræ.

^e Lib. 30. c. 1.

& lib. 7. c. 16.

^f Cap. 1.

^g Floridorum 2^{do}.

^h In vocibus Μαγὸι & Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρης.

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to his sect, to this very day. For they all there, as well *Mahometans* as *Sabians*, give him the title of *Hakim*, that is, of a wise and learned philosopher, and reckon him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers. And particularly *Ulugh Beigh*, that famous and learned *Tartarian* prince, writing a book of astronomy and astrology doth therein^k prefer *Zoroastres* before all others for his skill and knowledge in these sciences. It is to be observed also, that they who write of *Pythagoras* do almost all of them tell us, that he was the scholar of *Zoroastres* at *Babylon*, and learned of him and his disciples the *Magians* most of that knowledge which afterwards rendred him so famous in the west. So saith^l *Apuleius*, and so say^m *Jamblichus*,ⁿ *Porphyrus*, and^o *Clemens Alexandrinus*. (For the *Zabratus*, or *Zaratus* of *Porphyrus*, and the *Na-Zaratus* of *Clemens*, were none other than this *Zoroastres*) and they relate the matter thus: That when *Cambyfes* conquered *Egypt*,^p he found *Pythagoras* there on his travels, for the improvement of himself in the learning of that countrey, and that having taken him prisoner he sent him with other captives to *Babylon*, where *Zoroastres* (or *Zabratus*, as *Porphyrus* calls him) then lived, and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern learning. The words of *Porphyrus* are, *That by^q Zabratu he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past, and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learn'd from him the discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the universe.* This doth not disagree with the age of *Zoroastres*, nor with the time in which *Pythagoras* is said to have lived. For *Zoroastres* being^r a very old man at the time of his death, past eighty at least, if we reckon 38 years back from the time of his death, it will prove him to be forty two at least, when *Cambyfes* conquered *Egypt*. And that *Pythagoras* flourished at the same time is sufficiently evidenced, in that he had for his contemporaries *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, and *Milo* the *Crotonian*. For when *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt* he^s carryed with him from *Polycrates* letters of recommendation to *Amasis*, which *Amasis*^t dyed in the same year in which *Cambyfes* invaded that countrey; and *Milo*, who was *Pythagoras*'s^u scholar, was^v victor in the wrestling Games at the 62^d Olympiad seven years before *Cambyfes* invaded *Egypt*, and about the seventh year of *Darius Hystaspis*^w marryed his daughter to *Democides* the Physician, and about 20 years after *Pythagoras*^x was in *Milo*'s house, when he was assaulted by *Cylon* one of his scholars and slain. Hereby it appears, that *Zoroastres*, and *Pythagoras* both flourished together between the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus* and the latter end of that of *Darius Hystaspis*. But if what is said of *Pythagoras*'s being taken prisoner by *Cambyfes*'s soldiers in *Egypt* doth not exactly accord with what others write of the different stages of his life, this is owing to the uncertainty of the ancient *Grecian* Chronology. For^y Sir *John Marsham* observes right, that

ⁱ Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 312. ^k Relig. vet. Pers. ibid. ^l Floridorum 2^{do}.
^m In vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4. ⁿ In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab.
^o Strom. 1. p. 223. ^p Jamblichus de vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4. Apuleius Floridorum 2^{do}.
^q In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab. ^r Religio veterum Persarum, c. 24. p. 326.
^s Diogenes Laertius & Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ. ^t Herodot. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1.
^u Strabo lib. 6. p. 263. Jamblicus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 36. ^v Africani
^w Herodotus, lib. 3. ^x Porphyrius & Jamblicus in vitâ Pythagoræ Excerpta Diodori Siculi.
^y In Canone Chronico Sect. IX. p. 144. Edit. Lips.

till after the time of *Alexander* the *Greeks* were far from being accurate in this matter. But however this be, that *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*, and from thence went to *Babylon*, and learnt there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards so famous for, is agreed by ^z all. His stay there *Jamblichus* ^a tells us, was twelve years, and that in his converse with the *Magians* he learnt from them (over and above what hath been afore-mention'd out of *Porphyry*) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence was that of the immortality of the soul. For it's generally agreed among the ancients, ^b that he was the first of all the *Greeks* that taught it. And this, I take it for certain, he had from *Zoroastres*. For, as I have afore shewn, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest of any whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But *Pythagoras* did not bring this doctrine into *Greece*, with that purity in which he received it from his master. For having corrupted it with a mixture of the *Indian* philosophy, (for this also he had learn'd in the east) he made this immortality to consist ^c in an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another, whereas *Zoroastres*'s doctrine was ^d that there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as ^e *Daniel* taught, and the people of God then held, and we now, and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

SOME of the ancient both *Greek* and *Latin* writers give unto *Zoroastres* a very fabulous antiquity. *Justin* ^f according to our present printed copies makes him contemporary with *Ninus*, who is said to have reigned in *Affyria* 1300 years before the death of *Sardanapalus*, from which this our History begins. *Eudoxus* ^g placeth him six thousand years before the death of *Plato*, and so did *Aristotle*. ^h *Hermodorus*, ⁱ *Hermippus*, and ^k *Plutarch* make him to have flourished five thousand years before the war of *Troy*. But ^l *Xanthus Lydius*, and another Anonymous author followed by ^m *Suidas* reckoning it by hundreds instead of thousands, the latter of them brings down his time to five hundred years before the war of *Troy*, and the other to six hundred years before the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, which was much later; but the best evidence is for the age where I have placed it, that is between the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus* over the east, and the latter end of that of *Darius Hystaspis*. This is indeed the latest that is said, but in all such pretences to antiquity they that say the latest are almost always nearest the truth. And that this latest is the truth in the present case is confirmed not only by the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the east, that make mention of this matter, but many of the western writers also assert the same thing. What hath been said to this purpose by *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Porphyry*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Agathias* hath been already alledged. *Plato* ⁿ in the tenth book of his *Politics* hath said, that *Zoroastres* had the name of *Er* of *Pamphylia*

^z Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius & Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ. ^a Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, lib. 4.

^b Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 188. & 201. Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 30.

^c Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 17. Edit. Cantab. & Jamblichus & Diogenes Laertius in vitâ ejusdem.

^d Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.

^e Chap. xii. ver. 2, 3. ^f Lib. 1. cap. 1. & 2. Africanus apud Syncellum. ^g Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1.

^h Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. ⁱ Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1. ^k In libro de Iside & Osiride.

^l Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. ^m Sub voce *Ζωροάστρης*. ⁿ Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. 5. p. 436. Edit. Henf.

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the son of ° *Armenius*, which same is the *Armenius* of *Pamphylia*, whom ° *Arnobius* asserts to have been a familiar acquaintance of *Cyrus's*. *Suidas*, who had the use of many ancient books not now extant, from them ° tells us, that *Zoroastres* was *Persô-Medus*, but there was no such person or name as *Persomedus*, till *Cyrus* had joyned the *Medes* and *Persians* together, and incorporated them under him into one nation. *Pliny* speaking of *Ostanes*, who came into *Greece* with *Xerxes* ° faith of him, that *Zoroastres* lived paulo ante hunc, that is, a little before him. And *Diogenes Laertius* ° makes mention of this *Ostanes* as the next successor of *Zoroastres*, and ° *Suidas* doth the same, which plainly proves this *Zoroastres* to have lived but a little before the time of *Xerxes*. And *Pliny* tells us, ° that they were the *diligentiores*, that is, the more diligent and accurate, that did so assert. The greatest objection against this is the testimony of *Xanthus Lydius* in *Diogenes Laertius*. For if he lived at that time, when the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, as ° *Suidas* tells us, he must then have lived in the same age, in which we say *Zoroastres* flourished; and how then could he say of him, that he lived six hundred years before? one answer to be given hereto is, that ° *Athenæus* tells us from *Antemon Cassandreus* (who wrote a tract of purpose to shew who were the genuin Authors of the books then extant, and who were not) that the books which went under the name *Xanthus Lydius* in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, were not written by him, but by *Dionysius Scyto-brachion* (who lived ° a little before the time of *Julius Caesar*) and that the name of *Xanthus Lydius* (whose true works had all perished long before) was falsely ascribed to them. But supposing it otherwise, the Objection may be fully solved by what *Pliny* ° tells us of two *Zoroastres's*, the former of which might live six hundred years before the latter, and this latter might be that *alius Zoroastres*, that is that other *Zoroastres*, who according ° to the same *Pliny* lived a little before *Ostanes*, and was the same, of which we now treat. But however that matter was, thus much is certain, that the *Zoroastres*, that was the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*, who was the great Patriarch of the *Magians*, who wrote the book *Zendavesta* (which is the Bible of that sect) and whose name is still in the same veneration among them, as that of *Mosès* is among the *Jews*, and that of *Mahomet* among the *Mahometans*, lived in no other times, than those where I have placed him. Possibly there might be another before him of the same name, and he the same, of which the book ascribed to *Xanthus Lydius* did speak. If any one shall say, that the former was the founder of the *Magian* sect, and the latter the reformer of it, and for that reason called by the same name, I shall not contradict the conjecture; for I am apt to think that may be the truth of the matter.

° Gr. τὸ Ἀρμενία, which is truly to be interpreted, not the son, but the worshipper of *Armenius*, who is otherwise called *Arimanius*, that is, *Ahraman*, who was the evil God of the *Magians*. In the same manner he is elsewhere called τὸ Ὀρομάζε, and τὸ Ὀρομάσδεας, i. e. not the son, but the worshipper of *Oromazes* or *Oromasdes*, who was the other God, that is the good God of the *Magians*. See *Agathias*, lib. 2. and *Stobæus*, p. 496. ° *Arnobius*, lib. 1. p. 31. ° *Suidas*

sub voce Ζωροάστρης. ° *Plinius*, lib. 30. cap. 1. ° in *Proœmio*. ° *Suidas* sub voce Μάγιοι & Ἀσπορομία. ° *Plin.* ibid. ° in voce ἑαίθη. ° *Athenæus*, lib. 12.

° *Suetonius* in *Antonio Gniphone*. *Vossius de Historicis Græcis*, lib. 4. c. 5. ° *Plinius*, lib. 30. cap. 1. ° *Plin.* ibid.

SOME of the ² ancient heretics, especially the followers of *Prodicus*, pretended to have the secret books of *Zoroastres*, containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these ³ *Plotinus* and *Porphyry* did both write, and fully shewed them to have been the forgeries of the *Gnostick* christians. And others have gathered together out of *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, *Synefius*, *Olympiodorus*, and other writers, what they call the oracles of *Zoroastres*, and several editions have been published of them in *Greek*, with the scholia or comments of *Pletho* and *Pfellus*. But all these are mere figments, coined by the *Platonic* philosophers, who lived after the time of *Christ*, and are condemned as such by ⁴ *St. Chrysostom*, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. *Stanley*'s book of the *Chaldaic* philosophy, which is published at the end of his history of philosophy, where they will find them translated into *English* from the collection of *Francis Patricius*.

ABUL-PHARAGIUS tells us, that ⁵ *Zerdusht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold to his *Magians* the coming of *Christ*, and that at the time of his birth there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day as well as by night, and therefore left it in command with them, that when that star should appear they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him: And that it was by this command that the three wise men came from the east, that is, out of *Persia*, to worship *Christ* at *Beth-lehem*. And so far *Sbaristani*, tho' a *Mahometan* writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, That *Zerdusht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness, and that Kings and Princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophesy of *Zoroastres*, ⁶ others refer to the prophesy of *Balaam*, and say, that it was by his prediction that the wise men were led by the star to seek *Christ* in *Judea*, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the *legendary* writings of the eastern christians. And *Abul-Pharagius*, tho' an *Arab* writer, being by religion a christian, it is most likely, that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

THOSE who are still remaining of this sect in *Persia* ⁷ have there the name of *Gaurs*, which in the *Arabick* signifieth *Infidels*, and is the usual appellation which the *Mahometans* bestow on all that are not of their religion. But these people have this name in *Persia* by way of eminency, as if there were none other such like them, and therefore they are called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that countrey, and whosoever speaks of a *Gaur* there, understands none other by it than one of this sect. They have a suburb at *Hispahan*, the

² Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 1. p. 223.
³ Porphyrus, cap. 9. p. 57. Edit. Cantab.

⁴ Vide Lucam Holstenium de vita & scri-

⁵ In vita Babylæ Martyris.

⁶ Historia Dynastiarum, p. 54.

⁷ Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 31. p. 382, 383.

⁸ Theodorus Tarsensis.

⁹ Thevenot's travels. Sanson's present state of Persia.

Tavernier. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 29.

metropolis of *Persia*, which is called *Gaurabad*, or the town of the *Gaurs*, where they are employed only in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. And some of them are scattered abroad in other places of that countrey, where they are made use of in the like services. But the bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barrenest and worst province of all *Persia*, and where others care not to dwell, the *Mahometans* have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom, and the full exercise of their religion. But every where else they use them as dogs; esteeming them, as to their religion, the worst of all those that differ from them, and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since for the avoiding of it several of them fled into *India*, and settled there in the countrey about *Surat*, where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And a ^e colony of them is settled in *Bombay*, an island in those parts belonging to the *English*, where they are allowed, without any molestation, the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are a poor harmless sort of people, zealous in their superstition, rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the belief of a resurrection and a future judgment, and utterly detesting all idolatry, although reckoned by the *Mahometans* the most guilty of it. For although they perform their worship before fire, and towards the rising sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them. They hold, that more of God is in these his creatures, than in any other, and that therefore they worship God towards them, as being in their opinion the truest *Shecinab* of the divine presence among us, as darkness is that of the devils; and as to *Zoroastres*, they still have him in the same veneration as the *Jews* have *Moses*, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he sent his law, and communicated his will unto them.

An. 485. *XERXES* having ascended the throne ^h employed the first year of
Xerxes 1. his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He ⁱ confirmed to the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of *Samaria* for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God in that place.

An. 484. IN the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and
Xerxes 2. having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these revolters, he ^k reduced them under an heavier yoke of servitude than they were before, and then towards the end of the year, after having made *Achemenes* one of his brothers governor of that province, returned again to *Susa*.

THIS year *Herodotus* the famous historian ^l was born at *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*. For he was fifty three years old when the *Peloponesian* war first began.

An. 483. *XERXES* being puffed up with his success against the *Egyptians*,
Xerxes 3. upon the advice and instigation of *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, who had married one of his sisters, ^m resolved upon a war with *Greece*, and in order thereto made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the *Persian* empire.

^e Ovington's travels.

^k Herod. lib. 7.

^h Herod. lib. 7.

^l Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.

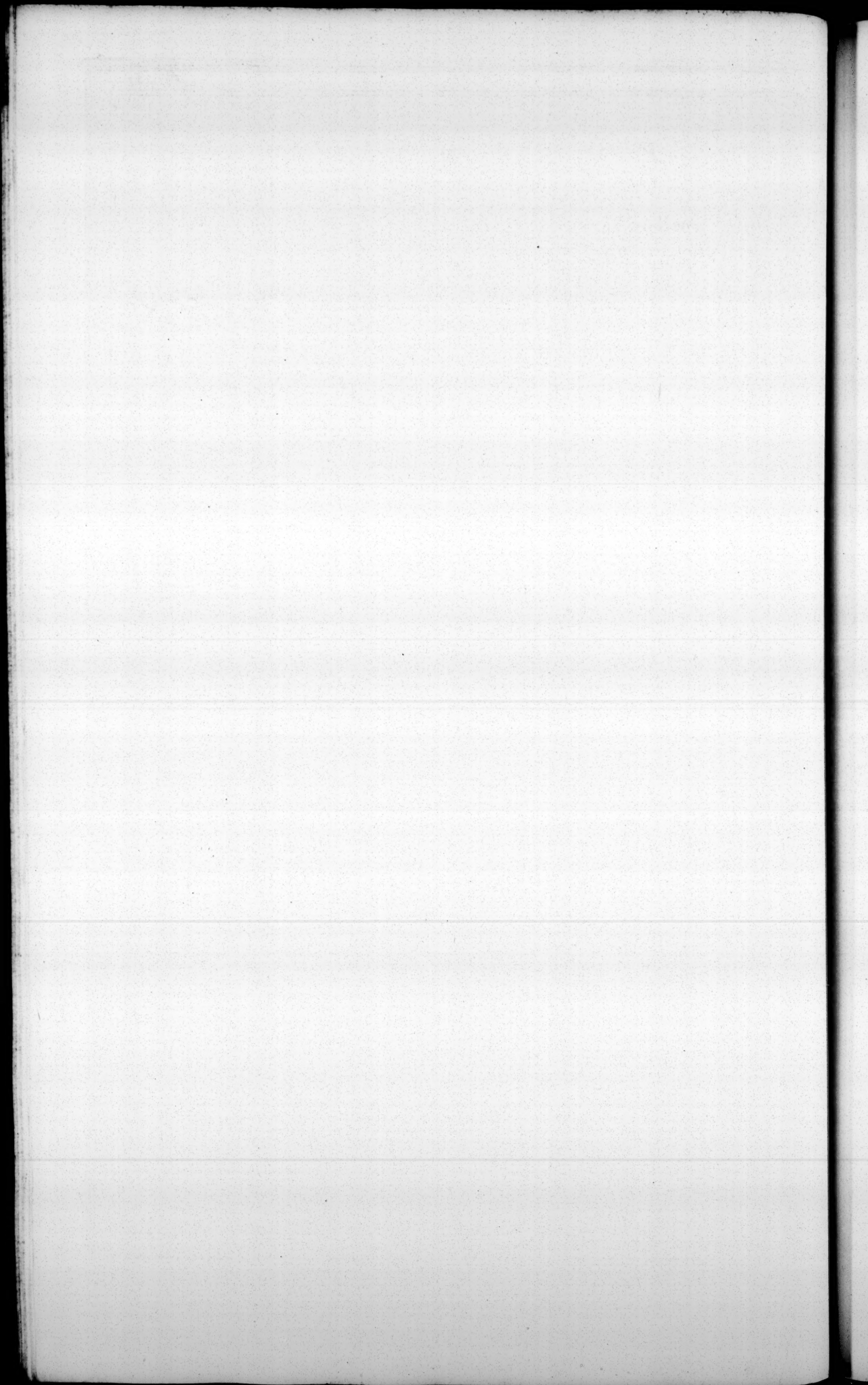
ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

^m Herodot. lib. 7.



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JESHUA the high-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* ^a died in the fifty third year of his high-priesthood, and ^o *Joiakim* his son succeeded him in that office.

XERXES being resolved on the *Grecian* war, ^p entered into a league ^{An. 482.} with the *Carthaginians*, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Persians* ^{Xerxes 4.} invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall on all those who were of the *Grecian* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the *Carthaginians* made choice of *Hamilcar* to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but also with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries out of *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Italy*, so that he got together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this league.

AND thus *Xerxes*, according as was foretold by the prophet *Daniel*, ^{An. 481.} ^q having by his strength and thorough his great riches stirred up all the then ^{Xerxes 5.} known habitable world against the realm of *Grecia*, that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own, he did in the fifth year of his reign, which was ^r the tenth after the battel of *Marathon*, set out from *Susa* to begin the war, and having marched as far as *Sardis* wintered there.

EARLY the next spring ^t *Xerxes* did set out for the *Hellepont*, over ^{An. 480.} which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army, and ^{Xerxes 6.} the other for his carriages and beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days, during all which time they were continually a passing day and night before all could get over, so great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching thorough the *Thracian Chersonesus* he arrived at *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thracia*, at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His land army upon the muster was found to be one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, besides his chariots and his camels, for which allowing twenty thousand more, the whole will amount to one million and eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven ships of the line of battel, besides gallies, transports, victuallers, and other sorts of vessels that attended, which were three thousand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces by sea and land, which *Xerxes* brought with him out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After his passing the *Hellepont*, the nations on this side that submitted to him, added to his land army three hundred thousand men more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that putting all together, his forces by sea and land, by that time he came to the *Streights* of the *Thermopylae*, made up the number of two

^a Chronicon Alexandrinum.
Siculus, lib. 11.

^q Dan. xi. 2.

^o Nehem. xii. 10. Jos. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5.

^r Herod. lib. 7.

^t Thucydides, lib. 1.

^p Diod.

^s Herod. lib. 7. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle & Aristide. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

millions six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten men. And the servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and all such other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of persons of all sorts, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, were at least five millions. This is ^v *Herodotus*'s account of them, and ^w *Plutarch* and ^x *Isocrates* agree with him herein. But ^y *Diodorus Siculus*, ^z *Pliny*, ^a *Ælian* and others, do in their computations fall much short of this number, making the army of *Xerxes*, with which he passed the *Helle-spont* against *Greece*, to be very little more than that with which *Darius* his father passed the *Bosphorus* to make war upon the *Scythians*. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraved on the monument of those *Grecians* who were slain at *Thermopylae*, best agree with the account of *Herodotus*. For in them it is said, ^b that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it hapned, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance of exactness than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest, and that especially since we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, that this was the greatest army that was ever brought into the field.

JOSEPHUS tells us, ^c that a band of *Jews* was also in this army, and brings for proof of it a passage out of the poet *Charilus*, who in describing the army of *Xerxes*, as they passed on by their several nations in their march, hath these verses.

*Then next did march, in habit and in meen,
A people wonderful for to be seen.
Their language is in dialect the same,
Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
They dwell in the high Solymæan land,
On hills, near which there doth a great lake stand.*

Jerusalem having also had the name of ^d *Solyma*, and all the countrey thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great lake *Asphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this description seems plainly to suit the *Jews*, especially since it is also mentioned, that they spake the *Phœnician* language, the *Syriac* being then the vulgar language of the *Jews*. But ^e *Scaliger*, ^f *Cunæus*, and ^g *Bochartus* understand it of the *Solymi* in *Pisidia*. However, ^h *Salmasius* maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies *Josephus* in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* called all the other nations of the *Persian* empire to follow him to this war, the *Jews* alone should be excused from it. And therefore whether these whom *Charilus* speaks of were *Jews* or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this expedition.

^v Herod. lib. 7.

^w In Themistocle.

^x In Panathenaico.

^y Lib. 11.

^z Lib. 33. c. 10.

^a Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 3.

^b Herod. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib.

11. p. 26. *This inscription, according to the reading as in Herodotus, saith they were three millions, but as in Diodorus only two millions.*

^c Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^d By abbreviation for

Hierosolyma.

^e In notis ad fragmenta.

^f De Republica Hebræorum, lib. 2. c. 18.

^g Geographia Sacra, Part 2. lib. 1. c. 2.

^h In Offilegio Linguae Hellenisticæ.

AFTER *Xerxes* had taken this account of his fleet and army at *Doriscus*, he marched from thence with his army through *Thrace*, *Macedon* and *Theffaly*, towards *Attica*, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coast all the way, making the same stations by sea that he did by land. All yielded to him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the *Streights of Thermopylae*, where *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedæmonians* with three hundred *Spartans*, and as many other *Greeks* as made up a body of four thousand men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous army of the *Persians*, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be surrounded by the *Persians* through the treachery of a certain *Greek*, who led them by a secret way over the mountains to fall on them in the rear, all retired, saving *Leonidas* and his three hundred *Spartans*, and some few others that would not desert them, who resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the *Persians* paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it twenty thousand of their men, and among them two of the brothers of *Xerxes*.

AFTER this *Xerxes* ^k entered through *Bæotia* into *Attica* the countrey of the *Athenians*, having spent in his march hither since his passing the *Hellespont* four months. The *Athenians*, not able to defend themselves against so great a force, deserted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and securing their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, neighbouring cities, which by the intervention of the sea were out of the reach of his army, so that on his coming thither he became master of the place without any opposition.

IN the interim, the *Persian* and *Grecian* ^l fleets lying near each other, the former at *Aphetæ*, and the other at *Artemisium*, above *Eubæa*, had several encounters with each other, in every one of which the *Grecians* had the advantage, and though it was not great, yet it served them to shew, that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible, which gave them the heart afterwards with the greater courage and resolution to fight against them. However their ships being much shattered by these several encounters, they found it necessary to retire to some safer place to refit, and for this purpose came into the *Streights of Salamis*, where they not only refitted, but were also re-inforced and augmented by a great many other ships, which from several parts of *Greece* came thither to them, and there joined them against the common enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet upward of three hundred sail. It was while they lay there, that *Xerxes* entered *Athens*, and thereon the *Persian* fleet came thither also, and anchored at *Phalerus*, a port on that shore. The *Streights of Salamis*, where the *Greek* fleet lay, was the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in, that they could chuse. For the *Persians*, by reason of the narrowness of that sea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the *Greeks*, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but altho' their fleet

ⁱ Herod. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle.
Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle.

^k Herod. lib. 8. Diod.
^l Herod. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themistocle.

was four times as great must in that place fight upon equal terms: Which *Themistocles* the general of the *Athenians* having wisely observed, did by his prudence and dexterity bring it to pass, that there it came to a battel between them; wherein the *Grecians* by the advantage of the place gained the victory, and gave the enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greatest, both for expence and number of men, that was ever undertaken. For they having destroyed two hundred of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the *Asian* coast, and having set in at *Cyma*, a city in *Æolia*, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into *Greece*. And *Xerxes* being frightened with an apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellespont*, and there obstruct his return, fled thither with all the haste and precipitation he could, and having left *Mardonius*, with three hundred thousand men, to carry on the war in *Greece*, marched back with the rest to *Sardis*, and there took up his quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that at his coming to the *Hellespont*, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by storms, he who had passed over that sea but a few months before with such pomp and pride, was forced to repass it in a poor fisher-boat.

ABOUT the same time^m his confederates the *Carthaginians* met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat, in *Sicily*. For *Hamilcar*, their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their transportation, sailed with them for *Sicily*, and having there landed them at *Panormus*, a port in that island, laid siege to *Himera*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security he caused two large camps to be fortified, in the one of which he lodged his land-army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time *Gelo* was King of *Sicily*, a prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this invasion, he drew together an army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and marched immediately against the enemy for the defence of the countrey. On his arrival at *Himera* he intercepted a courier carrying letters from the *Salinuntines*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he understood that the next morning *Hamilcar* was to celebrate a great sacrifice to *Neptune* at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the *Salinuntine* horse then to come thither to him. *Gelo* taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning at the time appointed sent thither a party of horse of his own, who being received into the camp of the *Salinuntines*, first slew *Hamilcar*, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, *Gelo* having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battel. But the flame ascending from the camp of the marines, soon telling the *Carthaginians* the fate of their fleet, and a messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this so disheartned and confounded them, that having no longer any courage to stand their ground, they were soon put to the rout,

^m Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

and *Gelo* slew of them an hundred and fifty thousand on the field of battel, and took all the rest prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves; so that all *Sicily* was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that of all this prodigious fleet and army, the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it's remarked none returned save only a few, who escaped in a cock-boat to bring this dismal news to *Carthage*. ^a *Herodotus* tells us, that this battel was fought on the same day with that of *Salamis*, but ^b *Diodorus Siculus* says, it was at the time when *Leonidas* was slain at *Thermopylae*, which seems to be the truer account of the two. For after this success of *Gelo*, ^c the *Grecians* sent to him for his assistance against *Xerxes*, which they would not have done after the battel of *Salamis*. For from thenceforth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finish the war.

ON *Xerxes's* departure out of *Greece*, ^d *Mardonius* wintered his army in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, and early the next spring marched with it in- ^{An. 479.} ^{Xerxes 7.} to *Bæotia*. From thence he sent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia* to *Athens*, with proposals of accommodation from the King. Thereby he offered them to rebuild at the King's charges, whatsoever had been burnt or demolished in *Attica* the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatsoever other lands they should desire. But the *Athenians* not being to be induced to desert the interest of *Greece*, for any advantage whatsoever, would hearken to none of these offers; whereon ^e *Mardonius* being enraged by the refusal, marched with all his army into *Attica*, destroying every thing wherever he came, and entering *Athens*, burnt and demolished whatsoever he there found standing after the former year's devastation. For the *Athenians* not being strong enough to resist such a torrent, had the second time withdrawn to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and left the city empty. In the interim, the joint forces of all *Greece* being drawn together at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back again into *Bæotia*. For that being an open and level countrey, was much fitter for him to fight in than *Attica*, which being rough, craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could scarce any where afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any service in. On his return he encamped on the river *Æsopus*; thither the *Greeks* marched after him, under the command of *Pausanias* King of *Lacedæmon*, and *Aristides* general of the *Athenians*. They consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and the *Persians* of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith ^f *Herodotus*; of five hundred thousand, saith ^g *Diodorus Siculus*; and with these forces near the city of *Platæa* it came to a decisive battel between them, in which *Mardonius* was slain, and all the *Persian* army cut in pieces. Only *Artabazus*, who was aware of the event from the ill conduct which he had observed in *Mardonius*, made an early escape, with forty thousand men which he commanded, and by his speed out-marching the fame of the defeat got

^a Lib. 7. ^b Lib. 11. ^c Herodot. lib. 7. ^d Herodot. lib. 8. *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.*
Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 14. ^e Herodot. lib. 9.
^f Lib. 9. ^g Lib. 11.

safe to *Byzantium*, and there passed over into *Asia*. Besides these, not four thousand of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the *Greeks*, and this quite delivered them from all farther invasions of that people. For from that time a *Persian* army was never more seen on this side the *Hellepont*.

ON the same day that the *Greeks* fought this battel at *Plataea*,^{*} their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the *Persian* fleet in *Asia*. For at the same time that their land-forces rendezvoused at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet having met together at *Ægina* under the command of *Leotychides*, the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, there came thither to them ambassadors from the *Ionians* to invite them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* cities there from the slavery of the *Barbarians*, whereon they sailed for *Delos* in their way thither, and while they lay there other ambassadors came to them from *Samos*, who having acquainted them that the *Persian* fleet which wintered at *Cyma*, having sailed thence, were then at *Samos*, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them. Whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for *Samos*. But the *Persians* hearing of their approach retired to *Mycale*, a promontory on the continent of *Asia*, where their land-army lay, consisting of an hundred thousand men, which were the remainder of those which *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the former year, and there drew up their ships upon the land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the *Greeks* following them thither, by the assistance of the *Ionians* who revolted to them, vanquished their army at land, took their rampart, and burnt all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, there being after these two battels scarce any of all that prodigious army, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellepont*, now left, whom either the famine, the pestilence, or the sword, had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom *Artabazus* brought back out of *Greece*. And of these a great number died on their return into *Asia*, by their overglutting themselves with the plenty of that country, after the hardships they had suffered on the other side of the *Hellepont*. A greater fleet and army was scarce ever set forth in the west for any expedition, than that of *Hamilcar*'s against *Sicily*, nor ever was there a greater army brought together any where, than that wherewith *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed by those, who in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them; and hereby a signal instance was given, that whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

THE battel of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet^{*} it is commonly said by the *Greek* writers, that they had an account of the victory of *Plataea* at *Mycale* before they begun the battel there, though the whole *Ægean* sea, which was

^{*} Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. ^{*} Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Herodot. lib. 9. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14. several

several days failing, lay between. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears this matter. For ^x he tells us, that *Leotychides*, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the *Greeks* at *Platæa*, lest they should be overpowered and vanquished by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battel, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out through all the army, that the *Persians* were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned hapning to be true, and also done the same day, this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come in so short a time, from so far distant a place by any human means. And there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said ^y of the victory of *Paulus Æmilius* over the *Macedonians*, being known at *Rome* on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than *Platæa* was from *Mycale*, no doubt was from the same cause. That hapned to be true which was only feigned when first reported, and afterwards when it was found to be true, and done on the same day on which the *Romans* first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

XERXES on his having received these two great defeats at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, ^z left *Sardis* almost with the same precipitation as he did *Athens* after the battel of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that thereby he might get as far he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However, he omitted not before he left those parts to give ^a order for the burning and demolishing of all the temples in the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which alone escaped this general devallation. And this he did not out of any particular displeasure to the *Asiatic Greeks*. For he did the same wherever else he came, destroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the *Magian* religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous profelyte to it by *Zoroastres*. For that sect expressing ^b a great detestation against worshipping of God by images, were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* firm to their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the *Magians*, but also ^c *Ostanes* himself, ^d who was then the *Archimagus*, or great patriarch of the whole sect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition. And by their instigation ^e *Tully* tells us it was, that all these temples were destroyed. This *Ostanes* is said to have been ^f grandfather to *Zoroastres*, but it is most likely that he was his grandson, and that it was by mistake that it hath been said otherwise. For *Zoroastres* it's certain was ^g a very old man at his death. The name of *Ostanes* was very famous among the *Greeks*. For ^h from him, they say, they first had the *Magian* philosophy, he having

^x Lib. 11. ^y Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius, lib. 41. ^z Herod. lib. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.
^a Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Esaiæ, cap. 37. Æschylus in Persis. Herod. lib. 8. ^b Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico. Laertius in Proœmio. Pocockii Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149. ^c Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2.
^d Laertius in Proœmio. Suidas in voce Μάγος. ^e De Legibus, lib. 2. ^f Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. ^g Relig. vet. Pers. ibid. ^h Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, & 2.

communicated it unto them, while he followed *Xerxes* in this war, and therefore from him they sometimes call the whole sect ⁱ *Ostaneans*, instead of *Magians*, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

ONE of the temples, which by *Xerxes*'s order were thus destroyed, was ^{*} that of *Apollo Didumæan* near *Miletus*, from whence he took an immense treasure. This was discovered to the *Persians* by the *Branchidæ* a family of the *Milesians*, that had the keeping of the temple, who thereon finding themselves by reason of this treachery and sacrilege to become very odious to their country-men, durst not, on *Xerxes*'s going away, stay behind him, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into *Persia*, and were there planted by him in a small territory, which he gave them on the river *Ozus* in the province of *Bactria*, where *Alexander*, on his making himself master of that country, finding their posterity still remaining, ¹ caused them all to be put to the sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging on the innocent descendents, the crime committed by their ancestors many ages before.

XERXES on his return toward *Susa* passing thorough *Babylon*, ^m made there the same devastation of their temples, as he had in *Greece*, and the *Lesser Asia*, and as it may be supposed on the same principle, that is, his zeal for the *Magian* religion, and his aversion to that of the *Sabians*, who worshipped God by images, ⁿ of which the *Magians* had the utmost detestation. For the *Babylonians* were all *Sabians*, and indeed were the first founders of the sect. For they first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterward that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations, where it obtained, as hath been already shewn. And for this reason the *Magians* having them in abhorrence above all other *Sabians*, prevailed with *Xerxes*, out of an especial hatred to them, to take *Babylon* in his way to *Susa*, of purpose to destroy all the temples they had there; altho' perchance to recruit himself with the spoils of these temples, after the vast expences which he had been at in his *Grecian* war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this resolution. For the wealth of their temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money the treasures of the temple of *Belus* only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and if those which he found in the other idol temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the *Grecian* war. And without some such recruit, it is scarce possible to imagine how he could have supported himself at home after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that after his return he was supported through all his empire, in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority, or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster, whereas it usually happens, that princes are ruined at home as well as abroad by such misfortunes.

ⁱ Suidas in *Ὀσάναι*.

^{*} Strabo, lib. 14.

¹ Strabo, lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

cap. 5.

^m Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7. Strabo, lib. 16. Herod. lib. 1. Diod.

Sic. lib. 2.

ⁿ Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148, 149.

By the pillaging and destroying of all these heathen temples at *Babylon* was fully completed, what the prophets *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof many years before. ° *All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground.* ° *I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed.* ° *And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon.* ° *Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.* For when *Xerxes* destroyed all these temples in *Babylon*, he took from them all their treasures, which they had been for many ages a swallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses for which he had occasion of them.

AFTER the battel of *Mycale* ° the *Grecian* fleet sailed to the *Hellepont*, to seize the bridges which *Xerxes* had laid over those streights, supposing that they had been still whole. But on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by storms, *Leotychides* with the *Peloponnesians* sailed home; but *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and allies of *Ionia* still staying there, made themselves masters of *Sestus* and the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where they took much spoil, and a great number of prisoners, and then on the approach of winter returned to their respective Cities. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of *Xerxes's* bridge at *Cardia*, where the *Persians* had caused them to be brought before his arrival in those parts, he carried them with him to *Athens*, and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the *Ionian* cities in *Asia* revolted from the *Persians*, and entering into confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help maintained their liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

THE *Greeks* having re-settled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle An. 477. that was made in them by the late invasion of the *Persians*, ° resolved farther to prosecute the war against them for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the *Grecian* original. For which purpose they equipped a strong fleet, of which *Pausanias* King of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Aristides* the *Athenian* having the command, they sailed with it to *Cyprus*, and there having freed a great many *Grecian* cities from their *Persian* garrisons, restored them again to their own liberty. Xerxes 9.

ABOUT this time *Xerxes* at *Susa* ° was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the house of *Masistes* his Brother, which had its rise from an incestuous love first begun at *Sardis*. For *Xerxes*, after his return thither from his flight out of *Greece*, fell in love with *Masistes's* wife, who was then in that city, but she being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But *Xerxes* thinking to win her at last, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly he married a daughter which she had, named *Artaynta*, to *Darius* his eldest son, whom he intended for his successor in the throne, and on his return to *Susa* caused the marriage to be consummated, which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it

° *Isaiah* xxi. 9.° *Jer.* li. 44.° *Jer.* li. 47, 52.° *Jer.* i. 2.° *Herod.* lib. 9.° *Diod. Sic.* lib. 11. *Plutarchus* in *Aristide.*° *Herod.* lib. 9.

would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with *Artaynta*, where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a doing, *Hamestris*, *Xerxes's* Queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the King, who being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next visit to his mistress; and on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the satisfaction he had therein, he bad her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the mantle which he had then on him. *Xerxes* being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it put it on, and as by way of trophy wore it publickly; whereby *Hamestris* being thoroughly confirmed in what she was afore only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree, but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the King's birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the King to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of *Masistes* to be given unto her. The King perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which *Hamestris* was exasperated against her, and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gainsaid, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the King's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breasts, her tongue, nose, ears and lips, to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim *Xerxes*, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for *Masistes*, and told him, that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that instead of her he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But *Masistes* having an entire affection for his wife could not be induced to consent hereto; whereon *Xerxes* told him in an angry manner, that since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife neither, and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon *Masistes* suspecting some mischief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood, where finding his wife in that mangled condition, as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could towards *Bactria*, the province of which he was governor, purposing, as soon as he could arrive thither, to raise an army and make war upon the King, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But *Xerxes* hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from
thence

thence what he intended, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This *Masistes* was brother of *Xerxes* by *Atossa*, the same mother as well as by the same father, and was a person of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the King, and he had done him great services in his *Grecian* war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition, and he was personally engaged for him in the battel of *Mycale*, and was in truth the chief honour of his house, and never gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However all this could not protect him from *Xerxes's* cruelty; which sufficiently shews, that where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

AND there is ^w another fact related of *Hamestris* equally cruel and impious, that is, that she caused fourteen boys of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. And in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above-mention'd, I have been the more particular, because ^x several having been of opinion, by reason of the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and *Eftber*, that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* the *Eftber* mentioned in Scripture, it may from hence appear, how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character, as *Hamestris* was, could have ever been that Queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Eftber* is so renowned in holy writ, and is there recorded, as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.

AFTER the death of *Masistes* *Xerxes* appointed ^y *Hystaspis* his second son to be governor of *Bactria* in his stead; which obliging him to be absent from court, gave *Artaxerxes* his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the throne before him on the death of *Xerxes*, as will be hereafter related.

THE *Grecian* fleet having effected at *Cyprus* what they went thither for, ^{An. 476.} ^{Xerxes} ^{10.} failed from thence to the *Hellepont*, and took in *Byzantium*; where several *Persians* of eminent note, and some of them of the kindred of *Xerxes*, being taken prisoners, *Pausanias* treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entred into a treaty with *Xerxes* to betray *Greece* unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by *Xerxes*, *Pausanias* thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the *Persians*, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically towards the allies; whereon they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the *Athenians*, who thenceforth by this means obtained the chief command at sea in all the *Grecian* affairs, and held it for many years after. The *Lacedæmonians* having received an account of these miscarriages of *Pausanias* deposed him from his command on the *Hellepont*, and recalling him home put him under publick censure for them.

^w Herodot. lib. 7.^x Scaliger and his followers.^y Diod. Sic. lib. 11.^z Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

An. 475.
Xerxes
11.

HOWEVER ^a the next year he went again to the *Hellespont*, although without the consent of the state or any commission from them, sailing thither in a private ship, which he hired on pretence of fighting against the *Persians* as a volunteer in that war; but in reality to carry on his treasonable designs with them, *Artabazus* being appointed governor on the *Propontis*, of purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at *Byzantium* his behaviour was such, that the *Athenians* drove him thence; whereon he went to the country of *Troas*, and there tarried some time, the better to carry on his correspondence with *Artabazus*; of which there being some suspicions, the *Lacedæmonians* summoned him home by a publick officer; but on his return put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his tryal, he was again discharged. But some time after the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one whom he had made use of to carry on the correspondence, they put him to death for it.

An. 472.
Xerxes
14.

THE MISTOCLES, ^b by his wisdom and great application, having much advanced the power and interest of the *Athenians*, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the *Lacedæmonians*. For they seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto born the chief sway among the *Greeks*, now rivall'd and diminish'd by the growing up of this flourishing state, could not with patience bear it, and therefore to gratify their revenge, resolved on the ruine of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto they caused him first to be accused at *Athens*, of being a confederate with *Pausanias* in his treason against *Greece*, but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

An. 471.
Xerxes
15.

BUT ^c the next year after, *Themistocles* being banished *Athens*, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by *Ostracisme*, which was ^d a way among them, whereby for the better securing of their liberty they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the city for a certain term of years. *Themistocles* being thus necessitated for a time to leave his country, settled at *Argos*, of which the *Lacedæmonians* taking the advantage, prosecuted anew their charge against him before the general council of all *Greece* then met at *Sparta*, and summoned him to appear before them to answer to it, accusing him there of treason against the whole community of *Greece*. *Themistocles* seeing how bitterly the *Lacedæmonians* were set against him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleased in that assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to *Corcyra*, and from thence to *Admetus* king of the *Molossians*, by whose assistance being conveyed to the coasts of the *Ægean* sea, he took shipping at *Pydna* in *Macedonia*, and from thence passed over to *Cy-ma*, a city of *Æolia* in the lesser *Asia*. But *Xerxes* having put a price of two hundred talents upon his head, (which amounted to thirty seven thousand five hundred pound of our money) several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger he was forced there to lye hid for some time, till at length by the contrivance and

^a Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pausania.

^b Herodot. lib. 7, &c. Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

^c Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

^d Plutarchus in Aristide.

assistance of his friend and host *Nicogenes*, the richest man of that country, he was conveyed safe to *Susa*, in one of those close chariots in which the *Persians* used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him, giving out that they were carrying a young *Greek* lady to the court for one of the nobility, by which means he got to the *Persian* court without any danger; where being arrived, he addressed himself to *Artabanus* the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the King that had any business with him; by him he was introduced into *Xerxes's* presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; that though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the *Greeks* from pursuing him after the battle of *Salamis*, and obstructing his retreat over the *Hellepont*; that for these his services to him being driven out of his country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what, with the rest of his countrymen, he had in the wars acted against it. *Xerxes* then said nothing to him, though as soon as he was withdrawn he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction; that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies, thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning having assembled the chief of the *Persian* nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness, telling him in the first place, that he owed him two hundred talents. For he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him, who had brought him his head by thus rendring himself unto him, and accordingly commanded it to be paid him, and then ordered him to say, what he had concerning the affairs of *Greece* to impart unto him. But *Themistocles* being then no otherwise able to deliver himself than by an interpreter, begged leave that he might be permitted first to learn the *Persian* language, hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the King, what he had to impart to him, in a much more perfect manner than he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another; which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called in to the King, to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when *Mandana* his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battle of *Salamis*, had prosecuted an accusation against *Themistocles* for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her, a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him. For he gave him a wife of a noble *Persian* family, with an house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much cared for him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command he was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the *Magians*, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length it being thought best for the King's inte-

* Plutarchus in *Themistocle*.

rest that he should reside in some of the maritime towns near *Greece*, that he might be there ready at hand for such services as the King might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at *Magnesia* on the river *Meander*, where he had not only all the revenues of that city, (which were fifty talents a year) but also those of *Myus* and *Lampsacus* allowed him for his maintenance, amounting all together to one hundred and fifty talents a year, which was little less than thirty thousand pound of our money. And here he lived all the time of *Xerxes*, and several Years after, in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, his son, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city, in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

BUT according to ^f *Thucydides*, *Xerxes* was dead, and *Artaxerxes* had newly succeeded in the throne, when *Themistocles* fled out of *Greece* to the *Persian* court; and therefore he tells us that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not *Xerxes* by whom *Themistocles* was received with so much favour; and *Thucydides* being an historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the Death of *Artaxerxes*, ^g the lord primate *Usher*, moved by so great an authority, follows him in this matter, and to make it accord with the other transactions of those times, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them ^h to the two following reigns, making *Xerxes* to end his reign nine years sooner, and *Artaxerxes* to begin his reign nine years sooner, than any other author says. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypothesis of the computation of the seventy weeks of *Daniel's* prophesy, and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of *Thucydides* before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (from whence he reckons the beginning of these seventy weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when *Christ* was crucified. And therefore were the authority of *Thucydides* sufficient to justify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But ⁱ the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and all others that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable that *Thucydides* was out in this particular. For although he be a very exact historian in the affairs of *Greece*, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of *Persia*, which he treats of only by the by.

IN the interim, the *Athenians* having set out a fleet under the command of *Cimon*, ^k the son of *Miltiades*, conquered *Eione* on the river *Strymon*, and other parts of *Thrace*, and then took in the islands of *Scyrus* and *Naxus*, which had revolted from them, and ^l while they were assaulting the last of these, *Themistocles* passed by them in his flight into *Asia*, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

An. 470.
Xerxes
16.

THE next year after, ^m *Cimon* sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of two hundred sail, passed over to the coasts of *Asia*, where having augmented it

^f Lib. I.

^g In annalibus veteris Testamenti sub anno Julianæ periodi 4241.

^h i. e. To the reigns of *Artaxerxes*, and his son *Xerxes*, whom the primate makes to reign one year after him.

ⁱ For these authors say that *Xerxes* reigned one and twenty years, and *Artaxerxes* one and forty; but according to the primate, *Xerxes* reigned but twelve years, *Artaxerxes* fifty.

^k Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

^l Plutarchus in Themistocle.

^m Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Thucydides, lib. 1.

with

with an hundred sail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts of *Caria* and *Lycia*, driving the *Persians* out of all the cities they were possessed of in those parts, and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coasts of *Pamphylia*, and were also drawing down thither as great an army by land for some expedition, he hastned thither with two hundred and fifty of his best ships in quest of them; and finding their fleet consisting of three hundred and fifty sail at anchor, in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and their land-army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their Fleet, which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to flee but up the River, were all taken, every ship of them, and twenty thousand men in them, the rest having either escaped to land, or been slain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore and fell upon the land-army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of *Salamis*, and the other to that of *Plataea*. And having gotten information that there were eighty more *Phœnician* ships coming to join the *Persian* fleet, he surprized them in harbour before they had any notice of the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them, and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success *Cimon* returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned *Athens* with the spoils got in this expedition.

THE next year ^a *Cimon* sailed to the *Hellepont*, and falling on the *Persians* who had taken possession of the *Thracian Chersonesus* drove them out thence, and subjected their countrey again to the *Athenians*, though in truth (it having been the principality ^o of his father *Miltiades*) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the *Thasians* who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of *Thrace*, he seized all the gold mines on those coasts, and brought under him all that countrey as far as *Macedon*, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity. For ^p the omitting of which he was afterwards on his return brought to tryal for his life before the *Athenians*, as if he had been corrupted by the *Macedonians* to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

XERXES being at last daunted, and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying on the *Grecian* war, and therefore from this time ^q no more of his ships were seen in the *Ægean* sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

AFTER this, *Xerxes* giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts, whereby growing into contempt with the people, ^r *Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn *Mithridates*, one of his eunuchs, that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bed-chamber, and there slew him while he slept in his bed; and then going to *Artaxerxes*, his third son, acquainted him of the murder, and accused *Darius* his elder brother to be the author of it, telling him that it was

^a Plutarchus in Cimone.

^q Plutarchus in Cimone.

^o Herodot. lib. 6.

^r Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Justin. lib. 3. c. 1.

^p Plutarchus in Cimone.

done to make his way to the throne, and that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it, and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which *Artaxerxes*, as being then a very young man, rashly believing without any farther examination to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner as *Artabanus* intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the assistance of *Artabanus* and his guards, flew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his father, and for the securing of his own safety, being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the traytor, who excited him hereto. The next heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but he being absent in *Bactria*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* took *Artaxerxes*, as being next at hand, and put him on the throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer than till he had formed a party strong enough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great authority had made many creatures, and he had also seven sons, all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire, and his confidence in these was that which put his ambition on this design; but while he was hastning it to a conclusion, *Artaxerxes* having got a full discovery of the whole plot by the means of *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and cut him off before his treason was fully ripened for execution; whereby having secured himself in thorough possession of the kingdom, he held it forty one years.

HE is said to have been ' the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince ' of a very mild and generous disposition; he is called by the Greek historians *Μακροχαιρ* or *Longimanus*, (i. e. the long-handed) " by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were so long, that on his standing upright he could touch his knees with them. But in scripture he hath the name of *Abasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and was the same who had *Ester* for his Queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men whose opinion differ from me herein, archbishop *Usher*, and *Joseph Scaliger*.

THE former * holdeth that it was *Darius Hystaspis* that was the King *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of the holy scriptures. But all what is said of those persons by the historians that have written of them, is wholly inconsistent herewith. For *Herodotus* positively tells us, that *Artystona* ' was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that " *Atossa* had four sons by *Darius* besides Daughters, all born to him by her after he was King, and therefore she could not be that Queen *Vashti*, who was divorced from the King her husband ' in the third year of his reign, nor be that *Abasuerus* that divorced her. Furthermore *Atossa* is said to have had that predominant interest with *Darius*, even to the time of his death, that it was by her means, that in the last act of his life ^b he was influenced to settle the succession of his crown on *Xerxes* her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former wife; whereas the *Abasuerus* of the book of *Esther*, had removed *Vashti* both

* Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.

† Plutarch. in Artaxerxe Mnemone.

‡ Plutarch. & Strabo, lib.

§ In annalibus veteris testamenti sub anno J. P. 4193.

¶ Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7.

‡ Herodot. lib. 7. sub initio.

• Esther i. 3.

• Herodot. lib. 7.

from his bed and from his presence by ^c an unalterable decree, and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbishop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is said of *Abasuerus* ^d in the book of *Esther*, that he laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles, ^e the same is also said of *Darius Hyaspis* by *Herodotus*; and therefore he thought that they were both the same person. But *Strabo*, who is an author of as good if not better credit, attributeth this to ^f *Longimanus*. It must be acknowledged that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read *Darius Longimanus* in the place which I refer to. But the title *Longimanus*, and the description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none but to the *Artaxerxes* whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there *Darius* is put instead of *Artaxerxes* by the corruption of the text.

SCALIGER's opinion is, ^g that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* his Queen the *Esther* of the holy scriptures. His main reason for it is the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But how much more the dissimilitude of their characters proves the contrary hath been already shewn; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with *Inarus*, and the *Greeks* taken with him in *Egypt*, and her frequent adulteries will be a farther confirmation of it. Farthermore it appears from ^h *Herodotus*, that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, that was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and therefore it is impossible she could be *Esther*. For *Esther* was not married to *Abasuerus* ⁱ till the seventh year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For according to the sacred history ^k it was the fourth year of *Abasuerus*, when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a ^l whole year being employed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the fifth year of his reign; and therefore the sixth was the soonest that she could have a son by him. Besides, *Artaxerxes* the third son of *Hamestris* ^m being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his father, (which hapned in the twenty first year of his reign) he must have been born before the sixth year of his reign. All which put together do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names *Esther* and *Hamestris* may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

BUT there being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences that can be had of this matter, are from the *Greek* version of the sacred text called the septuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and *Josephus*, and all these agree for *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For *Josephus* ⁿ positively tells us it was he; and the septuagint through the whole book of *Esther*, wherever the *Hebrew* text hath *Abasuerus*, translate *Artaxerxes*; and the apocryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of *Esther* *Artaxerxes*, who could be none other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For there are several circumstances related of him both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, which can by no means be

^c Esther i. 19.^d Chap. x. 1.^e Herodot. lib. 3.^f Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.^g De Emendatione, lib. 6.^h Lib. 9.ⁱ Esther ii. 16.^k Esther ii.

Esther ii. 12.

^m Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.ⁿ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

applicable to the other *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*. And *Severus Sulpitius*, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary ° favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews*, beyond all the other Kings that reigned in *Persia*, first in sending *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and the restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to solícite for them. But these and the other transactions of this King will be the subject of the next ensuing book.

° There were two other Kings of *Persia* that shewed kindness to the *Jews*, *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*. Each of them granted a decree in favour of the *Jews*, but *Artaxerxes* went beyond them both. For he granted two decrees, by virtue of which both the ecclesiastical and political state of the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, and therefore where the Scripture names those Kings of *Persia*, by whose favour this restoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned. For it is said (*Ezra* vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, i. e. *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* empire, *Darius Hystaspis*, and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For of these, and none other, is that text undoubtedly to be understood, and no doubt when the church and state were restored, much was done for the restoration of the temple also.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



BOOK V.



ARTAXERXES having by the death of *Artabanus* re-^{An. 464.}
 moved one grand obstacle to his quiet possessing of the ^{Artax-}
 throne, had still two others to struggle with, his brother ^{erxes I.}
Hystaspes in *Bactria*, and *Artabanus*'s party at home. And
 this last being nearest at hand gave him the first trouble.
 For ^a although *Artabanus* was dead, he had left behind
 him seven sons, and many partisans, who immediately
 gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict ensued
 between them, and those who stood by *Artaxerxes*, in which many noble

^a Ctesias.

Persians were slain; but at length *Artaxerxes* having prevailed did cut off all that were concerned in this conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revenge of every one of those who had an hand in the murder of his father, and particularly of the eunuch *Mithridates* that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The^b manner of this punishment was thus: The person condemned to it being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out thorough a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, till the worms which were bred in the excrements, that he voided as he thus lay, did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death, which was usual this way twenty days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquisite torments.

ARTAXERXES having mastered this difficulty, was at leisure to send an army into *Bactria*^c against his brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success, ^d for a fierce battel ensuing, tho' *Hystaspes* did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten against him, but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better preparations for a second encounter.

An. 463.
Artax-
erxes 2.

BUT the next year^e *Artaxerxes* having drawn together a much stronger army, as having the greatest part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered *Hystaspes*, and utterly overthrew him in a second battel; whereby having removed all difficulties and oppositions, he now became fully possessed of the whole empire, ^f and the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those governors of cities and provinces, of whom he had any suspicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the government, whereby he gained to himself much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the people, wherein lyeth the surest interest of princes.

An. 462.
Artax-
erxes 3.

AFTER *Artaxerxes* had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, ^g he appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the city of *Shushan* or *Susa* in feastings and shews, for the term of an hundred and eighty days, on the conclusion of which he made a great feast for all the princes and people that were then in *Shushan* for seven days. And *Vashti* the Queen, at the same time, made a like feast in her apartment for the women. On the seventh day the King's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring Queen *Vashti* before him, with the crown royal on her head, that he might shew to the princes and people her beauty; for she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to shew herself in such an assembly being ^h contrary to the usage of the *Persians*, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very undecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come; whereon the

^b Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

^c That *Hystaspes* was governor of *Bactria* at his father's death, is attested by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. p. 53.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

^e Ctesias.

^f Esther i. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

^g Ctesias.

^h Joseph.

King being very much incensed, called his seven counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their husbands, advised that the King should put *Vashti* away for ever from him, and give her royal state to another that should be better than she; and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own house. Which advice pleasing the King, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and *Vashti* never more after that came again into the King's presence. For the decree whereby she was removed from him was registred among the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this, orders were given out through the whole empire, for the gathering together to the palace at *Shushan* all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be chosen, whom the King should best like, to be made Queen in her place.

AT ¹ the time when this collection of virgins was made, there lived in *Shushan* a certain Jew named *Mordecai*, who was of the descendents of those who had been carried captive to *Babylon* with *Jeconiah* King of *Judah*, and by his attendance at the King's gate seems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up *Hadassah* his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the King's palace, and there committed to the care of *Hegai* the King's chamberlain, who was appointed to have the custody of these virgins; whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he shewed her favour before all the other virgins under his care; and therefore he assigned her the best apartment of the house, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the King's use, was to go through a course of purification, by sweet oils and perfumes, for a whole year; and therefore *Hadassah* having been by the favour of the chamberlain of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the King's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it.

THE term therefore of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the King, who was so well pleased with her that he often again called for her by name, which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of *Esther*, for it is of a *Persian* original; the signification of it is not now known.

THE ^k *Egyptians* being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themselves from it rebelled against *Artaxerxes*, and making *Inarus* prince of the *Libyans* their King, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who having then a fleet of two hundred sail at *Cyprus* gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for *Egypt*, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the *Persian* power, by driving them out of that country.

ⁱ *Esther* ii. *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.*

^k *Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias.*

ARTAXERXES, on the hearing of this revolt, ¹ made ready an army of three hundred thousand men for the suppressing of it, purposing himself to march into *Egypt* at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this expedition, he committed it to the care of *Achæmenides*, one of his brothers. ^m *Herodotus* and ⁿ *Diodorus Siculus* say, that it was *Achæmenes* the brother of *Xerxes*, and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, the same who afore had the government of *Egypt* in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes*, that had the conduct of this war, but herein they were deceived by the similitude of the names. For it appears by *Ctesias*, that he was the son of *Hamestris*, whom *Artaxerxes* sent with this army into *Egypt*.

An. 459.
Artax-
erxes 6.

ACHÆMENIDES being arrived in *Egypt* with his numerous army, encamped on the river *Nile*. In the interim ^o the *Athenians* having beaten the *Persian* fleet at sea, and destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and having landed their forces under the command of *Charitimus* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*; whereon falling on *Achæmenides* with their joint forces they overthrew him in a great battel, killing an hundred thousand of his men, and among them *Achæmenides* himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where the victors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third, called the *White Wall*, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief.

An. 458.
Artax-
erxes 7.

ARTAXERXES having received an account of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and what part the *Athenians* bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed against him, ^r he sent an ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians*, with great sums of money, to induce them to make war upon the *Athenians*, but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, *Artaxerxes* resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an army into *Attica* with *Themistocles* at the head of it; which he thought could not fail of making them recal their forces out of *Egypt*, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And ^s accordingly orders were sent to *Themistocles* to prepare for the expedition, and an army and a fleet was drawing towards the *Ionian* coast, to be committed to his conduct for this purpose. But *Themistocles* not knowing how to decline the command, by reason of the great benefits he had received from the King, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion; and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his countrey; to extricate himself from this difficulty resolved to put an end to his life; and therefore inviting all his friends together, and having sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of his blood, and so died. But ^t there are others that say this was done not so much out of a love to his countrey, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of *Cimon*, who being then general of the *Athenians* carried victory with him wherever he went. But had this been all the matter, so wise and va-

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Ctesias.

^m Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7.

ⁿ Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

^o Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

^p Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor.

Sic. lib. 11.

^q Plutarchus in Themistocle.

^r Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in

Themistocle & Cimine.

liant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It's possible he might have beaten *Cimon*; if not, it would have been time enough for him to have saved his credit this way, by dying in battle when vanquished, and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught. In the interim *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White Wall*, and for the carrying on of the *Egyptian* war. This *Megabyzus* was the son of *Zopyrus*, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which *Xerxes* led into *Greece*, whose daughter *Amytis* he had married; but she having very much abused his bed by her frequent adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it, and that not only with her, but also with the whole royal family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced *Artabanus* to communicate to him the plot which he had contrived against the life of *Artaxerxes* after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But *Megabyzus* abhorring the treason made discovery of the whole to *Artaxerxes*, and gave him that counsel, which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And after the death of *Artabanus*, he headed the King's forces against the partizans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were suppressed, and *Artaxerxes* secured on the throne, and in the accomplishing of this he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the King's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commission for the reduction of *Egypt*.

In the beginning of this year *Ezra* obtained of King *Artaxerxes* and his seven chief counsellors, a very ample commission for his return to *Jerusalem*, with all his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the state, and reform the church of the *Jews*, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the solicitation of *Esther*, who was now become the best beloved of all the King's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of Queen. For it was usual for the Kings of *Persia*, on some particular days and occasions, to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased, and upon some such time or occasion it's most likely *Esther* by the direction of *Mordecai*, though she had not yet discovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the King. This *Ezra* was of the descendants of *Seraiah* the high-priest, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he burnt the temple and city of *Jerusalem*. That he was the immediate son of *Seraiah* is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this *Seraiah*, he must now have been one hundred and thirty and two, and yet we find him alive in the time of *Nehemiah* fifteen years after, when according to this account he must have been one hundred forty and seven years old, tho' he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole fore-

[†] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor. lib. 11. Ctesias.

[†] Herodot. lib. 3. in fine, & lib. 7.

Ctesias.

[†] Ezra vii.

[†] Herod. lib. 9.

[†] Nehem. viii.

noon together to all the people of the *Jews*, which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days; and therefore where he is said to be the son of *Seraiah*, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in Scripture any descendent is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no farther for an instance of this than the very text, where *Ezra* is said to be the son of *Seraiah*. For in the same place *Azariah* is said to be son of *Meraioth*, though there were ^y six between. As *Ezra* was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skill'd in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God, which he was so eminent for, that *Artaxerxes* ^z takes particular notice of it in his commission. * He began his journey from *Babylon* on the first day of the first month called *Nisan*, (which might fall about the middle of our *March*) and having halted at the river of *Abava* till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there in a solemn fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then on the twelfth day set forward for *Jerusalem*, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from *Babylon* thither. On his arrival he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the King and his nobles, and the rest of the people of *Israel* that stayed behind, which amounted to an hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of a thousand ^a *Darics*, and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of an hundred talents more. And then having communicated his commission to the King's lieutenants and governors throughout all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby he was fully impowered to settle both the church and the state of the *Jews* according to the law of *Moses*, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power *Ezra* was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, till *Nehemiah* arrived with a new commission from the *Persian* court for the same work.

ESTHER growing farther still in the King's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her Queen in the stead of *Vashti*; and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called *Esther's* feast, and in honour of her at the same time made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave *Ezra* the greater encouragement under her protection and patronage to go on with the work of reforming and settling the *Jewish* church and state in *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, which he had there undertaken.

AND from his entring on this work the beginning of the seventy weeks

^y See 2 Chron. vi. 7, 8, 9. ^z Ezra vii. 12. * Ezra viii. ^a A Daric was a piece of gold of the value of one of our Jacobus's, see above book 2. ^b Ezra vii. 25, 26. ^c Esther ii.

of the famous prophecy, which is delivered to us in the ixth chapter of *Daniel* concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, is to be computed. The words of the prophecy in our *English* translation are as followeth.

Ver. 24. *SEVENTY weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy.* Ver. 25. *Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times.* Ver. 26. *And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and the people of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the war desolations are determined.* Ver. 27. *And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the desolate.*

AND it being of great moment for the conviction of *Jews* and other infidels, who reject the faith of Christ, to have this prophecy well cleared and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,

I. THAT this prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the *Jews*. For it expresseth the time that was determined upon the people of *Daniel*, that is, the *Jews*, and upon the holy city, that is, *Jerusalem*, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar people, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy city, after the expiration of which an end being to be put to the *Mosaic* œconomy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at *Jerusalem* being to be abolish'd, that city should be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. THAT these seventy weeks are weeks of years. For among the *Jews* as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days, so there were ^d sabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years, and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned, so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of seventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the *Jews* were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor *Jerusalem* his holy city, because then the œconomy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at *Jerusalem*, was wholly to be abolished. And,

III. ALL this was accomplished at the death of Christ. For then the *Jewish* church, and the *Jewish* worship at *Jerusalem* were wholly abolished, and the christian church and the christian worship succeeded in their stead; then the time which was determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's peculiar people, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth began the kingdom of the *Messiah*, and

^d Levit. xxv. 8.

instead of the *Jews* all the nations of the world were called thereunto, and instead of *Jerusalem* every place through the whole earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy weeks of this prophecy must have their ending. For they were determined and decreed for this purpose, and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this all the events which are in this prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the xxiv^h verse we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following, 1st, *To finish* (or ^c *restrain*) *transgression*; 2^d, *To* ^e *make an end of sins*; 3^d, *To make* ^s (expiation or) *reconciliation for iniquity*; 4th, *To bring in everlasting righteousness*; 5th, *To seal up* (or ^h *complete and fulfil*) *vision and prophecy*; and 6th, *To anoint the most holy*. And all these were accomplished in that great work of our salvation, which *Christ* our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and passion, and his resurrection from the dead. For being born without original sin, and having lived without actual sin, he was truly *the most holy* of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghost, and with power to be our King, and our priest, and our prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having as our priest offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross to make expiation and atonement for all our sins, and did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their guilt, and in so doing *he did work reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our prophet given unto us his gospel, the law of *everlasting righteousness*, which was not a temporary law, as was that of *Moses*, but to last for ever, and to be our guide into all righteousness, as long as the world should last; and also having as our King sent his Holy Spirit into our hearts to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby *to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of transgressions*, and fully deliver us from the power of them. And in doing all this *he hath sealed up, that is fulfilled, and thoroughly finished all that, which by visions and prophecies had been before revealed concerned him*. And therefore all these events being thus brought to pass, and accomplished at the time of *Christ's* death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. THE end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of *Christ*, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that

^c The word *lecale* in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish; and the former rather than the latter. ^e Here is a various reading in the Hebrew text, as to the word which we translate to make an end of. For whereas the true reading is *lehatem*, that is, to finish or make an end of; and in the next line after there is the word *lachtom*, which there signifieth to seal up; and these two words as to the letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the similitude that is between these two letters in the Hebrew alphabet, (for they differ very little the one from the other) led transcribers into this mistake, that they wrote the word as if it were *lachtom* in both places. But it is corrected in the margin. However this would not have altered the sense, because the same word which signifieth to seal up in Hebrew, is also used to signify to finish or complete, because the putting of the seal to any instrument or writing completes the matter about which it is, and finisheth the whole transaction. ^s The word in the Hebrew text properly signifieth to expiate as by sacrifice, and by such an expiation did *Christ* our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God. ^h See note ^f.

is, four hundred and ninety years before. And therefore the death of *Christ*, as most learned men agree, falling ⁱ in the year of the *Julian* period 4746, and in the *Jewish* month ^k *Nisan*, if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month *Nisan*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4256, which was the very year and month ^l in which *Ezra* had his commission from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, for his return to *Jerusalem*, there to restore the church and state of the *Jews*. For that year of the *Julian* period, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, was the seventh year of that King's reign, ^m in which the scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning therefore of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, was in the month *Nisan*, of the *Jewish* year, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and in the 4256th year of the *Julian* period, when *Ezra* had his commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of *Nisan* in the 4746th year of the *Julian* period; in which very year, and very month, *Christ* our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation, there being just seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, from the one to the other.

V. It's evident from the prophecy it self, that these weeks must have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commission granted *Ezra*. For 1st, They are pinn'd down thereto by an express character in the text; and 2^{dly}, They cannot agreeably to that, and other scriptures, and the authentic histories of the times to which they relate, have it any where else.

AND 1st, These weeks must have their beginning from the date of the commission granted *Ezra*, because they are pinn'd down thereto by an express character in the text, and that character is, *the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*. For that from thence the seventy weeks must have their beginning, ⁿ the text is very express; and to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, ^o *know therefore and understand*. But this commandment, or decree, was that which was granted to *Ezra* in that commission, with which he was sent into *Judea*, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*; and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence. For the words in the text, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, are not to be understood literally, but figuratively for the restoring of the state of the *Jews*, as well the political as the ecclesiastical, and the resettling of both according to the law of *Moses*; and what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? and what is more common in scripture, than by *Jerusalem* to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people? and for the re-establishing of both these, and the settling of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the commission granted to *Ezra* was very full. For ^p it gave him thorough power to restore the law of *Moses*, and fully re-establish the observance of it both in church and state, and to appoint ma-

ⁱ Scaliger de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Usher in annalibus sub anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius alique.

^k *Christ* suffered at the time of the passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month *Nisan*.

^l Ezra vii. 9. There it is said in the first month, and the first month of the Jewish year was *Nisan*.

^m Ezra vii. 7.

ⁿ Daniel ix. 25.

^o See the commission in the viith chapter of *Ezra*, ver. 11---26.

gistrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all such as should be disobedient thereto, either with death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this *Ezra* accordingly executed, in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to *Jerusalem* with this commission the scriptures were in a manner lost, the people in a profound ignorance of the law, and the worship of God neglected, and every thing else, both in church and state, in great disorder and confusion. But on his coming he restored the scriptures, instructed the people in the law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but as a priest, as a skilful scribe in the law of God, and as president of the *Sanhedrim*,^p he still carried on the same work; and having a successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his authority, as formerly he did by his own. So that he hath been esteemed as another *Moses*, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the *Jewish* church and state. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble *Epocha*, from whence to begin the calculation of these weeks, and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this prophecy in which they are predicted. For the whole intent and purpose of it is to foreshew and set forth the age of the restored church of the *Jews*, how long it was to continue, and when to cease and be abolish'd; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when *Ezra*, by virtue of the commission granted to him by *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, in the seventh year of his reign, did set about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of these weeks, according to the prophecy that predicts them, must begin. And that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal sense. For if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the release of the captivity. For this prophecy was revealed to *Daniel* before this release, and therefore when it is said therein, that the *Epocha* of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, of what decree can it be more properly understood, than of that which should first be granted next after this prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again re-peopled, and inhabited by the same people who had been its former inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus's* decree appears from many places of scripture. We are told in *Isaiab* (ch. xlv. 28.) that *it was Cyrus, that should say to Jerusalem, be thou built, and to the temple, thy foundations shall be laid.* And again, (ch. xlv. 13.) it is said of the same *Cyrus*, that *God would raise him up, and direct him that he should build his city, and release his captives;* where it is to be observed, that he that released God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the person that was to rebuild *Je-*

Jerusalem; so that he is not only by name, but also by this character and description, plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that *Cyrus* did release the captive *Jews* who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after-reign) is well known. And therefore, according to these passages of holy scripture, it must be he only that did restore and rebuild *Jerusalem*. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree, which he granted for the return of the *Jews* thither. For can it be imagined that *Cyrus* should grant license for the *Jews* to return to *Jerusalem*, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city also? *Ezra* plainly tells us, that as soon as the *Jews* were returned into *Judea* by virtue of *Cyrus's* decree, ^a they dispersed themselves into the several cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? for without rebuilding of them how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other cities of *Judah*, rebuilt and dwelt in them again, how can we think that those who belonged to *Jerusalem* did not do the same, and that especially since it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn festivals, and where also the governor dwelt, where the council sat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute; when the *Jews* on their return rebuilt their other cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt *Jerusalem* also. The great concourse, which the reasons I have mentioned constantly drew thither, must have necessitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the cities of *Judah* to have been left still in their rubbish, after the return of the *Jews* from their captivity, than that this city alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the commission of *Cyrus*. As we have it recorded in the first chapter of *Ezra*, that only gives licence *to the Jews to return into Judea, and there to rebuild the house of God, which is in Jerusalem*. But the licence to rebuild the house of God, which is in *Jerusalem*, must either imply a licence to rebuild *Jerusalem* also, or else (which seems most probable) *Ezra* gives us, in the place mentioned, only an abstract of the chief things granted by that licence, and not a recital of the whole, in which most likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, and the other cities of *Judah*, might be fully and expressly mentioned. For it is certain, by virtue of that licence they had power so to do, and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to the *Persian* court, against them that were returned, was, ^r that *they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad city, and had set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it*; and the order from King *Artaxerxes* (so the *Magian*, who then reigned, it seems called himself) was ^s *to cause the Jews to cease, that this city be not builded*. However, from the first of *Cyrus* till the time of this order fourteen years having elapsed, the rebuilding of *Jerusalem* had by that time gone a great way. For within two years after, we find the prophet *Haggai* complaining of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, ^t *that they dwell in cieled houses, while they let the house of God lie waste*.

^a *Ezra* ii. 1. and iii. 1.^r *Ezra* iv. 12.^s *Ezra* iv. 21.^t *Haggai* i. 4.

From all this it plainly appears, that *Jerusalem*, after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, was again rebuilt by virtue of the decree, which *Cyrus* granted in the first year of his reign for the release and restoration of the *Jews*. And therefore if these words of the prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that city, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun so high, the four hundred and ninety years of the said seventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those events which are predicted by this prophecy. For from the first of *Cyrus* to the death of *Christ* were five hundred sixty eight years; and therefore if the said four hundred and ninety years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off, or the coming of the *Messiah*, which ought both to fall within the compass of them, according to the express words of this prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the words of this prophecy, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, cannot be understood in a literal sense. For the sum of the whole argument is thus. If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, which was accomplished by virtue of *Cyrus's* decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years thereof, must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the reason mentioned, and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by virtue of the command or decree, which was granted to him for this purpose in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed; and this will be farther proved if we consider,

2dly, THAT it can be placed no where else, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the prophecy, and the accomplishing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees issued out by the Kings of *Persia* in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which, according to the express words of the prophecy, the computation of these weeks is to be begun; the first [†] granted by *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, the [‡] second by *Darius* about the fourth year of his reign, the third [§] by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, and [¶] the fourth by the same *Artaxerxes* to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of *Cyrus*, nor from that of *Darius*, nor from that of the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of *Artaxerxes* granted to *Ezra*. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall shew in their order.

AND 1st, As to the decree of *Cyrus*, the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence for the reason already said, that this, because if they begin from thence they cannot by a great many years reach the events predicted by this prophecy, and therefore none, who understand this prophecy to relate either to the cutting off or

† Ezra i.

‡ Ezra vi.

§ Ezra vii.

¶ Nehemiah ii.

the coming of the *Messiah*, do begin them from hence. For according to this computation no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2dly, NEITHER can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius's* that reigned in *Persia*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be first enquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then secondly, it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And first of these three *Darius's*, it's certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this prophecy by many more years, than they will fall short of them if reckoned from the first of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever said, that he was the *Darius* that granted this decree. But *Scaliger*, and many others following his authority, have said it of *Darius Nothus*. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, the first of these three that reigned in *Persia*, and none other, by whom this decree was issued out. For he who according to *Ezra* granted this decree, is the same *Darius* of whom mention is made * in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius* could not be *Darius Nothus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. For first from the destruction of the temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to the reign of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred sixty and five years. But from the destruction of it to the time of the second decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy years according to the prophet *Zechariah*. For we find † in the book of his prophecies, that in the fourth year of the same *Darius* who granted this decree to the *Jews*, (which was also the year in which it was published at *Jerusalem*) the fast of the fifth month, ‡ in which they had mourned for the destruction of the temple, and the fast of the seventh month, § in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of *Gedaliah*, had been observed just seventy years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that text, but that their mourning for these calamities had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must be some other *Darius* then reigning in *Persia* within the reach of the said seventy years, who granted this decree; and that since the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* was just seventy years from the time, in which the city and temple of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by the *Chaldeans*, (as hath been before observed) this other *Darius* must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. It must be acknowledged that the same prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of seventy years in the second of *Darius* two years before. But these were not the seventy years of mourning for the destruction of the city and temple

* See *Ezra* v. 1. vi. 14. *Haggai* i. 1---15. *Zech.* i. 1---7. and vii. 1. † *Zech.* vii. 5.

‡ 2 *Kings* xxv. 8. *Jerem.* lii. 12. The *Jews* observe this fast on the ninth of *Ab*, which is their fifth month, even to this day. § 2 *Kings* xxv. 25. *Jerem.* xli. 1. The *Jews* observe this fast on the third day of *Tisri*, which is their seventh month, even to this day, and both these fast days, that of the third of *Tisri*, and the other of the ninth of *Ab*, are marked on those days in all their calendars.

of *Jerusalem*, but ^b the seventy years in which God had expressed his indignation against *Jerusalem* and the cities of *Judah*, which are to be computed from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* ^c came up against *Judah* and besieged *Jerusalem*, for which the *Jews* fasted in the tenth month, and this was two years before that city was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of *Jerusalem* was in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, but the first besieging of it was in the ^e ninth year of *Zedekiah*, and in the tenth month of that year. But ^d *Scaliger*, instead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to speak for him, and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in *Zechariah* ^e to have been observed on the fourth and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed but by the church of the *Jews*, (by which I suppose he meaneth the *Sanhedrim*, or some other convention of priests and elders representing that church) but neither the *Sanhedrim*, nor any other convention representing that church, could come together, or make any such constitution after the calamities which these fasts commemorated, till the *Jews* were returned from their captivity, and again settled in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the seventy years observing of them, which *Zechariah* speaks of, commence till after that time. But seventy years from any time after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and therefore it could not be the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, but it must be the fourth year of the *Darius*, the next of that name reigned after him in *Persia*, (and that was *Darius Nothus*) in which these fasts were spoken of by that prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal constitution of the whole *Jewish* church for the observing of these fasts. The calamities which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common consent. And if not, yet what should hinder, but that the priests and elders might meet together in *Babylon* while there in captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at *Jerusalem*, hold conventions for the making of such a constitution? If the book of *Baruch* be to be credited in any thing, ^f that tells us of such a convention in *Babylon*, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the book of *Ezekiel*, which is of undoubted, because of divine authority, that ^g the elders of *Israel* in *Babylon* met more than once to ask counsel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when ^h *Sherezer* and *Regem-Melech* came to *Jerusalem* to ask counsel of the prophets and priests there, in the name and behalf of the *Jews* of *Babylon*, about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other, than a convention of the priests and elders in that place met together for this purpose? It's certain, that most of the constitutions that are now observed by the

^b Zech. i. 12. ^c 2 Kings xiv. 1. Jerem. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. The Jews observe this fast on the tenth day of Thebets, (which is their tenth month) even to this day, and call it the fast of the first siege of *Jerusalem* in all their kalendars. ^d De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 602.

^e Zech. vii. 5. and viii. 19. ^f Baruch i. Altho' perchance this book be no more than a religious romance, yet such romancers do usually so accommodate their fables to the usages and customs of the people, and times, of which they treat, as not to ascribe any other to them, than such as have been of known use and practice in them; and therefore these books may be of some authority for usages and customs, altho' not for history. ^g Ezek. vii. 1. and xiv. 1. ^h Zech. vii. 1, 2, 3.

Jews,ⁱ were made in the land of *Babylon* by conventions of their elders after the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, (for all that are in the *Babylonish Gemara* were there made.) And why then might not a constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like convention, after the first destruction of that city? And why there might not be a *Sanhedrim* in *Babylon* during the captivity of the *Jews* I cannot see. The temple service was indeed confined to *Jerusalem*, but the *Sanhedrim* was no part of it. That was a national council, which might be assembled wherever the nation was. And therefore when the whole nation of the *Jews* was removed into the land of *Babylon*, who can give a reason why this national council should not be there also, and there meet and consult together for the common interest of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own? We are told by the *Jewish* writers, that from the time of *Alexander the Great* there was^k a *Sanhedrim* in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, for the sake only of a colony of the *Jews* that was there planted, even while *Judea* and *Jerusalem* were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at *Babylon*, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It's plain from hence, that in every part of this argument *Scaliger* begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing that he would infer from them. But, secondly, That the *Darius* who granted this second decree could not be *Darius Nothus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, will farther appear from the part which *Jeshua* the high-priest and *Zerubbabel* the governor acted in it. For they^l were the persons who were sent to *Jerusalem* with the first decree, that which was granted by *Cyrus*, and they also^m executed the second decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, supposing *Jeshua* to have been forty years old at the granting of *Cyrus's* decree, (and leis at that time he could not be, he having thenⁿ sons in the work of the temple of twenty years old and upward) and supposing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty years old, (and a less age could not comport with his office) the former must have been one hundred fifty seven, and the other one hundred forty seven years old, when this second decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. * *Scaliger* to make out the probability of it, brings instances of several long-livers. I deny not, it's possible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is, that of one hundred fifty seven. For we have had^p a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinson* who hath outlived it. But that two together, and colleagues in the same work and business, should live so long is not likely. But, thirdly, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this *Darius*, which we have in the second chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* For

ⁱ The Jews had in the land of *Babylon* three universities, *Sora*, *Naherda*, and *Pumbeditha*, where they had their publick schools and publick conventions of their principal doctors and learned men, and in these the constitutions that are in the *Babylonish Gemara* were all made.

in *Succah*, fol. 55. *Gemara Babylonica* in *Succah*, fol. 51.

^k *Gemara Hierosol.*

^l *Ezra* ii. 2. and iii. 8, &c.

^m *Ezra* v. 6. *Haggai* i. 2. *Zech.* iii. and iv.

Ezra iii. 8, 9.

ⁿ *De emendatione*

temporum, lib. 6. p. 603. & in *Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii* sub anno 1497. p. 97.

^p *Par* lived to the age of 152, and *Jenkinson* to that of 169. See *Sir William Temple's Tracts*.

this text doth plainly exprefs, that fome were then alive who had feen the firft temple, and well remembred the beauty and glory of it; and therefore if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, they muft have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of *Jefhua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in which the temple was destroyed, to the fecond of *Darius Nothus*, had paffed an hundred fixty fix years; and therefore fupposing thefe perfons, who are here faid to have feen the firft temple, and remembred the glory of it, had been then feven years old, (which is the loweft that can be allowed for fuch a remembring) they muft have been of the age of one hundred feventy three in the fecond year of *Darius Nothus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text feems to exprefs) or any at all, among the people, fhould then be found of fo great an age? *Scaliger* himfelf thinks this improbable, and therefore to evade the ftrength of the argument, which is from hence brought againft him, ^a he would turn the words of the facred text to fpeak thus, *Oh! if any among you had feen the glory of the firft houfe, &c.* But the text will not bear this interpretation. 4thly, The ferief of the Kings of *Persia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this fecond decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire, and the fourth King therein, all agree, was *Darius Hyftafpis*. For after *Cyrus*, who was the firft, fucceeded *Cambyfes* the fecond, and after him was the *Magian* the third, and then was *Darius Hyftafpis* the fourth. And in the fame order are thefe Kings mentioned in *Ezra*, in refpect to the temple and the rebuilding of it. For ^r he tells us, that during the reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerufalem*, yet the work was difcouraged all his reign through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the *Samaritans*; that in the beginning of the reign of *Ahafuerus*, who next fucceeded (i. e. *Cambyfes*) the King himfelf, being wrote to, difcouraged the work, but made no decree againft it, out of refpect, it's fupposed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But *Artaxerxes*, the next that reigned, (i. e. the *Magian*) having no fuch regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered, made a decree againft the work, whereon it wholly ceafed (which it had not done before) for the fpace of ^r two years, until the fecond year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore muft be *Darius Hyftafpis*, and none other. For he it was, that was the fourth of thofe Kings that reigned over the *Persian* empire. And the prophefy of *Daniel* (chap. xi.) helps to make this out. For there (ver. 2.) the words are, *There fhall ftand up yet three Kings in Persia, and the fourth fhall be far richer than they all, and by his ftrength, through his riches, he fhall ftir up all againft the realm of Grecia.* By which it appears, that the four Kings here fpoken of, were thofe who were to reign in *Persia*, after him that was then reigning. And he that was King of *Persia*, at that time was *Cyrus*. And it is from the fame words moft manifef, that the fourth was *Xerxes*, and therefore ac-

^a De emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.

^r Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

^r So faith the writer of the firft apocryphal book of *Efdras*, ver. 73. And although he be an apocryphal writer, and is in moft things, where he doth not tranflate from the canonical book of *Ezra*, very fabulous; yet in this particular he may well be fupposed to deliver himfelf according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the hiftories then extant, and this was very ancient. For it's certain he wrote before *Josephus*, and an ancients evidence than this we cannot have from any writer, fince the fcriptures of the Old Testament, concerning this matter.

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according to this place of scripture, there were between *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* three Kings in *Persia*; and *Herodotus*, and other historians say the same, and thus name them, 1. *Cambyfes*, 2. *Smerdis* the *Magian*, and 3. *Darius Hystaspis*; and therefore since the scripture doth name in the same order after *Cyrus* these three as Kings of *Persia*, 1. *Abasuerus*, 2. *Artaxerxes*, and 3. *Darius*, no doubt they were the same persons, and this *Darius*, the third of them, was he that granted the second decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. But against all this, the short time that was between the granting of the first decree by *Cyrus*, and the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, is made an objection; and they being men of great name, who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, although otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus: From the time of the granting of *Cyrus's* decree to the second of *Darius Hystaspis*, were no more than sixteen years; and therefore if it were then, that the resuming of the work of the temple gave occasion^{*} for the searching of the records for this decree, and it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the decree granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all. For, say they, what need was there of searching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? The thing might then have been well enough remembred, without going to the records for the proof of it. *Darius Hystaspis* was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus's* court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembred this thing, without ordering the records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his counsellors and courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis* that granted this decree, but it must necessarily have been another *Darius* reigning after him, in whose time the granting of *Cyrus's* decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man, and that could be none other than *Darius Notus*. The whole therefore of this argument goes upon this supposition, That publick records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which, what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the grants and decrees that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? Can the chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in office? Or if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, seal the latter decree, or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance in general of some things there transacted, even for sixteen years past, yet amidst the variety and multiplicity of business which pass in such a court, and where the quick succession of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of those that preceded; whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed, without having recourse to the records, where all is exactly set down and registred? And how can any thing be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a realm as this of *England*, how could it be done for so large and vast an empire as that of *Persia*,^{*} which was

^{*} Ezra vi. ^{*} The scriptures tell us that it reached from India to Æthiopia, and contained in the time of *Cyrus* an hundred and twenty provinces, and afterwards seven more were added to them. See Daniel vi. 1. and Esther i. 1.

above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for grants and decrees forty times as many. It's scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things, as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that empire, could have been all distinctly remembred by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years? As to the memory of *Darius* himself, *Herodotus* ^u tells us, he was but twenty years old when *Cyrus* died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when his decree was granted for the return of the *Jews*; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of *Darius*, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every courtier called to be witness of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the royal signature! Or rather are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great revolutions in King's courts, especially in those of arbitrary princes, where not only mens places, but also their lives, depending wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the *Persian* court at that time? *Cambyfes*, who succeeded *Cyrus*, ^v cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour, and very trivial occasions only, destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the *Magian*, who no doubt upon that usurpation provided himself with such a new sett of officers and attendants, as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the imposture by which he reigned. And on his death there being a new revolution, and a new King chosen, most likely this produced another change of officers and ministers at the court, and by that time many must have gone off the stage by natural death; so that whether any at all, that had been officers in *Cyrus's* court, when he granted his decree in favour of the *Jews*, were in *Darius's* court in the second year of his reign then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it's most likely, that none of them were. And therefore nothing that is said from this head, for the proving that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis* that granted the decree above-mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability for it. But on the contrary, they who, for the sake of this argument, put the granting of this decree as low as the time of *Darius Nothus*, do thereby afford a much stronger argument against themselves than this can be for them. For this will put the finishing of the second temple at the distance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of *Artaxerxes* made it cease? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Persian* King, as he is reckoned ^w in scripture, that is, the *Magian* who reigned next after *Cambyfes*, then from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again will be full one hundred years; and in so long a time of intermission, how could they so preserve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finished in a little more than three years time. But if they say it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the scriptures, that caused the work to cease,

^u Herodot. lib. 1. non longè a fine.^v Herodot. lib. 3.^w Ezra iv. 7.

but he that is first named in the catalogue, which we have of the *Persian Kings* in prophane historians, that is, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; then from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it will be seventy one years. And in this case it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of these questions can be answered, and therefore taking either of these ways, the argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but that it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second temple was finished. And upon this supposition all will be easy, and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus. *Cyrus*, in the first year of his reign over the whole *Persian* empire, granted his decree to the *Jews* for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*; the next year after they begun the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the *Magian* caused it to cease. But two years after, in the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, who slew the *Magian* and succeeded him in the throne, it was on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again resumed, and about a year and half after they obtained a decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a little more than three years time after they finished the whole work. And thus far having shewn that the *Darius*, who granted the second decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, could be none other than *Darius Hystaspis*, the remaining part of the argument is, that therefore the seventy weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason, whereby it hath been above shewn that they could not begin from the decree of *Cyrus*, that is, because the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this prophesy predicted to fall within the compass of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the *Messiah*. For this decree, I reckon, was brought to *Jerusalem* in the fourth year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the second year of *Darius*, but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But from the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* to the death of *Christ* were five hundred and fifty years, and therefore reckoning the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years from thence, they will expire sixty years before the death of *Christ*, and twenty four years before the birth of *Christ*, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the *Messiah*, nor the coming of the *Messiah*, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in. And these two are the grand events predicted by this prophesy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this head, that this decree of *Darius* seems not to accord or agree with the description of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the prophesy. For the words of the text are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*, which plainly imply an original decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an * exemplification and confirmation of that, which was before granted by *Cyrus*.

* Ezra vi.

And if it be not such a decree as the prophecy intended, it's certain the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years cannot begin from thence.

3dly, NEITHER can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted to *Nehemiah* by *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And in the clearing of this particular I must take the same method as in the former. For as there were three *Darius's*, so also were there three *Artaxerxes's*, which according to ancient historians reigned over the empire of the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*. And therefore first it must be enquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree, and then secondly it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And first, as to which of these three *Artaxerxes's* it was, that granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, it's certain it must be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over the *Persian* empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliashib* the high-priest of the *Jews*, he being high-priest^y at the time when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem* with this decree, which was in the twentieth year of that King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliashib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this decree. For the age, which *Joiakim* the father of *Eliashib* must then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it should be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more so, as to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who succeeded him. For supposing *Eliashib*, who was high-priest in the twentieth year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, had then been twenty years in that office, his father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, must then upon this supposition have died in the last year of *Darius Nothus*, at which time *Joiakim* must have been at least one hundred fifty one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeshua*^z the father of *Joiakim*, at the first return of the *Jews* to *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity^a had sons of twenty years old and upward, employed in the work of the temple. And since the high-priesthood among the *Jews* went by succession according to the primogeniture, and *Joiakim* succeeded *Jeshua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of those his sons who were thus employed, and the eldest of them. And if he were twenty years old at this time, he must then have been one hundred fifty one in the last of *Darius Nothus*. For^b from the first of *Cyrus* to the last of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred thirty one years. The improbability of this sufficiently proves that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be *Artaxerxes Ochus* who succeeded him, because then *Joiakim* must have been forty six years older. Besides, there is this farther argument that *Artaxerxes Ochus* could not be the person, because in scripture there is mention made of the^c thirty second year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ochus* reigned^d only twenty one years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ochus*, it must then

^y Nehem. iii. 1.^z Nehem. xii. 10, 22.^a Ezra iii. 8, 9.^b Can. Ptol.^c Nehem. xiii. 6.^d Can. Ptol.

necessarily

necessarily follow that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the decree to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. And thus far the first part of the argument being cleared, the second is, That the computation of the seventy weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifested by the calculation of the years. For reckoning from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the death of *Christ*, there will be no more than four hundred seventy seven years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety years of the seventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of *Christ* thirteen years; which being the grand event to be brought to pass, at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

BUT several great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

THE first way, which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath *Africanus* for its author, who flourish'd in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by *Theodoret*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the generality of the *Romish* doctors strike in with this opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* translation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* council to be authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people*, &c. this translation renders it, *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum*, i. e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people*; from whence they argue, this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years, and not solar years, which are long years. But the *Hebrew* word *Nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation. For the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our *English* version; and in this sense it is used in the *Chaldee* paraphrase, and no where in any other. I confess the word doth not occur any where else in the whole *Hebrew* bible, or any other word of that root, and in the *Septuagint* it is rendred *συνελημμένον*. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it. For lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy seven solar years, which were from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the death of *Christ*, fall thirteen years short of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it; the same four hundred and seventy seven years, when converted into lunar years,

* In *Esther* iv. 5.

making four hundred ninety one years, and two hundred forty six days over, do carry us one year and two hundred forty six days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said four hundred and ninety years. And therefore this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, altho' not so wide as it was before. Besides, when *Daniel* had this prophesy revealed unto him by the angel *Gabriel*, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then any where in use. The *Chaldean* year at that time was most certainly the *Nabonassar* year ^f consisting of three hundred and sixty five days, and the ^g *Egyptian* year was the same, and so was also ^h the *Persian*. The ⁱ *Jews* indeed had their common years purely lunar consisting of twelve lunar months, and so had ^k the *Greeks*, only with this difference, that whereas the *Jews* lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the *Greeks* mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them made it amount to three hundred and sixty days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But besides the common years they had also intercalated years intermixed with their common years, which reduced all to the solar form. For what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the *Jews* as well as the *Greeks* were necessitated to by their festivals. For the *Nisan* of the *Jewish* year, ^l which begun their ecclesiastical year, being pinn'd down by their passover (which was always celebrated ^m in the middle of it) to the ⁿ time of the beginning of their harvest; and the month of *Tisri*, ^o which begun their civil year, being likewise pinn'd down by the feast of *Tabernacles*, (which was always celebrated ^p in the middle of that month) to the time ^q of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them ^r to sling in an intercalary month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the *Greeks* were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their *Olympiads*. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games, being ^s the first full moon after the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later in the solar year, and there being just four years between *Olympiad* and *Olympiad*, this necessarily made these years to be solar years; and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it, and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The *Arabs* indeed, from the time of *Mahomet*, have used a year purely lunar, and the *Turks*

^f Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque.

Edit. Lips.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 3. cap. 3.

^g Vide Marshami Canonem Chronicum, p. 245.

ⁱ Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Marshami Canon Chron. p. 290, 291. Edit. Lips.

^k Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno. Marshami Canon Chron. 657, 658, 659.

^l Maimonides, ibid. Exod. xii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. ^m Exod. xii. 18. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. ⁿ Levit. xxiii. 10. Deuteron. xvi. 9. ^o Exod. xxiii. 16.

Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashanah. ^p Levit. xxiii. 34, 39. Numb. xxix. 12. ^q Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deuteron. xvi. 9. ^r Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. cap. de Anno veterum Hebræorum Autumnali. Joseph. lib. 1. cap. 4. Marshami Canon Chron. p. 190. Edit. Lips.

^s Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno & cap. de Periodo Olympicâ; & Petavium de Doctrinâ Temporum in Paralip. p. 830. Et Rationar. Temp. Part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1.

do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect. But of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think then that in the collective sum of seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the Angel should intend a computation, which was then no where in practice the whole world over. This prophecy concerning principally the *Jews*, and being written to them, (for it is in the *Hebrew*, which was the *Jews* language, and not in the *Chaldee*, as some other parts of *Daniel* are) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein, should be according to the *Jewish* form and none other. And there is one argument, which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years, by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the sabbaths of years mentioned *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years; but it's certain, that those sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years is manifest. For they all begun from the first of *Tisri*, which was pinn'd down by the feast of tabernacles, (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year, (as hath been already observed) and from that season in one year to the same season in another, can only be measured by the course of the sun. And all this put together sufficiently shews, that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by.

ANOTHER way taken for the reconciling of this difference, is by beginning the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine years sooner than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy weeks three years and a half later, that is, by putting the death of *Christ* into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For according to this account, the first year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the year of the *Julian* period 4241, and his twentieth year in the year of the *Julian* period 4260, from which numbering sixty nine weeks and an half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the *Julian* period 4746, which was the very year in which *Christ* suffered. And thus far *Petavius* and archbishop *Usher* agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the prophecy; but they differ in one circumstance about the beginning, that is, whether this twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the same year of the *Julian* period, were his twentieth from the death of *Xerxes* his father, or his twentieth year from the time when it's supposed he was admitted to reign in copartnership with him nine years before.

FOR *Petavius* supposeth, that *Xerxes*, nine years before his death, admitted his son *Artaxerxes* to reign in copartnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the twentieth year of his reign, in which he issued out the decree, from whence the first year of this prophe-

* Rationar. Temp. Part 2. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 154. Et de Doctrinâ Temporum, lib. 12. c. 32. & seqq.

fy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the authority of *Thucydides*, ^v who tells us, that *Themistocles* in his flight into *Persia* addressed himself to *Artaxerxes* then newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* ^w tells us, that *Themistocles* fled into *Persia* in the second year of the seventy seventh olympiad, several years before the death of *Xerxes*; and therefore to reconcile these two authors *Petavius* infers, that *Artaxerxes* must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his purpose. And to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the *Persian* Kings of naming their successors, before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when *Xerxes* ^x again renewed the war against the *Greeks* after the death of *Pausanias*, he then named *Artaxerxes* according to this usage, in the same manner as his father had named him on the like occasion, and took him into co-partnership with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the history of those times, that can give any countenance to this conjecture. ^y *Herodotus* indeed tells us of such a usage among the *Persians*, as is above mentioned; but this was only to name a successor, not to take a partner into the government, and this according to that usage was then only to be done, when there was a controversy about the succession, as was the case when *Darius* named *Xerxes* his successor in his life time. But we are told of no such controversy about the succession in *Xerxes*'s time. And it is plain from the passage in *Thucydides*, where the words are, on which the main stress of *Petavius*'s opinion is laid, that he there speaks of *Artaxerxes*, as then newly reigning after his father's death; and till his father's death he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address as *Themistocles* is said then to have made unto him. For he was but a ^z lad when his father died, and therefore must have been a mere child, when according to this reckoning *Themistocles* came into *Persia*. And if he were admitted to be successor, and also partner in the empire before his elder brother *Darius*, upon the same reason that *Xerxes* was before his elder brother *Artabanes*, that is, because he was born after his father came to be King, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the seventy seventh olympiad, when *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, *Themistocles* came to the *Persian* court, he could be at the most but fourteen years old. For ^a *Xerxes* began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion, but what hath been said is sufficient to shew, that it can afford no sure foundation for the solution of any part of this prophecy upon it.

AND therefore ^b archbishop *Usher* takes the other way, and although he placeth the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the solution of this prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of *Xerxes* his father; so that he anticipates the true twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same manner as *Petavius* doth, tho' not by joyning him in copartnership with his father, but by putting him in due succession after him nine years sooner, than either *Ptolemy* or any other author doth; and the

^v Lib. 1. ^w Lib. 11. ^x Justin. lib. 2. c. 15. *Thucydides*, lib. 1. *Diod. Sic.* lib. 11.
Plutarchus in *Cimone*. ^y Lib. 7. in initio libri. ^z Justin. lib. 3. c. 1. *Diod. Sic.*
lib. 11. ^a Canon *Ptolemæi*. ^b In *Annalibus veteris Testamenti* sub Anno J. P. 4259.
same

same testimony of *Thucydides*, which is above mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore to reconcile this testimony with the time assigned by *Diodorus Siculus* for the flight of *Themistocles*, which is above mentioned, he puts the death of *Xerxes*, and the succession of his son *Artaxerxes* nine years higher up, than any other writer doth; and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* his son, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son ^c *Xerxes* to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than from the death of his father, the most learned archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients, who put the flight of *Themistocles* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, suppose it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified. For, 1st, in contracting the reign of *Xerxes* to twelve years, and enlarging that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and his son *Xerxes* to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to *Ptolemy*, who in his canon assigns twenty one years to *Xerxes*, and no more than forty and one to *Artaxerxes*, ^c including the short reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* his sons in the last of them. And altho' the authority of *Thucydides* be great, and ^d *Plutarch* tells us, that he hath *Charon of Lampascus* also on his side, yet the same *Plutarch* from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But, 2^{dly}, although the authority of *Thucydides* and *Charon of Lampascus* should be allowed to be uncontestable, and all other authorities must be set aside to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* must therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it, since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of *Themistocles* nine years lower; and this way ^e Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who fixeth the flight of *Themistocles* to the year above mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this opinion, is for the sake of any historical writer to lay aside the authority of *Ptolemy's* canon, which is built upon astronomical demonstrations. Although *Thucydides* be a grave author, and of uncontestable authority in those matters of the *Peloponnesian* war, which he writes of, (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer) yet it's possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the *Persian* affairs, which were done at a distance, (as this was) and before his time. For he was just born ^f when this flight of *Themistocles* hapned. But *Ptolemy's* canon being fixed by the

^c *Xerxes the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus* reigned after his father's death only 45 days, and *Sogdianus*, another of *Artaxerxes's* sons, who succeeded his brother, reigned no more than six months and fifteen days, so the time of both their reigns amounting to no more than eight months, they are in the canon of *Ptolemy* cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and neither of them is therein made mention of.

^d *Plutarchus* in *Themistocle*.

^e In *Annalibus* *Thucydidis*.

^f According to *Aulus*

Gellius, *Thucydides* was forty years old when the *Peloponnesian* war began (*A. Gellius*, lib. 15. c. 23.) And the *Peloponnesian* war beginning towards the end of the first year of the eighty seventh Olympiad, reckoning forty years upward from thence, the first of them will end in the very year, in which *Diodorus* tells us *Themistocles* made his flight, i. e. in the second year of the seventy seventh Olympiad.

eclipses, the truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations; and no one hath ever calculated those eclipses, but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore this being the surest guide which we have in chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement every where with the holy scriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writing whatsoever, to be receded from.

AND as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these seventy weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in fixing the end of them. For to make up the thirteen years which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years, but have also cut them short three years and an half in the ending, by placing the death of *Christ* in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the prophecy three years and an half before these seventy weeks are fully completed, which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void, and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its significancy, and every word of prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our ^s Saviour saith of the law is also true of the prophets; and as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled, so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore every part of the last week of this prophecy, that is, the last half part, as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion, and accordingly, every part of it had, as well as the rest, as shall be hereafter shewn.

By all this it appears, that none of those ways which have been taken for the computing of those seventy weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, can make it agree with the prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of this King, and the issuing out of the commission then granted by him to *Nehemiah*, is the agreeableness which they think is between the prophecy and this commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commissions above mentioned. For the prophecy placeth the beginning of the seventy weeks at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build *Jerusalem*, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof, and both these, say they, were rebuilt by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this *Artaxerxes*. To this I answer, 1st, That *Ezra*, thirteen years before this grant made to *Nehemiah*, ^a speaks of a wall in *Jerusalem* given to the *Jews* by the favour of the King of *Persia*; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply, that the grant made to *Ezra* included a licence or commission to build such a wall, as well as that made to *Nehemiah*. But if it be said, that the wall mentioned by *Ezra* in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively, (as I acknowledge it is) my reply hereto is: And why may not then the word *wall* in the prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place, as there is in the other? but, 2^{dly}, There is no such word as the *wall* to be found in the original text of the prophecy. For what we there render in our *English* translation

^a Matth. v. 18.

^b Ezra ix. 9.

the wall is in the *Hebrew* original *the ditch*. 3^{dly}, That tho' *Nehemiah* did much enlarge *Jerusalem* by bringing new colonies of the *Jews* thither out of the countrey, and obliging them to build themselves houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it: For it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and ⁱcieled houses again erected in it by virtue of the decree granted by *Cyrus*, as hath been above shewn. And after that, from time to time, many more were added to them by virtue of the same decree confirmed by *Darius Hystaspis*, many years before *Nehemiah* came to be governor of *Judea*. 4^{thly}. The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*, accomplished by *Nehemiah*, was a work ^{*} but of fifty two days, and the enlarging of *Jerusalem* with new colonies ⁱ was within a year after, but the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, predicted by the prophesy, was to be a work of seven weeks, or forty nine years, and so long first *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, laboured successively in the work of restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, as will hereafter be shewn. And therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the prophesy be understood.

AND thus far having shewn that the commandment or decree mentioned in the prophesy, for the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood either of the decree of *Cyrus*, or of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to *Ezra* by the same *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh year of his reign, and of none other. For besides the three commandments or decrees above-mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Persia*, for the restoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of *Christ*, are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month. For in the month *Nisan* was the decree granted to *Ezra*, and ^{*} in the middle of the same month *Nisan* *Christ* suffered, just four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. AND thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these seventy weeks, it remains that for the fuller explication of all other particulars, that are in this prophesy contained, I farther observe that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th verses of the ixth chapter of *Daniel*, contains three branches or parts. The first foretels events to be accomplished within seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them; the second, events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular periods, into which the said general number of seventy weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. THE first branch or part of this prophesy, is that which is contained in the 24th verse, and foretells the six events above-mentioned, which were

ⁱ Haggai i. 4.

^{*} Nehem. vi. 15.

ⁱ Nehem. vii.

^{*} For *Christ* was

crucified in the beginning of the Jewish passover, and that always began in the middle of the month *Nisan*.

to be accomplished within the said seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them.

II. THE second branch, or part of this prophecy, is that which is contained in the 25th verse, and in the former part of the 26th verse, and in the former part of the 27th verse. This divides the general number of seventy weeks into three particular periods, and assigns particular events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular periods are seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week, that is, forty nine years, four hundred thirty four years, and seven years. And the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them, are, 1st, The restoring and building of the street and ditch of *Jerusalem* in troublous times; 2^{dly}, The coming of the *Messiah*; and 3^{dly}, His confirming of the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews* for one week, his causing sacrifice and oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And therefore applying these particular events to their proper periods, the prophecy will be clearly thus: That numbring the said seventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is, to restore and establish the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*) there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is, forty nine years, and then the said church and state (here figuratively expressed by the streets of the city) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such † good constitutions and establishments (here figuratively expressed by the ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary for the fortifying and preserving of the same, and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies. That after sixty and two weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty four years, the *Messiah* should come. And that after this, having for one week, the last of the said seventy weeks, (that is, for the space of seven years,) confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews*, he should in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it) cause the sacrifices and oblations of the temple to cease; and in the conclusion of the whole, that is, in the precise ending of the said seventy weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1st, As to the period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem*, with its streets and ditch, in troublous times, (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the church and state of the *Jews*) is not distinctly applied thereto in the prophecy. For in the end of the 25th verse, both the two first periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven weeks, and that of the sixty two weeks, the event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its street and ditch is subjoined to both of them without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse appropriating the time of the *Messiah* to the period of sixty two weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is, the restoring and building

† It is a celebrated saying among the Jews, and of ancient date among them, (for it is in Pitke Aboth, which is one of the tracts in their Mishna) That the constitutions of their elders are an hedge to the law, that is, to fence, preserve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a ditch is as much made use for a fence, as is an hedge; and therefore the constitutions, which fence the law from being violated, may be figuratively expressed by the one, as well as by the other.

of *Jerusalem*, with its streets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of seven weeks. And accordingly within the compass of the said period of seven weeks, or forty nine years, this event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the church and state of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra*, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of another decree granted to him for this purpose by the same *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And from the beginning of this restoration of the church and state of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the ending and perfecting of it by *Nehemiah*, in that last act of this reformation which is spoken of in the xiiith of *Nehemiah*, (that is, from the 23^d verse to the end of the chapter) were forty nine years, as will be clearly made out in its proper place, in the sequel of this history. For during all that time this work was a carrying on, and the great opposition which these two good men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other enemies abroad, but also from false brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long a doing; and that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the prophesy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is observable, that at the same juncture of time, where the restoration of the *Jewish* church and state ended, there the holy scriptures of the Old Testament do end also. For this last reformation of *Nehemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said restoration, is the last act which is recorded therein, and therefore this ending of the period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the prophesy, which can scarce be said of any other that is assigned for it. And

2^{dly}, FROM these seven weeks, or forty nine years, reckoning sixty two weeks, or four hundred thirty four years more, (which is the term of the second period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Christ the Messiah*, who is here in the prophesy predicted to come at the end of the said sixty two weeks. For the words of the prophesy are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks*, that is, there shall be seven weeks for the completing and finishing of the work, for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence sixty two weeks more to the coming of *Christ*, the *Messiah* here intended, that is, to the time of his first appearance on the ministry of the gospel. For his coming, here predicted, must be interpreted either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there; and therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is, his coming, and first appearing in his ministry; and here the years predicted in the prophesy will exactly find it. For the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence these weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the *Julian* period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven weeks and sixty two weeks, that is, sixty nine weeks, or four hundred eighty three years; this will lead us down to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, which was the very year in which the ministry of the gospel first began. This *Christ* executed

cuted at first, and therein made his appearance as the *Messiah*, by his fore-runner *John the Baptist*, for the space of three years and a half, and after that by himself in his own person for three years and an half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this prophesy, which begun exactly at the ending of the said sixty two weeks. And therefore here this prophesy concerning the coming of the *Messiah* had its completion. St. *Luke*^m tells us, *The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome.* And from the coming of that word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*,ⁿ was the beginning of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and the first appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this *Christ* himself tells us. For his words are, (Luke xvi. 16.) *The Law and the Prophets were until John, since that the kingdom of God is preached.* That is, the *Jewish* œconomy under the law and the prophets lasted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the gospel, the kingdom of the *Messiah* began. For as in the gospel of St. *Matthew* by the kingdom of heaven, so here by the kingdom of God,^p is meant the kingdom of the *Messiah*, the church of *Christ*, which he hath here established among us. And therefore this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of *John*, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, *Christ our Lord*, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*. But here it is to be observ'd, that this fifteenth year of *Tiberius* could not be his fifteenth year from the death of *Augustus* his predecessor. For then there would have been but four years for the ministry of *John the Baptist*, and the personal ministry of *Jesus Christ* put both together, which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings which are recorded of them in the gospel. Besides, in so short a time, as must be allowed to the ministry of *John* in this case, it is not likely that he could have acquired that great fame, as appears not only^q by gospels, but also from the writing^r of *Josephus* the historian, that he had obtained, not only in *Judea* and *Galilee*, but also through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The fifteenth year therefore of the reign of *Tiberius*,^s in which *John the Baptist* began to preach, must be reckoned from that time, when he began to reign jointly with *Augustus*, and was, according to ^t *Velleius Paterculus* and ^u *Suetonius*, admitted by him into copartnership with him in the empire; and by a law (which *Augustus* caused to be proposed and enacted by the consuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with *Augustus* himself. For from that time the publick acts went in his name, as well as in that of *Augustus*, especially in the imperial provinces,^v of which *Syria* was one. And therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those provinces. And this hapned,^w as

^m Ch. iii. 1, 2. ⁿ Mark i. 1. • Vide Grotii Annotationes in secundum caput Matthæi, & Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum. ^p Matth. iii. & xiv. 5. & xxi. 26.
^q Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7. ^r Luke iii. 1. ^s Lib. 2. cap. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet: *Senatus populusq; Romanus, postulante patre ejus (sc. Augusto) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus Provinciis exercitibusq; esset, quam erat ipsi, Decreto complexus est.* ^t In Tiberio, c. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit---*Lege per Consules lata, ut Provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulq; censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est.* ^u Dio Cassius.
^w In Annalibus sub Anno J. P. 4725.

the most learned archbishop *Usher* observes, in the year of the *Julian* period 4725, and the fifteenth year from thence brings us to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to *John the Baptist*, and the preaching of the gospel first began. And then it was, that *Christ* by this his fore-runner manifested his coming, and made his first appearance in that great work of our salvation, on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the commandment went forth from that King for the restoring of the church and state of the *Jews*, to this time were just seven weeks and sixty two weeks, that is, sixty nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty three years in all, exactly as this prophesy predicted.

3^{dly}, FROM this coming of our Saviour began the third period of these seventy weeks, that is, the one week which is spoken of in the 27th verse, the events whereof, as there predicted, are, that *for that week the Messiah should confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof* (for * thus it ought to be rendred, where in our *English* translation we read *the midst*) *should cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For during these seven years of his evangelical ministry, he did first by his fore-runner, * the messenger whom he had sent before him, and then by himself in his personal ministry confirm the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the said week, that is, in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same ministry, on which *John* was sent before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the temple to cease, that is, first by his preaching of the gospel, which was to supersede them, and then, lastly, by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all in his death upon the cross at the end of this week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only antetypes, and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy, but as they referred to it; when this was offered all others vanished of course, as the representative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of *Christ's* personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the gospel, which was to cause the law to cease, so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease, which the law enjoined, tho' the whole was not completed, till at the end of this half part by his death and passion. For then at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of *Christ* at the end of this last period, is against the express words of the prophesy. For that placeth the cutting off of the *Messiah* at the end of the second period, that is, of the sixty two weeks. For the words of it are, (ver. 26.) *After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off*. To this I answer, the word *after* in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately af-

* The word in the original Hebrew is *Charzi*, which signifies the half part and not the midst.

† Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. and vii. 27.

ter, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed. For otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have happened at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry. For in the verse preceding it is positively said, *that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*; and therefore if at the end of the same sixty two weeks he should be cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have happened both together at the same time, and the consequence which I have mentioned must necessarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry, which cannot be said. The word *after* must therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which *Christ*, the *Messiah* named in that prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the *Messiah* had been exactly determined to that time, by what was said before in the 24th verse. For it is manifest, that according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the prophecy his death must be there placed. For according to that it must be there placed, where it placeth the events that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it; but the events which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off of *the Messiah*, are by that part of the said prophecy (ver. 24.) placed at the end of the seventy weeks, and consequently at the end of the last of them, and therefore the cutting off of the *Messiah* must there be placed also, and there it accordingly hapned in the death and passion of *Christ* our Saviour, and this part of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

THE whole therefore of this second part or branch of the prophecy is thus; the seventy weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week, the first reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to *Ezra* for the restoring of the church and state of the *Jews* in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finishing of that work by *Nehemiah* forty nine years after; the second from the end of that period to the coming of the *Messiah* four hundred and thirty four years after; and the last from that his coming to his cutting off by his death on the cross, which was one week or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in a completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month. For as the going out of the commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the month of *Nisan*, so the crucifixion of *Christ* was also in the same month just four hundred and ninety years after.

III. AFTER what is predicted of these three periods follows the third branch, or part of the prophecy, which is contained in the latter end of the 26th, and in the latter end of the 27th verse, and foretells events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come*, who with their armies and desolating abominations should invade *Judea*, as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war bring utter ruine and desolation upon it, and

and all the people of the *Jews* that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction: All which accordingly came to pass, and did in a very signal manner verify the prophesy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the end of these seventy weeks, which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their stead, so that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city *Jerusalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction. For immediately on their having executed the sentence of death unto *Christ* our Lord, this ^a sentence of condemnation passed upon them, and from that time all second causes operated towards the hastening the execution of it, till at length the *Roman* armies, the people that were to come, under the command of *Titus* their Prince, invaded them as with a torrent, and begirt *Jerusalem* with their ensigns, the abomination of desolation, ^a which our Saviour from this prophesy forewarns his disciples of. For ^b they were idolatrous images ^c abominated by the *Jews*, under which those people marched against them, invaded their land, besieged their holy city, and by a most calamitous war brought utter desolation upon both; which according to the relations of *Josephus*, (who was an historian of their own nation, and present in all the actions of the war) they executed in the most terrible and tragical manner of destruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since even to this day, though now one thousand six hundred forty five years have passed, since these judgments were by the just hand of God thus executed upon them.

BUT for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this prophesy, there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the commission to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the seventy weeks, was the same *Artaxerxes* who in the twentieth year of his reign granted another commission to *Nehemiah*. For the scriptures ^d making *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* contemporary, render this beyond dispute. But that this *Artaxerxes* should be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the age, which *Nehemiah*, and *Sanballat* must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable. For *Nehemiah*, in the book of holy scripture called by his name, (which all acknowledge to have been written by him) ^e speaking of the reign of *Darius Codomannus* King of *Persia*, and of the days of *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews*, as of times past, he must

^a *Christ* foreknowing the wickedness, foretells that this sentence should be thereon passed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed. Matt. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. ^a Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

^b Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24 cap. Matthæi com. 15.

^c *Josephus* tells us, (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) That when *Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, was going to pass through *Judæa* with a *Roman* army, to make war against the *Arabians*, the chief of the *Jews* met him, and earnestly entreated him to lead his army another way. For they could not bear the sight of those images which were in the ensigns under which they marched, they were so abominated by them. These ensigns therefore for the sake of those images in them were abominations to the *Jews*, and by reason of the desolations which were wrought under them by the *Roman* armies in conquered countries, they were called desolating abominations, or abominations of desolation; and they were never more so, than when under them the *Roman* armies besieged, took and destroyed *Jerusalem*.

^d *Nehemiah* viii.

^e Chap. xii. 22.

have been alive after the death of both of them, but *Jaddua* not dying ^e till two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4392, from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to that time had passed one hundred twenty three years, to which, if we add thirty years more for the age of *Nehemiah*, when he came to be governor of *Judea*, (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust) he must have been at the least an hundred and fifty three years old when he wrote that book, if the *Artaxerxes* from whom he had his commission, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And tho' we suppose the writing of this book to have been while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the first year of the reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the matter. For on this supposition *Nehemiah* must have been an hundred and forty years old when he wrote that book, which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently infers the supposal, on which it is built, (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus* from whom he had his commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of *Sanballat*, upon the same supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so. For when *Nehemiah* came into *Judea*, in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, he found him ^f governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Persia*, and he was alive, as *Josephus* tells us, ^g till the besieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth year of *Darius Codomannus*, at which time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the time of that siege could not be less than an hundred and forty eight years old. For from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fourth of *Darius Codomannus*, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, were one hundred and thirteen years; and when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, *Sanballat* having been for some time, perchance for several years, fixed in the government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty five years old at that time, and putting both these numbers together they make an hundred and forty eight years; and both these ages, that is, that of *Nehemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter. For as to *Nehemiah*, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alledged for such an extraordinary age in him, but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances apart look very improbable, but coming both together are much more so. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the *Darius* who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple, could not be *Darius Nothus*, because of the great and improbable age which *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel* must have been of at the executing of that decree; so it is argued here in the same manner, that the *Artaxerxes*, from whom *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had their commissions, could not be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, because of the great and improbable age which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* must then have been of at the time of their death. And therefore as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwise solved, but by making the *Darius*, who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple to be another *Darius*, that is, *Darius Hystaspis*, who reigned ninety eight years before that *Darius* who was called *Nothus*; so in like manner it is said of this latter

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

^f Nehem. iv. 2.

difficulty,

difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared but by making the *Artaxerxes*, who in the seventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his commissions to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to have been another *Artaxerxes*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whose seventh year, and whose twentieth year of his reign, were just sixty years after the seventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other *Artaxerxes*, that was called *Longimanus*. Thus far the objection, and if it holds good, I must acknowledge it overthrows the computation, on which hath been built all which I have hitherto said for the explication of this prophesy.

IN answer hereto it hath been said by some, 1st, As to *Nehemiah*, that in that passage of his book (*chap. xii. 22.*) where the reign of *Darius* the *Persian*, and the days of *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews* are mentioned, that reign of *Darius* was the reign ^h of *Darius Nothus*, and those days of *Jaddua*ⁱ were his days from his birth, which might very well have happened in the reign of the said *Darius Nothus*. And 2^{dly}, As to *Sanballat*, that ^k there were two of that name, the first of which was the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Nehemiah*, and the second the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Josephus*; but neither of these answers can possibly hold good. For,

1st, It's manifest, that the text of *Nehemiah* (*chap. xii. 22.*) where the *Levites* are spoken of that were in the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, *Johanan*, and *Jaddua*, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high-priests. For the high-priest among the *Jews* was the head of the priests and *Levites*, and after the captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the absolute supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their high-priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our Kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been done in such an high-priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time than that of his high-priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a King's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign. And therefore to refer what is here said of the days of *Jaddua*, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced sense which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of King *Henry VIII*, will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand what is here said of the *Levites* to have been in the days of *Jaddua*, of any other days than of those wherein he was high-priest? And it is to be here observed, that the text joins with the days of *Jaddua*, the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*. For it is said ^l *In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, &c.* And therefore if it should be here asked, whether the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*, are to be understood of the days of their high-priesthood, or of the days of their life from their birth, no doubt it will be answered by every body, of the days of their high-priesthood. And why then must not the days of *Jaddua* be understood so too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this case to name *Jaddua's* days at all? Because if they be understood of those before he was high-priest, they were co-incident with

^k Usserius in *Annalibus* sub anno J. P. 4298.
Chronologia sacra, p. 149.

^l *Nehem. xii. 22.*

ⁱ Usserius, *ibid.*

^k *Isaacus Vossius* in

the days of *Joiada* and *Johanan*, which were nam'd before. And therefore if we understand those days of *Jaddua* in the text, of any other days, than of those wherein he was high-priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition as it must not be charg'd with. Nothing seems more plain, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession one after another, and therefore we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of *Jaddua*, in this text, of the days before he was high-priest, is to support a notion that the said text was written before he was high-priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of *Darius Nothus*, they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then to name his days with the days of the other high-priests, so many years before he came to be high-priest, and when it must be on ^m many respects uncertain, whether he would ever be so or no, is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of *Jaddua* in the text above-mentioned, can be meant of no other days than the days of his high-priesthood, and that therefore he must have been in that office before this text was written. And also it is as evident, that the *Darius* in the same text mentioned, can be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, ^o in whose reign *Jaddua* was high-priest. For the ^o text bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high-priests, terminates the whole in the days of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius the Persian*, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore *Darius the Persian*, in that text mentioned, could be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, because no other *Darius* but he was King of *Persia* while *Jaddua* was high-priest at *Jerusalem*. And if so, it must be in the reign of this *Darius*, of the soonest, that this text was written, and consequently *Nehemiah*, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And supposing it to have been in the reign of this *Darius*, and in the first year of it, *Nehemiah*, if then living, must have been an hundred and forty years old; but if it were after the death both of *Darius* and *Jaddua*, as the obvious sense of the text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is, one hundred fifty three at the least, as I have above-said, but neither of these is likely, and therefore it must be acknowledged, that this answer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither,

^{2^{dly}}, CAN the other answer remove that which ariseth from the age of *Sanballat*. For to solve that objection by making two *Sanballats* is plainly giving up the cause, it being only a shift, which can never go down with any one that duly considers the matter. For it is not to be doubted but that the *Sanballat*, who is said in the last chapter of *Nehemiah* to have married his daughter to one of the sons of *Joiada* the high-priest, is the same *Sanballat* who is mentioned so often in the former part of that book, as the great opposer of *Nehemiah* in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of *Israel*. For he is in this last place called by ^p the same proper name of *Sanballat* as in the former places of that book, and hath there

^m It was uncertain not only from the uncertainty of life, but also because he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwise, and also might be excluded by the Persian King.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

^o Nehem. xii. 22.

^p Nehem. xiii. 28.

also given unto him the same additional name of the *Horonite*, taken from the name of *Horonaim*^a a city of *Moab*, whereof it's supposed he was a native. And it is not likely that both these names should concur in any other, within the time of the same governor of *Judea*, but in the same person only. And that this same *Sanballat the Horonite* is the same *Sanballat*, which *Josephus* treateth of, is as evident. For the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah*^b was governor of *Samaria*, and ^c so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah*^b was a great enemy of the *Jews*, and ^d so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah*^w married his daughter to one of the sons of an high-priest of the *Jews*, and ^e so did the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; and who then is there, that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

AND thus far I have shewn, that neither part of the objection above-mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I answer,

1st, As to the age of *Nehemiah*, that the text from whence this objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithstanding what is said therein, *Nehemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written. For all that is contained in the said xiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the beginning of it to the 27th verse of the same, was never written by *Nehemiah*, but is an interpolation there inserted long after his death, by those who received this book into the canon of scripture. For ^f as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that collection which he made of the holy scriptures, inserted in several places such interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them, so they who laboured after him, in the perfecting of the said collection, did the same in the books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of *Simon the Just*. For he being the last of those whose labours were employed in the settling of the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, and this book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it's justly reckoned to have been in his time, that it was first thus received into the number of the sacred books, and then this interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby, in the sense and connection of that part of the book, doth sufficiently shew, and ^g most learned men that have considered this matter, are now convinced that it is so.

BUT 2^{dly}, As to the other objection which is drawn from the age of *Sanballat*, the answer is much easier. For here there is no opposition between scripture and scripture, but only between scripture and the writings of a prophane author. *Nehemiah* placeth *Sanballat the Horonite* in the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; ^h *Josephus* makes him live down to the

^a Isaiah xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, and 34.

lib. ii. c. 7, and 8.

^b Nehem. ii, iv, vi.

^c Nehem. iv. 2.

^d Joseph. ibid.

^e Joseph. Antiq.

^w Nehem. xiii. 28.

^f See below, in the sequel of this history.

^g Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia sacra, cap. 10.

p. 149. Cary's Chronology, part 2. book 2. chap. 6. p. 197.

^h Antiq. lib. ii. c. 8.

time of *Alexander the Great* above an hundred years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other. For if both cannot consist together (as the great age which *Sanballat* in this case must have lived to doth sufficiently prove they cannot) the prophane writer must give place to the sacred. And therefore the true answer in this matter is, *Josephus* was mistaken. The sacred writ, as being dictated by the holy spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth, which cannot be said of the writings of *Josephus*. For they have in them many great and manifest mistakes, and no part of them more than the eleventh book of antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection. For therein he frequently varies from scripture, history, and common sense, which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested, of all that he has written. Therein ^a he makes *Cambyfes*, who was the first that reigned after *Cyrus*, to have been the *Persian King*, that by his decree forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple, whereas ^b the scripture plainly tells us it was *Artaxerxes*, who is there named in the third place after *Cyrus*. He ^c inserts into this book, out of the *apocryphal Esdras*, the fabulous and absurd story of the three chamberlains contending before *Darius Hystaspis* about what was strongest; and making *Zerubbabel* to be one of them, and to obtain the victory. In this contest, he introduceth *Darius* giving him for the reward of this victory, a decree for another return of the captive *Israelites* to *Judea*, which is neither spoken of in scripture, nor consisting with it, and placeth at the head of those, who he saith then returned, *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Jeshua* the high-priest, whereas it's certain from *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*, that they were then both at *Jerusalem*, and there on the exhortations of the two prophets last mentioned setting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on out of the same romance, to relate, as consequential to this second return, (which is wholly fictitious) all that which the scriptures tell us was done after the first, and in some particulars very much exceeds the fictions of the romancer himself. For he makes those who came from *Babylon* to *Judea* in this fictitious return, to be four millions eight thousand six hundred eighty four men, a monstrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thousand seven hundred forty and two, a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of wives. And ^d he makes *Xerxes*, who succeeded *Darius Hystaspis*, to have been that *Artaxerxes* of the holy scriptures, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, whereas ^e the thirty second year of that *Artaxerxes* is mentioned in scripture, and it's certain the reign of *Xerxes* did not exceed ^f one and twenty. He brings not *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem* ^g till the twenty fifth year of that *Artaxerxes*, whereas the scriptures ^h tell us, he came thither in the twentieth; and he makes him to be employed there three years and an half in the building of the walls of the city, whereas we read in the sacred text, ⁱ that it was done in fifty two days. And since *Josephus* hath in this book made all these mistakes,

^a Antiq. lib. 11. c. 3. ^b Ezra iv. 6, 7. For there he makes Ahasuerus to be the first after Cyrus; and Artaxerxes, who forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple and city of Jerusalem, to be the second. ^c Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4. ^d Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. ^e Nehem. xiii. 6. ^f Canon. Ptol. ^g Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. ^h Nehem. ii. 1. ⁱ Nehem. vi. 15.

besides many more which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange, that I assert what he saith in this same book in reference to *Sanballat*, is a mistake also. For ^k therein he tells us of him, "That being made governor of *Samaria* for the last *Darius*, he married his daughter to one whose father had been high-priest of the *Jews*, and that this son-in-law having for this marriage, as being contrary to the *Jewish* law, been deprived of his priesthood and driven out of *Jerusalem*, he obtained from *Alexander* (to whom he revolted while at the siege of *Tyre*) license to build on mount *Gerizim* near *Samaria* a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make his son-in-law high-priest of it, and that after having attended *Alexander* at this siege of *Tyre*, and also at that of *Gaza* with eight thousand men, about the time of the taking of the last of these he died." Thus far this historian. That *Sanballat* thus married his daughter to a son of an high-priest of the *Jews*, and built a temple on mount *Gerizim* for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by licence from *Alexander*, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the relator as any that I have above-mentioned. That he should build this temple by licence from *Alexander* is inconsistent with what *Josephus* himself tells us of the matter. For according to him *Sanballat* did not revolt to *Alexander* till he was set down before *Tyre*, and that siege and the siege of *Gaza* both together lasted only nine months. And therefore if we suppose *Sanballat* to have obtained this licence from *Alexander* in the very beginning of these nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, which cost the labour of many years, and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially, since all that while neither *Sanballat* himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time *Josephus* tells us, *Sanballat* attended *Alexander* in the camp, and had eight thousand of his *Samaritans* there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable, that in their absence those who were left behind should have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go through with such a work, especially when the chief projector *Sanballat* himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this temple could have been built by a license from *Alexander* in the life-time of *Sanballat*, it must follow, that if it were built at all by virtue of such a license from *Alexander*, it must have been built by the *Samaritans* after *Sanballat* was dead. But the ill circumstances on which the *Samaritans* were with *Alexander* immediately after the time, when *Josephus* saith *Sanballat* died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former. For *Alexander* was no sooner gone into *Egypt*, where he immediately marched after his taking of *Gaza*, but the *Samaritans* ^l rising in a mutiny against *Andromachus*, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of *Syria*, set fire to the house where he was, and burnt him to death; which justly provoked *Alexander* to so severe a revenge against them, that on his return he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the rest

^k Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7, & 8.

^l Eusebii Chronicon ad annum 1685. In Lat. Hieronymi, p. 137. in Græcis, p. 56. & p. 177. Edit. ult. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his *Macedonians*, and "added their countrey to that of the *Jews*. And as to the eight thousand men which had followed his camp, "he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest province of *Egypt*, and there settled them on such lands as he caused to be distributed among them in that province, without suffering them any more to return into their own countrey. The remainder that survived this ruine were permitted to dwell in *Sechem*, a small village near *Samaria*, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people, and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in so high a degree provoked *Alexander*, should be allowed to build such a temple by his favour, or if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its branches, will no doubt think it in each of them improbable, and that with a licence from *Alexander*, neither before the death of *Sanballat* nor after it, could any such temple have been built by the *Samaritans*. However, I deny not but that, as hath been already said, such a temple was built by *Sanballat* upon mount *Gerizim*, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a son of the high-priest of the *Jews*, but this was done long before the time of the last *Darius*, who was called *Codomannus*, in the time of a former *Darius* surnamed *Nothus*, who was King of *Persia* eighty eight years before him. For it appears from scripture, that this marriage was consummated " while *Joiada* the son of *Elishib* was high-priest of the *Jews*, and he entered on his office in the eleventh year of this *Darius*; and four years afterwards (that is in the fifth year of the high-priesthood of the said *Joiada*, and in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*) was it, that his son was thus married to the daughter of *Sanballat*, as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest, which *Josephus* relates of the building of the temple upon mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*, and the making of his son-in-law high-priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of *Darius Codomannus* in the last year of his reign, or by license from *Alexander*, but in the time of *Darius Nothus*, and by license from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to *Sanballat* for this purpose; and this clears the whole objection. For *Darius Nothus* in *Ptolemy's* canon immediately succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in whose twentieth year *Sanballat* is first made mention of, and supposing him to have been then thirty five years old, he would in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* be no more than seventy one, which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in *London*, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials, and none that die there use to be put into those bills under that title, unless they out-live seventy. That which led *Josephus* into this error, I take it, was the common notion, which hath long obtained among his countrey men, " that the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, was the son of *Abasuerus* by *Esther*; and therefore on his making *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to be *Abasuerus*, he makes the *Darius* that succeeded him, that

^m Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 2. p. 1063.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

^o Nehem. xiii. 28.

^p R. Abraham Levita in Historica Cabala. David Gantz in Zemach David. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

is, *Darius Nothus*, to be that last *Darius*, who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his history. For having therein given us an account of all the Kings of *Persia* from *Cyrus* to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in that exact series of succession, in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the *Magian* usurper, tho' he reigned only seven months; after *Artaxerxes Longimanus* he names none other but that last *Darius*, in whom the *Persian* empire ended. Which is a plain argument that he took that last *Darius* to have been the *Darius* that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and if so, the age of *Sanballat* will then put no difficulty upon us. But ^a *Isaac Vossius*, by an emendation of the text of *Josephus*, introduceth thereinto another *Artaxerxes*, as mentioned by him to reign in *Persia*, between *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and the last *Darius*. For whereas in the seventh chapter of the eleventh book of his *Antiquities*, in all the printed copies we read of *Bagoses*, that he was general τῶ λαῷ Ἀρταξέρξε, that is, of the people of *Artaxerxes*; he would have it to be τῶ ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε, which may be rendred in *English* either of the other *Artaxerxes*, or of another *Artaxerxes*. And to justify the emendation, he brings the authority of *Ruffinus*, who, in his version of *Josephus*, translates this place as if the copy which he used had it τῶ ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε. But *Ruffinus's* *Latin* version is no sufficient standard, whereby to judge of the original, since in many places he phantastically varies from it. And since there were two *Artaxerxes's*, that reigned in *Persia* after *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*, whether by this ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε we understand the other *Artaxerxes* or another *Artaxerxes*, the true propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place; and if it could, a long received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of some good manuscript to justify the emendation, and there is none alledged in this case. So that all that *Vossius* saith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon; and to alter old authors, upon conjectures only, is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other. For since the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced by such conjectural emendations, and many good authors have already too much suffered by it.

AND thus far I have explained this important prophesy in all its parts and branches, and fully shewn all those events in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities, which many learned men have been led into in their explications of it, do sufficiently prove it. And the understanding in a literal sense, what is there meant in a figurative, hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our curiosity herein, as to give us prophecies for

^a In *Chronologia sacra*, cap. 10. p. 150.

the magnifying of his omniscience among us, yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure terms, as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become sure comments upon the text. And I hope when the reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed, concerning this very important prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it hath had its completion.

An. 457.
Artax-
erxes 8.

BUT to return again to our history. *Ezra* having found in the second year of his government, that many of the people had taken strange wives contrary to the law, and that several of the priests and *Levites*, as well as other chief men of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, had transgressed herein, after he had in fasting and prayer deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused proclamation to be made for all the people of *Israel*, that had returned from the captivity, to gather themselves together at *Jerusalem*, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods. And when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant before God, to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of *Israel* might not be polluted with such an undue commixture; and thereon commissioners were appointed to enquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the law herein. And they sat down the first day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month; so that in three months time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months of the *Jewish* year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression; which three months answer to *January*, *February*, and *March*, in our year.

ABOUT this time *Bigthan* and *Tereb*, two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conspiracy against the life of King *Artaxerxes*. Most likely they were of those who had attended Queen *Vashti*, and being now out of their offices by the degrading of their mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the King for it; of which *Mordecai* having gotten the knowledge he made discovery hereof to Queen *Esther*, and she in *Mordecai's* name to the King; whereon enquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treason laid open and discovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the history of the whole matter was enter'd on the publick registers and annals of the kingdom.

MEGABYZUS and *Artabafus*, who were appointed generals by *Artaxerxes* for the *Egyptian* war, had drawn together into *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia* an army of three hundred thousand men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was a preparing for them in *Cilicia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and other maritime parts of the *Persian* empire there adjoining, all which time they carefully employed in exercising their soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military arts for the war, which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterwards obtained. In the interim, *Inarus* with his *Egyptians*, and the *Athenian* auxiliaries, pressed hard their assaults upon the *White Wall* at *Memphis*, but the *Persians* valiantly defending themselves, the siege continued all this year without any success.

¹ *Ezra* ix. and x.

² *Esther* ii. 21.

³ *Ctesias*. *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.*

BUT the next year after, the *Persian* fleet being ready, *Artabafus* took ^{An. 456} the command of it, and set sail for the *Nile*; and at the same time *Megabyzus* <sup>Artax-
erxes 9.</sup> marched the army over land to *Memphis*, where on his arrival having raised the siege, and joined the besieged, he gave battel to *Inarus* and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the *Egyptian* revoltors. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the fight by *Megabyzus*, made his retreat with the *Athenian* auxiliaries, and as many of the *Egyptians* as would follow him, to *Biblus*, a city standing in the island *Profopitis*, which being furrounded by the *Nile*, and the branches of that river encompassing it being both navigable, the *Athenians* drew up their fleet into one of them, in a station where it was safe from the enemy, and endured a siege of an year and half in that island. In the interim, the rest of the *Egyptians*, after that blow, all submitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King *Artaxerxes*, excepting *Amyrtaeus*, who still maintained a party against him in the fens, where he reigned many years; the *Persians*, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

IN the mean time * the *Persian* army at *Profopitis* pressed on the siege, ^{An. 454.} but finding that they could make no work of it, by the usual and common <sup>Artax-
erxes 11.</sup> ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendents, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished what by open force they could not effect. For having by the making of many channels drained that branch of the *Nile*, in which the *Athenian* fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their army to pass over into the island; whereon *Inarus*, seeing his case desperate, with all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty of the *Athenian* auxiliaries, came to composition with *Megabyzus*, and yielded to him on terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the auxiliaries, being in number about six thousand, put themselves on their defence; and therefore having set their fleet on fire stood together in battel array, with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and in imitation of the *Lacedemonians*, that fell at *Thermopylae*, fell their lives as dear as they could; which the *Persians* perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on terms, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home into their own countrey, which way they should chuse for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the island with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they took shipping for *Greece*. But the major part of those that went on this expedition perish'd in it.

AND this was not all the loss which the *Athenians* suffered in this war. * For another fleet of fifty sail being sent by them, for the relief of those who were besieged in *Profopitis*, they arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to sail up the *Nile* for the assistance of their countreymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had hapned to them. But they were no sooner entered the river, but they were set upon by the *Persian* fleet from the sea, and assaulted with darts by their land-army from the shore, so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their ships, which

* Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 11

* Ibid.

* Thucyd. lib. 1.

broke

broke thorough the enemy, and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the *Athenians* made in *Egypt*, in the sixth year after it was begun. And after this *Egypt* was again reduced under the *Persian* yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of *Artaxerxes*.

JOACHIM the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, was¹ succeeded by *Eliashib* his son, who bore that office forty years.

As. 453.
Artax-
erxes 12.

HAMAN an *Amalekite*, of the posterity of *Agag*, who was King of *Amalek* in the time of *Saul*,² growing to be the chief favourite of King *Artaxerxes*, all the King's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who sitting in the King's gate, according to his office, paid not any reverence to *Haman* at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him; of which being told he was exceeding wroth, but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a *Jew*, he resolved in revenge of this affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this, perchance, he was not a little excited, by the ancient Enmity which was between them, and the people of whom he was descended. And therefore for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month *Nisan*, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in execution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those eastern people, cast lots first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month following, called *Adar*, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed. Whereon he forthwith went in unto the King, and having insinuated to him, that there was a certain people dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the King's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed; and that therefore it was not for the King's profit that they should be any longer suffered, he proposed and gave counsel that they should be all destroyed, and extirpated out of the whole empire of *Persia*, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which having obtained the King's consent, and an order, that on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the King's scribes together to write the decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same month of *Nisan*, copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the King's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all *Jews* both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening there might be

¹ Chronicon. Alexandrinum. Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 5.

² Esther iii.
time

time enough to take such measures as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

BUT an objection being like to arise against this from those who had the management of the King's treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the King's subjects, as the *Jews* through the whole empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the publick taxes, he offered ^a ten thousand talents of silver out of his own purse to make the King amends for it; which sum, if computed by *Babylonish* talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by *Jewish* talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shews the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice towards the *Jews*, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the King's favour was then so great toward him, ^b that he remitted to him all that sum, and granted him all that he desired without it; though the damage, which the King would have suffered by it in his revenue, would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give ^c could have been sufficient to countervail. We are not to wonder that private men had then such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them, *Pythius the Lydian*, and *Marcus Crassus the Roman*. The former, when *Xerxes* passed into *Greece*, ^d was possessed of two thousand talents in silver, and four millions of darics in gold, which together amounted to near five millions and an half of our sterling money. And the latter, ^e after he had consecrated the tenth of all that he had to *Hercules*, feasted all the people of *Rome* at ten thousand tables, and had given them in a donative of corn to every citizen as much as would last him three months, found the remainder of his estate to be seven thousand one hundred *Roman* talents, which amounts to above a million and an half of our money. This may seem much to us at present; but the wonder will cease, when we consider that from the time of *David* and *Solomon*, and for above fifteen hundred years afterwards, gold and silver was in much greater plenty in the world, than either of them is at present. The immense riches ^f which *Solomon* had in gold and silver, the prodigious quantities of both these, ^g which *Alexander* found in the treasuries of *Darius*, and ^h the vast loads of them, which we find often to have been carried in triumph before *Roman* generals, when they returned from conquered provinces; and the excessive sums ⁱ which some of the *Roman* Emperors expended in their luxurious and phantastical enjoyments, and in donatives to their ar-

^a Esther iii. 9.

^b Esther iii. 10.

^c Esther vii. 4.

^d Herodot. lib. 7.

^e Plutarchus in Crasso.

^f The gold wherewith he overlaid the Sanctum Sanctorum only, a room in the temple, of thirty foot square and thirty foot high, besides what was expended on other parts of the temple, and in the utensils and vessels of it, amounted to six hundred talents, which, reduced to our money, is four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the gold which he had in one year from Ophir amounted to four hundred and fifty talents, which reduced to our money is three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; and his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was six hundred sixty and six talents, which amounts to four millions, seven hundred ninety five thousand, two hundred pounds, of our sterling money.

^g See Diodor. Sic. Arrian, and Q. Curtius.

^h See the Roman historians.

mies, and many † other instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned sufficiently prove this. But at length the mines which furnished this plenty, especially those of the southern *Arabia* (where we suppose was the *Ophir* of the ancients) being exhausted; and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns* and other barbarous nations in the west, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks* and *Tartars* in the east, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world afore abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both, which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brazil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

It's hard to find a reason for *Mordecai's* refusing to pay this respect to *Haman*, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction, which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said, is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the King of *Persia*, and that † consisting in the bowing of the knee, and the prostration of the whole body, even to the ground, it was avoided by *Mordecai* upon a^k notion which he had of its being idolatrous. But this being the common complement, which was constantly paid to the Kings of *Persia* by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very King by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, when they had access unto him, and after also by *Mordecai* himself. For otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace which was afterwards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the King, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to *Haman*. The *Greeks* would not pay this respect to the King of *Persia* out of pride; and excepting *Themistocles*, and † two or three more, † none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of *Mordecai* in respect of *Haman*. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence, was from a cause that was personal in *Haman* only. Perchance it was because *Haman* being of the race of the *Amalekites*, he looked on him as under the curse † which God had denounced against that nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the *Jews* thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced *Mordecai*

† One of these instances may be in *Lucullus* a Roman Senator. For in one of his halls, which he called *Apollo*, he expended fifty thousand Roman *Denarii* every time he supped there, (which is near sixteen hundred pound of our money) and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of *Plutarch*, who tells us this in the life of *Lucullus*, express no more than that the supper cost him five *Myriads*, but this, in strict propriety of speech, can in that author be meant of no other *Myriads* but of *Denarii*. If we carry the valuation down to that of *Sestertii*, five *Myriads* (that is, fifty thousand) of them will amount to a quarter of the sum above-mentioned, that is, four hundred pound of our money; and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two Roman senators, (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that author) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the entertainer.

lib. 1. §. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

^k *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.*

^l One of these was *Timagoras* an Athenian, on whom the people of Athens passed sentence of death for it, thinking the honour of their whole city debased by this mean submission of one of their citizens to him, that was then the greatest King of the whole earth. *Valer. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

^m Vide *Plutarchum* in *Themistocle & Pelopida & Artaxerxe*. *Herodotum*, lib. 7. *Justinum*, lib. 6. cap. 2. & *Cornelium Nepotem* in *Conone*.

ⁿ *Exod. xvi. 14. 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.*

to refuse the payment of this respect to the King's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above-mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole *Jewish* nation in revenge for it.

WHEN ° *Mordecai* heard of this decree, he made great lamentation, as did also all the *Jews* of *Shushan* with him; and therefore putting on sackcloth he sat in this mournful garb without the King's gate; (for he might not enter within it in that dress) which being told *Esther*, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon *Mordecai* acquainted her with the whole state of the case, and sent her a copy of the decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the King, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever, whether man or woman, should come in unto the King into the inner court, who was not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the King should hold out the golden sceptre in his hand, that he might live, and she was afraid of hazarding her life in this case. Whereon *Mordecai*, sending to her again, told her, that the decree extended universally to all of her nation, without any exception, and that if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work, but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her father's house should perish. For he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon *Esther* resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired *Mordecai*, that he and all the *Jews* then in *Shushan* would fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day *Esther* put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the King, where he was sitting upon his throne in the inner part of the palace. And as soon as he saw her standing in the court he shewed favour unto her, and held out his golden sceptre towards her, and *Esther* going near and touching the top of it had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the King asked her, what her petition was, at first she only desired, that he and *Haman* would come to a banquet which she had prepared for him. And when *Haman* was called, and the King and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; but then she desired only, that the King and *Haman* would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating, that then she would make known her request unto him. Her intention, in desiring thus to entertain the King twice at her banquets before she made known her petition unto him, was, that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request which she had to make unto him.

HAMAN being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the King to the Queen's banquet, went home to his house much puffed up here-with. But in his returning thither, seeing *Mordecai* sitting at the

° *Esther* iv. *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.*

gate of the palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that on his coming to his house, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the King and Queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by *Mordecai*. Whereon they advised him to cause a gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the King to have *Mordecai* to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the King to hang *Mordecai* on it. But ^{it} that morning the King awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the book of the records and chronicles of the kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conspiracy of *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, and that it was discovered by *Mordecai* the Jew, the King enquired what honour had been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he enquired who was in the court, and being told that *Haman* was standing there, (for he attended early to speak to the King for the purpose I have mentioned) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the King delighted to honour. Whereon *Haman*, thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice, That the royal apparel should be brought which the King used to wear, and the horse which was kept for his own riding, and the crown royal which useth to be set upon his head, and that this apparel and horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the King's most noble princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the King delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole city; and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the King delighteth to honour. Whereon the King commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horse, and do all this to *Mordecai* the Jew, who sat in the King's gate, in reward for his discovery of the treason of the two eunuchs. All which *Haman* having been forced to do in obedience to the King's command, he returned with great sorrow to his house, lamenting the disappointment and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this *Mordecai* were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded, that he should not prevail against him, but should surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the Queen's chamberlains came to *Haman*'s house to hasten him to the banquet, and seeing the gallows which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it was prepared. On the King and *Haman*'s sitting down to the banquet, ^{the} King asked again of *Esther*, what was her petition, with like promise as before of granting of it to her, even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the King, that her Life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her and all her kindred and nation;

at which the King asking, with much anger, who it was that durst do this thing, she told him that *Haman* then present was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the King. Whereon the King rose up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoining, which *Haman* perceiving fell down before the Queen upon the bed, on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the King having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion; What, will he force the Queen before me in the house? At which words the servants present immediately covered his face, as was then the usage to condemned persons; and the chamberlain, who had that day called *Haman* to the banquet, acquainting the King of the gallows which he saw at his house, there prepared for *Mordecai*, who had saved the King's life in detecting the treason of the two eunuchs, the King ordered that he should be forthwith hanged thereon; which was accordingly done; and all his house, goods and riches were given to Queen *Esther*, and she appointed *Mordecai* to be her steward to manage the same. On the same day the Queen acquainted the King of the relation which *Mordecai* had unto her; whereon the King took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the empire, and made him the keeper of his signet in the same manner as *Haman* had been before.

BUT still the decree for the destruction of the *Jews* remaining in its full force, the Queen petitioned the King the second time to put away this mischief from them. But according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, nothing being to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the King's name, and sealed with the King's seal; and the decree procured by *Haman* against the *Jews* having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All therefore that the King could do in compliance with her request, was to give the *Jews*, by a new decree, such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; And for that end he bid *Esther* and *Mordecai* draw such a decree in words as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annulled. And therefore the King's scribes being again called on the twenty third day of the third month, a new decree was drawn just two months and ten days after the former, wherein the King granted to the *Jews*, which were in every city of the *Persian* Empire, full licence to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives, and to destroy, slay, and cause to perish, all the power of the people and province, that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the King's name, and sealed with his seal, copies hereof were drawn out, and especial messengers were dispatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

IN the interim *Megabyzus* having reduced the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, except the fenny part held by *Amyrtaeus*, and there settled all matters again under the dominion of King *Artaxerxes*, he made *Sartamas* governor of that countrey, and returned to *Susa*, carrying with him *Inarus* and his *Grecian* Prisoners. And having given the King an account of the articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of him a ratifi-

^r Vide Briffonium de Regno Persarum.

lib. II. cap. 6.

VOL. I.

^v Dan. vi. 8, 15. Esther. i. 19. and viii. 8.

^r Esther viii.

K k 2

^r Esther viii. Joseph.

^w Ctesias.

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cation of the same, although with difficulty, because of the King's anger against them for the death of *Achæmenides* his brother, who was slain in battel against them. But *Hamestris*, the mother of both these brothers, was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded that *Inarus* and his *Greeks* should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but also required that *Megabyzus* himself, though her son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty that she was for this time put off with a denial.

As. 452.
Artaxer-
xes 13.

THE thirteenth day of *Adar* drawing near, ^x when the decree obtained by *Haman* for the destruction of the *Jews* was to be put in execution, their adversaries every where prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the *Jews*, on the other hand, by virtue of the second decree above-mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by *Esther* and *Mordecai*, gathered themselves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of King *Artaxerxes*, to provide for their defence; so that on the said thirteenth of *Adar*, through the means of these two different and discordant decrees, a war was commenced between the *Jews* and their enemies throughout the whole *Persian* Empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, and deputies, and other officers of the King, knowing in what power *Esther* and *Mordecai* were then with him, through fear of them so favoured the *Jews*, that they prevailed every where against all those that rose up against them, and on that day throughout the whole empire slew of their enemies seventy five thousand persons, and in the city of *Shushan*, on that day and the next, eight hundred more, among which were the ten sons of *Haman*, whom by a special order from the King they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same gallows on which *Haman* their father had been hanged before.

THE *Jews* being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatened them with no less than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicing for it on the two days following, that is, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the said month of *Adar*. ^y And by the order of *Esther* and *Mordecai*, these two days, with the thirteenth that preceeded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof; the thirteenth as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them; and the other two as a feast, because of their deliverance from it. And ^z both this fast and this feast they constantly observe every year, on those days, even to this time. The fast they call the fast of *Esther*, and the feast the feast of *Purim*, from the *Persian* word *Purim*, (which signifieth lots) because it was by the casting of lots that *Haman* did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the *Bacchanals* of the *Jews*, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious excesses, especially in drinking of wine even to drunkenness; which they think part of the duty of the solemnity, because it was by the

^x Esther ix. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.
lib. 11. c. 6.

^y Esther ix. 20, 21, 22. Joseph. Antiq.
^z Talmud in Megillah. Maimonides in Megillah. Buxtorfii Synagoga
Judaica, c. 29.

means of the wine-banquet (they say) that *Esther* made the King's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour, which inclined him to grant the request which she made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore they think they ought to make their hearts merry also when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this festival the book of *Esther* is solemnly read in all their synagogues, from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants, because all these had their parts in this deliverance which *Esther* obtained for them. And as often as the name of *Haman* occurs in the reading of this book, their usage is for them all to clap with their hands, and stamp with their feet, and cry out, *Let his memory perish*. This is the last feast of the year among them. For the next that follows is the passover, which always falls in the middle of the month, which begins the *Jewish* year.

THE *Athenians* having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in *Egypt*,^a sent *Cimon* with two hundred sail again into *Cyprus*, there to carry on the war against the *Persians*, where he took *Citium* and *Malum*, and several other cities, and sent sixty sail into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Amyrtaeus*. At the same time *Artabafus* was in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and *Megabyzus*, the other general of King *Artaxerxes*, had a land-army of three hundred thousand men on the coasts of *Cilicia*, but neither of them had the success in this war which they had in the last. For

CIMON,^a on the return of his ships from *Egypt*, fell on *Artabafus*,<sup>An. 450. Artax-
erxes 15.</sup> and having taken an hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*; and being flush'd with this success, on his return landed upon *Megabyzus* in *Cilicia*, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to *Cyprus* with a double triumph.

ARTAXERXES hearing of these great losses, sustained both at sea and land,^b became weary of so destructive a war, and therefore upon thorough advice taken with his counsellors and ministers, came to a resolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly sent to his generals and commanders, who had the charge of the *Cyprian* war, to make peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Whereon *Megabyzus* and *Artabafus* sending ambassadors to *Athens* to make the proposal, plenipotentiaries were appointed of each side to treat of the matter, and they came to an agreement on these terms: 1st, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* should have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; 2^{dly}, That no *Persian* ship of war should any more appear on any of those seas, which lie from the *Cyanean* to the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*; 3^{dly}, That no *Persian* commander should come with an army by land, within three days journey of those seas; 4^{thly}, That the *Athenians* should no more invade any of the territories of King *Artaxerxes*. Which articles being ratified and sworn to on both sides, Peace was concluded. And so this war ended, after it had continued from the time that the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* (which was the first beginning of it) full one and fifty years; to the destruction of a vast num-

^a Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucyd. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
Plutarchus in Cimone.

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

ber of men on both sides. In the interim, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, and the *Athenians* returned with his corps to *Athens*, and after this came no more into those seas.

An. 448. KING *Artaxerxes*,^c being continually sollicitated by his mother, to deliver
Artax-
erxes 17. to her *Inarus*, and the *Athenians* who were taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might revenge on them the death of her son *Achæmenides*, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importunities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request, and the prisoners were delivered to her; whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the publick faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused *Inarus*^d to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off, at which *Megabyzus* was exceedingly grieved and offended. For it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendred themselves, he thought it a great dishonour done him, that it was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into *Syria*, the province of which he was governor, and to revenge the wrong there raised an army, and rebelled against the King.

An. 447. To repress this rebellion^e *Artaxerxes* sent *Ossiris*, a prime nobleman of
Artax-
erxes 18. his court, with two hundred thousand men into *Syria*. But *Megabyzus* having met him in battel, wounded him, and took him prisoner, and put his whole army to flight. But *Artaxerxes* having sent a messenger to demand him, *Megabyzus* forthwith released him, and as soon as his wounds were healed sent him back again to the King.

An. 446. THE next year following the King^f sent another army against him, under the command of *Menostanes* son to *Artarius* governor of *Babylon*, and one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the last; for being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, *Megabyzus* gained a great victory over him; whereby *Artaxerxes* perceiving that he could not prevail against him by force of arms, sent *Artarius* his brother, and *Amytis* his sister, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty, by whose interposition the difference being made up, the King granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But while the King was in hunting, a Lion having raised himself up upon his hinder legs against him, *Megabyzus*, who was then present, out of his zeal to extricate the King from this danger, threw a dart at the lion and slew him. But *Artaxerxes* laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancor which he still retained against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off for presuming to strike at the beast before him, and it was with difficulty that *Amytis* his wife, and *Hamestris* her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of banishment; whereon he was sent to *Cyrta*, a place on the *Red Sea*, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his escape from thence, and under the habit and disguise of a leper got safe to his own house at *Susa*, he was there by the means of his wife and her mother again restored to the King's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which hapned some

^c Ctesias.^d Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias.^e Ctesias.^f Ibid.

years

years after, in the seventy sixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the King and all his court. For he was the ablest man both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him *Artaxerxes* owed his life, as well as his crown, at his first accession to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a subject to have too much obliged his prince, and this was the cause of all the misfortunes that hapned unto him.

EZRA^s continued in the government of *Judea* till the end of this year, and by virtue of the commission he had from the King, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole state of the *Jewish* church according to the law of *Moses*, in which he was excellently learned, and settled upon that bottom, upon which it afterwards stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which he had to do, were to restore the observance of the *Jewish* law, according to the ancient approved usages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the directions of the prophets, and to collect together, and set forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures; in the performance of both which, the *Jews* tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the great synagogue,^b which, they tell us, was a convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of *Ezra*, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and among these they name *Daniel* and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesach*, and *Abednego*, as the first of them, and *Simon the Just* as the last of them; though from the last mention which we have of *Daniel* in the holy scriptures to the time of *Simon the Just*, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account which they give of the history of those times. For they tell us, that the whole *Persian* empire lasted only fifty two years, (as hath been afore taken notice of) and that the *Darius* whom we call *Darius Hystaspis* was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the same was the *Artaxerxes* (which they will have to be the common name of all the Kings of *Persia* in those times) who sent *Ezra* first, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, to *Jerusalem*, to restore the state of the *Jews*, and that *Simon the Just* was the same with *Jaddua* the high-priest, who received *Alexander* at *Jerusalem*. And according to this account they might indeed all have lived together in the seventh year of this *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes* (as they would call him) when they say *Ezra* first went to *Jerusalem*; for that was in the middle of the said fifty two years, according to their computation, at which time *Jaddua* might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those councils, and it is not impossible but *Daniel* might have lived down to it, for the scriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, that these one hundred and twenty men were such principal elders, as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity, to the death of *Simon the Just*, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above-mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the said *Simon the Just*, (who was made high-priest of the *Jews* in the twenty fifth year after the death of *Alexan-*

^s Ezra viii, ix, x. Nehemiah ii.
& Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, cap. 10.

^b Vide Davidem Ganz, aliosque Judæorum historicos,

der the Great) and *Ezra* had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is by the *Jews* chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency (they tell us) it was done. And therefore ^a they look on him as another *Moses*. For the law, they say, was given by *Moses*, but it was revived and restored by *Ezra*, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the *Babylonish* captivity. And therefore they reckon him as the second founder of it, and it is a common opinion among them, ^b that he was *Malachi* the prophet; that he was called *Ezra* as his proper name, and *Malachi* (which signifyeth an angel or messenger) from his office, because he was sent as the angel and messenger of God to restore again the *Jewish* religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And indeed, by virtue of that ample commission which he had from King *Artaxerxes*, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation, and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able, for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical and political state of the *Jews*, in the best posture they were then capable of, and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the *Jews*, that it is a common saying among their writers, That if the law had not been given by *Moses*, *Ezra* was worthy by whom it should have been given.

As to the ancient and approved usages of the *Jewish* church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had by *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel*, with the chief elders their contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to *Jerusalem*, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practis'd themselves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents or others, who had lived before them. All these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same nature, *Ezra* brought under a review, and having, after due examination, allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the *Jews* now call their oral law. For they ^c own a twofold law, the first the written law, which is recorded in the holy scriptures, and the second the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both these, they say, were given them by *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them from generation to generation by the tradition of the elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more. For the written law is, ^d they say, in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete and perfect interpretation of

^a Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10.

Chaldæus Paraphrastes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 3.

^b Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz. ^c Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejusdem, & Maimonidis præfationem ad Seder Zeraim.

^d Maimonidis Præfatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, cap. 3. & ejusdem Recensio operis Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruthim Disp. 1. §. 1. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 2. cap. 3. §. 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the four evangelists, Sect. 23.

all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written law no otherwise, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And hence it is a common saying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former, to make room for the latter; and resolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the same manner as the *Romanists* do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them, *Mark* vii. 13. that *they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions*. But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their writings, that the words of the *Scribes* are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the *Scribes* are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets, (where by the words of the *Scribes*, and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their *Scribes* and elders.) And in other places; that the written text is only as water, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras. And again, that the written law is only as salt, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* as pepper and sweet spices. And in many other sayings, very common among them, do they express the high veneration which they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the soul, that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original, is as followeth.

FOR they tell us, that the same time * when God gave unto *Moses* the law in mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him also the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them from generation to generation by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter, are term'd by the *Jews* constitutions of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, because they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty days converse with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text it self: That on his return from this converse, he brought both of these laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of *Israel* in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and first delivered to him the text, which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral

* Perke Avoth, cap. 1. Præfatio Maimonidis in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Porta Moris, p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfii recensio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

law, in the same order as he received both from God in the mount. Then *Aaron* arising, and seating himself at the right hand of *Moses*, *Eleazar* and *Itamar* his sons went next in, and being taught both these laws at the feet of the prophet, in the same manner as *Aaron* had been, they also arose and seated themselves, the one on the left hand of *Moses*, and the other on the right hand of *Aaron*; and then the seventy elders, who constituted the *Sanhedrim*, or great senate of the nation, went in, and being taught by *Moses* both these laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the tent; and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the same manner: after this *Moses* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both laws, as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew, and then *Eleazar* and *Itamar* repeated the same, and on their withdrawing the seventy elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories: And that then they dispersed themselves among the whole congregation, and communicated to all the people of *Israel* what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God: That they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding generations: That the written text contained the six hundred and thirteen precepts, into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations all the manners, ways and circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*, in the beginning of the eleventh month, (which fell about the middle of our *January*) *Moses* calling all the people of *Israel* together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot aught of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had flipp'd their memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might arise in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the said beginning of the eleventh month till the sixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in instructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: And that on the said sixth day having delivered to them thirteen copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of *Genesis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites*, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to *Joshua* his successor, he went on the seventh day up into mount *Nebo*, and there died: That after his death *Joshua* delivered the said oral law to the elders, who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it down from each other till it came to *Jeremiah*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was *Simon the Just*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonus* of *Socho*, and by him to *Jose* the son of *Jochanan*, and by him to *Jose* the son of *Joezer*, and by him to *Nathan* the *Arbelite*, and *Joshua* the son of *Perachiah*, and by

by them to *Judah* the son of *Tabbai*, and *Simeon* the son of *Shatab*, and by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his arms, when he was brought to the temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification, and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his son, (the same at whose feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his son, by him to *Gamaliel* his son, and by him to *Simeon* his son, and by him to *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* his son, who wrote it into the book which they call the *Mishnah*.

BUT all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the *Talmudists*, without the least foundation, either in scripture, or in any authentic history for it. But since all this is now made a part of the *Jewish* creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word it self, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their religion into these traditions, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason that I have here inserted it.

BUT the truth of the matter is this. After the death of *Simon the Just* there arose a sort of men, whom they call the *Tannaim* or the *Mishnaical* doctors, that made it their business to study, and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them, whereby these traditions becoming as a snow ball, the farther they rolled down from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when *Antoninus Pius* govern'd the *Roman* empire, by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides, on the second destruction which their country had undergone from the *Romans* a little before, in the reign of *Adrian* the preceding emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of the land, the usual method of preserving their traditions had then in a great measure failed. And therefore there being danger, that under these disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof it was resolved, that they should be all collected together and put into a book; and *Rabbi Judah* the son of *Simeon*, who from the reputed sanctity of his life was called *Hakkadosh*, that is, the holy, and was then rector of the school, which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and president of the *Sanhedrim* that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the

^f Zemach David. Juchasin Shalsheleth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, & 2611.

number of sixty three; in which, under their proper heads, he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law, and their religion, by the tradition of their ancestors. And this is the book called the *Mishnah*, which book was forthwith received by the *Jews* with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the written word it self, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them, both in *Judea* and *Babylonia*, employed themselves to make comments on it, and these with the *Mishnah* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud* and the *Babylonish Talmud*. These comments they call the *Gemara*, i. e. The complement, because by them the *Mishnah* is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed. For the *Mishnah* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and that made by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was completed about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is published in one large folio; the latter was published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the invention of printing; the last published at *Amsterdam* is in twelve folio's. And in these two *Talmuds* (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite jumbled out by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewish* religion that is now professed among them. But the *Babylonish Talmud* is that which they chiefly follow. For the other, that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, being obscure and hard to be understood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the *Mishnah* being the ancientest books which they have, (except the *Chaldee* paraphrases of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*) and both written in the language and style of the *Jews* of *Judea*, our countreyman Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the *New Testament*, by parallel phrases, and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the idioms, proverbial sayings, and prateologies used in our Saviour's time, might very well be preserved in them. But the other *Talmud* being written in the language and style of *Babylonia*, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or as some will have it, much later, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However it is now the *Alcoran* of the *Jews*, into which they have resolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almost with the same imposture as that of *Mahomet*) out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all, that now pretend to any learning among them, place their studies; and no one can be a master in their schools, or a teacher in their synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the *Mishnah*, but also in the comment thereon, which is the *Gemara*. And this comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of *Gemara* is wholly engrossed by it; the *Gemara* of the *Babylonish Talmud* being that only which they now usually understand by that word. For this, with the

the *Mishnah* to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules, and rites thereof, and therefore it is in their opinion the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what completes, fills up, or perfects, for this is the meaning of the word in the *Hebrew* language. Out of this *Talmud Maimonides* hath made an abstract, containing only the resolutions or determinations made therein on every case, without the descants, disputes, fables, and other trash, under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entitled by him *Tad Hachazakah*, and is one of the completest digests of law that was ever made; I mean not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the style and method in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings he is deservedly esteemed the best author among them. They who professed this sort of learning, that is, taught and propagated these traditionary doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue to the publishing of the *Mishnah*, they were called ^e *Tannaim*, and they are the *Mishnical* doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Mishnah* was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the *Mishnah*, to the publishing of the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called ^h *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Gemara* was composed. And for about an hundred years after the publishing of the *Talmud* they were called ⁱ *Seburaim*, and after that ^k *Geonim*. And these were the several classes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But for these later times the general name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred years past. For about the year 1040, all their schools in *Mesopotamia*, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* princes, who then governed in those parts, they have since that with the greatest number of their people flocked into these western parts, especially into *Spain, France, and England*. And from that time all these pompous titles, which they affected in the east, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned men from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that those of them who minister in their synagogues are called ^l *Chacams*, *i. e.* wise men.

BUT the ^m great work of *Ezra* was, his collecting together and setting

^e The word *Tannaim* hath its derivation from *Tanah*, which signifieth to deliver by tradition, and is the same in Chaldee with *Shanah* in the Hebrew, from whence the word *Mishnah* is derived.

^h *i. e.* Dictators; because they dictated those explications upon the *Mishnah* which are contained in the *Gemara*.

ⁱ *i. e.* Opinionists, for they did not dictate any Doctrines, but only inferr'd opinions by disputation, and probable arguments, from what had been afore dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*.

^k *i. e.* The sublime or excellent doctors; they were so called from the sublimity and excellency of their learning. ^l *Chacam* in the Hebrew language signifieth a wise man.

^m Vide Buxtorfii *Tiberiadem*, cap. 11.

forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and Jews give him the honour of, and many of the ancient fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the Jews themselves. For they hold that all the scriptures were lost and destroyed in the *Babylonish* captivity, and that *Ezra* restored them all again by divine revelation. Thus saith ^o *Irenæus*, and thus say ^o *Tertullian*, ^p *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ^q *Basil* and ^r others. But they had no other foundation for it, than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the 14th chapter of the second apocryphal book of *Esdras*, a book too absurd for the *Romanists* themselves to receive into their canon. Indeed in the time of *Josiah*, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that besides that copy of it which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, there was then none other to be had. For the surprise which *Hilkiah* is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which *Josiah* expressed at the hearing of it read, do plainly shew, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the King, and the high-priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of holy scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so religious a prince as King *Josiah* could not leave this long unremedied. By his order copies were forthwith written out from this original, and search being made for all the other parts of holy scripture, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people; all those who were desirous of knowing the law of their God, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that tho' within a few years after the holy city and temple were destroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burnt and consumed with them, yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other sacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity. That *Daniel* had a copy of the holy scriptures with him in *Babylon* it's certain; for he ^s quotes the law, and also makes mention ^t of the prophecies of the prophet *Jeremiah*, which he could not do had he never seen them. And in the vith chapter of *Ezra* it is said, that on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of *Darius*, the priests and the *Levites* were settled in their respective functions, according as it is written in the law of *Moses*; but how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? And this was near sixty years before *Ezra* came to *Jerusalem*. And farther, in the viiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, when the people call'd for the law of *Moses* to have it read to them, they did not pray *Ezra* to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the book of the law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded to *Israel*; which plainly shews that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a miraculous expedient, as that of a divine re-

^o Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3. cap. 25.

^p De habitu mulierum, cap. 3.

^q Strom. 1.

^r In Epistola ad Chilonem.

^s Hieronymus contra Helvidium.

Augustinus de miraculis

facræ scripturæ, lib. 2. Chrysostomus, hom. 8. in epist. ad Hebræos.

^t 2 Kings xxii.

2 Chron. xxxiv.

^u Daniel ix. 11, 13.

^v Daniel ix. 2.

velation,

velation, for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the faith of the whole, should it be held, that it owed its present being to such a revival, it being obvious for sceptical persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that *Ezra* did in this matter, was to get together as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and out of them all set forth a correct edition, in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars.

I. HE corrected all the errors that had crept into these copies through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers. For by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and set all at rights. Whether the *Keri Cetib*, that are in our present *Hebrew* bibles, were of these corrections, I durst not say; the generality^u of the *Jewish* writers tell us, that they were, and others among them hold them much ancients, referring them with absurdity enough even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the books, in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries comprised under them. It is most probable, that they had their original from the mistakes of the transcribers after the time of *Ezra*, and the observations and corrections of the *Masorites* made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings, which had been observed by *Ezra* himself in the comparing of those copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of those errors which he found in the text; it's certain those could not be of that number, which are now in those sacred books, that were written by himself, or taken into the canon after this time. For there are *Keri Cetib's* in them as well as in the other books of the *Hebrew* scriptures.

II. HE collected together all the books of which the holy scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the canon of scripture for his time. These books he^w divided into three parts; 1st, the law; 2^{dly}, the prophets; and, 3^{dly}, the *Cetubim* or *Hagiographa*, i. e. the holy writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of *Luke* xxiv. 44. where he saith, *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me.* For there by the *Psalms* he means the whole third part called the *Hagiographa*. For that part beginning with the *Psalms*, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the *Jews* the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus with them *Genesis* is called *Beresbith*, *Exodus* *Shemoth*, *Leviticus* *Vajikra*, &c. because they begin with these *Hebrew* words. And *Josephus* makes mention of this same division. For he saith in his first book against *Apion*, *We have only two and twenty books which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes King of Persia, the pro-*

^v The *Keri Cetib* are various readings in the *Hebrew* bible. *Keri* signifieth that which is read, and *Cetib* that which is written. For where there are any such various readings, the wrong reading is written in the text, (and that is called the *Cetib*) and the true reading is written in the margin, and that is called the *Keri*.)

^u De *Keri Cetib* vide *Arcanum punctationis Revelatum*, lib. 1. cap. 7. Buxtorfii vindicias veritatis Hebraicæ, Part. 2. cap. 4. & Waltoni Prolegom. 8. §. 18, 19, &c.

^w Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 1. §. 6. Elias Levita in Masoreth Hammaforeth. Leusdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Athia.

phets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men. In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1. *Genesis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Number*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; the writings of the prophets, 1. *Joshua*, 2. *Judges*, with *Ruth*, 3. *Samuel*, 4. *Kings*, 5. *Isaiah*, 6. *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, 7. *Ezekiel*, 8. *Daniel*, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. *Job*, 11. *Ezra*, 12. *Nehemiah*, 13. *Esther*; and the *Hagiographa*, 1. the *Psalms*, 2. the *Proverbs*, 3. *Ecclesiastes*, 4. the *Song of Solomon*, which all together make two and twenty books. This^x division was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are two and twenty letters. But at present^y they reckon these books to be twenty four, and dispose of them in this order. *First*, The law, which contains, 1. *Genesis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; *Secondly*, The writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets, and the latter prophets; the books of the former prophets are, 6. *Joshua*, 7. *Judges*, 8. *Samuel*, 9. *Kings*; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10. *Isaiah*, 11. *Jeremiah*, 12. *Ezekiel*, and 13. the twelve minor prophets; *Thirdly*, The *Hagiographa*, which are, 14. the *Psalms*, 15. the *Proverbs*, 16. *Job*, 17. the *Song of Solomon*, which they call the *Song of Songs*, 18. *Ruth*, 19. the *Lamentations*, 20. *Ecclesiastes*, 21. *Esther*, 22. *Daniel*, 23. *Ezra*, and, 24. the *Chronicles*. Under the name of *Ezra* they comprehend the book of *Nehemiah*. For the *Hebrews*, and also the *Greeks*, anciently reckoned *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* but as one book; but^z this order hath not been always observ'd among the *Jews*, neither is it so now in all places. For there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the *Jews*, but also among the *Christians*, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*. But no variation herein is of any moment. For in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these books were not received into the canon of the holy scriptures in *Ezra's* time. For *Malachi*, it's supposed, lived after him, and in *Nehemiah* mention is made of *Jaddua* as high-priest, and of *Darius Codomannus* as King of *Persia*, who were at least an hundred years after his time; and in the third chapter of the first book of *Chronicles*, the genealogy of the sons of *Zerubbabel* is carried down for so many generations, as must necessarily make it reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*; and therefore this book could not be put into the canon, till after his time. It is most likely, that the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Esther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added in the time of *Simon the Just*, and that it was not till then, that the *Jewish* canon of the holy scriptures was fully compleated. And indeed these last books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of *Ezra* in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other part of the *Hebrew* scriptures. The five books of the law are divided^a into fifty four sections. This division many of the *Jews* hold to

^x Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato.

^y Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 1. §. 6. Leusdeni præfatio ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ.

^z Vide Hodium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus.

^a Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 11. & Tract. de Parashis & Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. & cap. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 1. §. 6. Præfatio Leusdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. Elias in Tisbite.

be one of the constitutions of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*. But others with more likelihood of truth attribute it to *Ezra*. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the law of God. For ^b every sabbath day one of these sections was read in their synagogues. And this, we are assured in the acts of the apostles, was done amongst them ^c of old time, which may well be interpreted from the time of *Ezra*. They ended the last section with the last words of *Deuteronomy* on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then begun anew with the first section from the beginning of *Genesis* the next sabbath after, and so went round in this cicle every year. The number of these sections was fifty four, because in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty four sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths, which were in those years, by joyning two short ones several times into one. For they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the law. ^d But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the fifty four sections of the law, they substituted fifty four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the law was again restored by the *Maccabees*, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law, served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the apostles. And therefore when *Paul* entered into the synagogue at *Antiochia* in *Pisidia*, it is said, that ^e he stood up to preach, after the reading of the law and the prophets, that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, ^f that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day, that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets.

THESE sections were divided into verses, which the *Jews* call *Pesukim*. They are marked out in the *Hebrew* bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, i. e. *The end of the verse*. If *Ezra* himself was not the author of this division, (as most say) it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it was very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the *Targumists* or *Chaldee* interpreters. For after the *Hebrew* language had ceased to be the mother-tongue of the *Jews*, and the *Chaldee* grew up into use among them instead of it, (as ^g was their case after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity) their usage was, ^h that in the publick reading of the law to the people, it was read to them first in the original *Hebrew*, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the *Chaldee* language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the inter-

^b Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 16.

^c Acts xv. 21.

^d Elias in Tisbite, Bux-

torfius & Schickardus, ibid. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 2. §. 5. n. 3.

^e Acts xiii. 15.

^f Acts xiii. 27.

^g David Kimchi in præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. c. 7. Elias

Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman.

^h Waltoni Prolegom. 3. §. 24. Lightfoot, vol. 1.

p. 215, 220, 357, & 1012. vol. 2. p. 545, & 803. Buxtorfii Dissertatio de Linguae Hebraeæ conservatione, p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. p. 2. Exerc. 9. c. 5. §. 9. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 3. §. 3. q. 1. Maimonides in Tephillin, c. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 2. §. 1.

preter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The rule given in their ancient books, is, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the *Chaldee*; but that in the prophets the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the same three verses into *Chaldee*, in the same manner; which manifestly proves, that the division of the scriptures into verses must be as ancient, as the way of interpreting them into the *Chaldee* language in their synagogues; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the scriptures publickly read in them after the *Babylonish* captivity. This was at first done only in the law, (for ^k till the time of the *Maccabees* the law only was read in their synagogues) but afterwards, in imitation hereof, the same was also done in the prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, especially after that the prophets began also to be publickly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the division of the holy scriptures into verses, it's most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common *Hebrew* bibles is by the two great points, called *Soph-Pasuk*, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way, is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this: If the distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the *Chaldee* interpreters in their synagogues, and must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the scriptures in them, ^l it must then have place in their sacred synagogical books. For none other were used, either by the readers, or their interpreters, in their publick assemblies. But it hath been ^m anciently held as a rule among them, that any points or accents written into these sacred books, pollute and profane them: and therefore no copy, either of the law or the prophets, now used in their synagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, Whatever may be the practice of the modern *Jews*, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them, since in many particulars they have varied from the ancient usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The division of the law and the prophets into verses among the *Jews*, is certainly very ancient. For mention is made of them in ⁿ the *Mishna*; and that the reason of this division was for the direction of the readers, and the *Chaldee* interpreters, is also there implied. And therefore, supposing such a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those ^o that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted, seem not to have considered, that a line often ends in an imperfect sense, and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore a division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the *Mishna* makes mention of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and *Chaldee* interpreters in their synagogues. For

ⁱ Mishna in Tract. Megilla, c. 4. Tract. Sopherim, cap. 11. theca Rabbinica, p. 283.

^k Buxtorfius in biblio-

^l Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, part 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 1. §. 9. ^m Tract. Sopherim, cap. 3. Morini Exercit. bibl. part 2. Exercit. 15. c. 4.

ⁿ Tract. Megilla, cap. 4. §. 4. ubi dicitur: Qui legit in lege non leget minus quam tres versus. Non leget interpreti plus quam unum versum, & in prophetis tres. ^o Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, part 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 2.

there could be no true reading, or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore if the distinction of verses in their sacred synagogical books were anciently discernable only by lines, it could be no otherwise according to the manner in which *Maimonides* says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a break. For that^p author out of the *Talmud* tells us, That the parchments on which they were written were to be of six hands breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of an hands breadth; and that each line in these columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore if a break were made where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end intended; but there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break, and then there could no distinction at all be made this way, between that verse and the next. And the second is,^q that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a verse; but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most likely, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines, from one side of the parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner, as the *Stichi* afterwards were in the *Greek* bibles. For^r the manner of their writing those *Stichi* at first was, to allow a line to every *Stichus*, and there to end the writing where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the rest of the line void in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky; for the avoiding of both these inconveniencies, the way afterwards was to put a point at the end of every *Stichus*, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the same manner, I conceive, the *Pesukim*, or verses of the *Hebrew* bibles, were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the *Hebrew* bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniencies, that the *Greeks* after did in the first way of their writing their *Stichi*, and therefore came to the same remedy; that is, they did put the two points above-mentioned (which they call *Soph Pasuk*) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their sections, as well the smaller as the greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the *Hebrew* bible were so many lines therein, because among the ancients of other nations, about the same time, the lines in the writings of prose authors, as well as of poets, were termed verses;

^p Maimonides de libro legis, cap. 7. & cap. 9. Talmud in Bava Bathra, fol. 16.

^q Morinus, ibid.

^r Vide Millii Prolegomena ad Græcum testamentum, p. 99.

and hence it is that we are told,^f that *Zoroastres's* works contained two millions of verses, and ^g *Aristotle's* four hundred forty five thousand two hundred and seventy, tho' neither of them wrote any thing but in prose; and so also we find the writings^h of *Tully*,ⁱ of *Origen*,^k of *Laetantius*, and ^l others, who were all prose-writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning that in reading to the end of one verse they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again; for^m the avoiding of this they came to the way of writing in columns, and in short lines, as is above-mentioned. But all this I mean of their sacred synagogical books. In their common bibles they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so, as they may best serve for their instruction and convenience in common use. If the *Jews* at present, in their synagogical books, leave out the two points *Soph Pasuk* at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above-mentioned, against putting points or accents into their sacred books; to a too rigorous meaning. For by those points therein mentioned seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such others as affect the text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the *Jews*, out of an over superstitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their schools and universities in ⁿ *Mesopotamia*, and there held their synedrial and consistorial assemblies of their Rabbi's, in which they hammer'd their law, and also their ancient traditions, by a vast number of new constitutions, and new determinations, into what form they pleased.

BUT the division of the holy scriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The *Psalms* indeed were always divided as at present. For^o *St. Paul*, in his sermon at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, quotes the ii^d *Psalms*. But as to the rest of the holy scriptures, the division of them into such chapters as at present, is what the^p ancients knew nothing

^f Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

^g Diogenes Laertius in vita Aristotelis.

^h Asconius Pedianus

Ciceronis verba citat versu à primo octingentesimo quinquagesimo, &c.

ⁱ Hieronymus in

catalogo scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, & alibi.

^k Hieronymus in epistola 124 ad Damasum.

^l Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. In hoc volumine vitas excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt. And Josephus tells us, in the conclusion of his *Antiquities*, that this work of his contained twenty books, and sixty thousand *σῖχαι* or verses. For the Greek *σῖχαι* is the same with the Latin *versus*, and both the same originally with what we call a line in writing. For *versus* properly is a line, whether in prose or verse, and is so called à vertendo, because the writer, when he is got to the end of one line, turns back his hand and begins the next, and so doth the reader also his eye from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Vide Menagii observationes in Diogenes Laertii, lib. 2. n. 24. Jerom also, in his preface before his Latin version of the book of Daniel, saith, that Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius answered the objections of Porphyry against the scriptures, multis versuum millibus, i. e. by many thousands of verses; that is, lines, for they all wrote in prose.

^m Maimonides in libro legis, cap. 7. ⁿ They had these schools at Naerda, Sora, and Pumbeditha in Mesopotamia, till about the year of our Lord 1040, when they were driven out thence by the Mahometan princes that reigned in those parts. ^o Acts xiii. 33. ^p The Greek bibles among christians anciently had their *τίτλοι* and *κεφάλαια*, but the intent of them was rather to point out the sum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vastly different from the present chapters. For many of them contained only a very few verses, and some of them no more than one.

of. ^c Some attribute it to *Stephen Langton*, who was archbishop of *Canterbury* in the reigns of King *John* and King *Henry III.* his son. But the true author of this invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a *Dominican* monk advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly call'd *Hugo Cardinalis*. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth.

THIS ^d *Cardinal Hugo*, who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the holy scriptures, and made a comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administred to him the occasion of inventing the first concordance that was made of the holy scriptures, that is, that of the vulgar *Latin* bible. For conceiving that such an *Index* of all the words and phrases in the holy scriptures would be of great use, for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it, and forthwith set a great number of the monks of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper classes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this design; and by the help of so many hands he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by those who followed him, especially by *Arlottus Thufcus*, and *Conradus Halberstadius*, the former a *Franciscan*, and the other a *Dominican* friar, who both lived about the end of the same century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the holy scriptures; to make it answer this purpose, the cardinal found it necessary in the first place to divide the books into sections, and the sections into under-divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out in the *Index*, where every word or passage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the holy scriptures, in the vulgar *Latin* bibles, was without any division at all; and therefore had the *Index* referred only to the book, the whole book perchance must have been read over, e'er that could be found which was sought for. But by referring to it by this division and sub-division, it was immediately had at first sight. And these sections are the chapters which the bible hath ever since been divided into. For on the publishing of this concordance, the usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it, and for the sake of the use of it, all divided their bibles in the same manner as *Hugo* had done. For the references in the concordance being made by these chapters, and the sub-divisions of them, unless their bibles were so divided too, the concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this division of the several books of the bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places, and among all people, wherever the bible it self is used in these western parts of the world. But the sub-division of the chapters was not then by verses as now. *Hugo's* way of sub-dividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal distance from each other, according as the chapters were longer or shorter. In long chapters all these seven letters were used; in others fewer, according as the length which

^c Balæus cent. 3. p. 275.

^d Buxtorffii præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hæbraicas. Morinus in Exercit. bibl. part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. Gerebrardus in chronico ad annum Christi 1244. Sixtus Senensis bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 3. c. 2. § 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 2. cap. 17. § 8.

the chapters were of did require. For the sub-division of chapters by verses, which is now in all our bibles, was not introduced into them till some ages after, and then it was from the *Jews* that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its original on this occasion. About ^e the year 1430 there lived here among the western *Jews* a famous Rabbi, called by some *Rabbi Mordecai Nathan*, by others *Rabbi Isaac Nathan*, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then by a change of it by the other. This *Rabbi* being much conversant with the christians, and having frequent disputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great use which they made of the *Latin* concordance composed by *Cardinal Hugo*, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the scriptures, that they had occasion to consult; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a concordance to the *Hebrew* bible for the use of the *Jews*. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445, so that he was just seven years in the composing of it. And the first publishing of it happening about the time that printing ^f was first invented, it hath since that time undergone several editions from the press. That which was printed at *Basil* by *Buxtorf the son*, anno 1632, is the best of them. For *Buxtorf the father* had taken great pains about it to make it more correct and complete; and *Buxtorf the son* added also his labours to those of his father for the perfecting of it, and published it with both their improvements in the year I have mentioned; and by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best book of its kind that is extant; and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the *Hebrew* scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way can well be without it, it being the best dictionary as well as the best concordance to them. In the composing of this book, *Rabbi Nathan* finding it necessary to follow the same division of the scriptures into chapters, which *Hugo* had made in them, it had the like effects as to the *Hebrew* bibles, that *Hugo's* had as to the *Latin*, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the *Hebrew* bibles, which were afterwards either written out, or printed for common use. For this concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in *Nathan's* concordance being every where by chapters, according to *Hugo's* division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the same chapters also. And from hence the division of the scriptural books into chapters first came into the *Hebrew* bibles. But *Nathan*, tho' he followed *Hugo* in the division of the scriptural books into chapters, yet did not so in the division of the chapters by the letters A. B. C. &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter by introducing a better usage, that is, by using the division which was made by verses. This division I have shewn was very ancient, but it was till now without any numbers put to the ver-

^e Præfatio Buxtorfii ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. bibl. part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. ^f Printing was first invented at Meuriz in Germany, by John Faust, and John Guttenberg, Anno Domini 1440. See Calvisius under that year, and Pancirollus with Salmuth on him, part. 2. tit. 12.

ses. This was first done by *Rabbi Nathan* for the sake of his concordance. For therein all his references being by the chapters and verses, as there was a necessity, that those who used this concordance, should have their bibles thus divided into chapters and verses also, so was it, that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verses that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our *English* concordances, as in *Newman's*, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering therefore of the verses in the chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every chapter by the verses, instead of doing it by letters at an equal distance in the margin, was *Nathan's* invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which *Hugo* had set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verse. And this hath been the usage of the *Jews* in all their *Hebrew* bibles ever since, till of late *Athias* a *Jew* of *Amsterdam*, in his two fair and correct editions of the *Hebrew* bible printed by him in that city, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1st, he hath introduced into these editions the use of the *Indian* figures; and 2^{dly}, hath placed them at every verse, where the numerical *Hebrew* letters are not; so that continuing the numerical *Hebrew* letters as formerly, at every fifth verse, he hath put the *Indian* figures at all the rest. Before this we were to number from every fifth verse, to find any intermediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the *Jews* will follow this new way in their future editions I know not, but this I know, that this second edition of *Athias's Hebrew* bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use of any that have been as yet set forth. After *Rabbi Nathan* had brought in this use of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way, than the quoting of what is in them by the letters A. B. C. &c. set in the margin. And therefore *Vatablus* having from this pattern published a *Latin* bible with the chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions, that have been since set forth. And all that have published concordances, as well as other writers, have ever since that time quoted the scriptures by the number of chapters and verses according to this division. So that as the *Jews* borrowed the division of the books of the holy scriptures into chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the chapters into verses from the *Jews*. And thus they have helped each other to make the present editions of the bible much more convenient for common use than otherwise they would have been. And *Robert Stephanus*, taking an hint from hence, made a like division of the chapters of the *New Testament* into verses also, and for the same reason as *Rabbi Nathan* had done so before him as to the *Old Testament*, that is, for the sake of a concordance, which he was then composing for the *Greek Testament*, and which was afterwards printed by *Hen-*

^s So saith Morinus in Exercit. Biblic. Part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 4. §. 2. But Chavalier in his Book L'Origine L'Imprimerie, p. 145, saith that the Latin Bible which was published at Paris by Robert Stephens in three Folio's, Anno Dom. 1557, was the first in which the Verses were distinguished by the Numerical Figures, which Example hath been ever since followed.

ry *Stephanus* his son, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this division of the holy scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use every where among us in these western parts; so that not only all *Latin* bibles, but all *Greek* bibles also, and all others that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that division of the holy scriptures into chapters and verses, which is now every where in use, had its original.

III. THE third thing which *Ezra* did about the holy scriptures in his edition of them, was, He added in several places throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same spirit, by which they were at first wrote; of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which giving an account of the death and burial of *Moses*, and of the succession of *Joshua* after him, it could not be written by *Moses* himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable, that it was added by *Ezra* at this time. And such also may we reckon the several interpolations, which occur in many places of the holy scriptures. For that there are such interpolations is undeniable, there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties that can never be solved without the allowing of them. As for instance, *Gen. xii. 6.* It's remarked on *Abraham's* coming into the land of *Canaan*, that *the Canaanites were then in the land*, which is not likely to have been said till after the time of *Moses*, when the *Canaanites* being extirpated by *Joshua* were then no more in the land. And, *Gen. xxii. 14.* we read, *As it is said, to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.* But mount *Moriah* (which is the mount there spoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of it as a proverbial saying, that obtained among the *Israelites* in after-ages, the whole style of the text doth manifestly point at a time after *Moses*, when they were in possession of the land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation. *Gen. xxxvi. 3.* it is written; *And these are the Kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the land of Israel.* Which could not have been said, till after there had been a King in *Israel*, and therefore they cannot be *Moses's* words, but must have been interpolated afterwards. *Exod. xvi. 35.* the words of the text are; *And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.* But *Moses* was dead before the manna ceased, and therefore these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterwards. *Deuteron. ii. 12.* it is said, *The Horims also dwelt in Seir before time, but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto him.* Which could not have been written by *Moses*, *Israel* having not till after his death entered into the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. *Deuteron. iii. 11.* it is said, *Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?*

mon? The whole style and strain of which text, especially that of the last clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that King was slain. And therefore it could not be written by *Moses*, who died within five months after. In the same chapter, ver. 14, it is said, *Jair the Son of Manasseh took all the countrey of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day.* Where the phrase, *unto this day*, speaks a much greater distance of time after the fact related, than those few months, in which *Moses* survived after that conquest; and therefore what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand, than that of *Moses*, long after his death. And in the book of *Proverbs*, (which was certainly King *Solomon's*) in the beginning of the 25th chapter it is written, *These are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out.* Which must certainly have been added many ages after *Solomon*. For *Hezekiah* was of the twelfth generation in descent from him. Many more instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly *Ezra* was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and *Simon the Just* in all the rest, which were added afterwards. For they all seem to refer to those latter times. But these additions do not detract any thing from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This, as to *Ezra*, is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine pen-men of the holy scriptures. For he was most certainly the writer of that book in the *Old Testament* which bears his name, and is upon good grounds supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of *Chronicles*, as perchance also he was of the book of *Esther*. And if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing else be so, which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose, that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one, as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing. For as it was necessary for the church of God that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

IV. HE changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new names, by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus, *Gen. xiv. 14.* *Abraham* is said to have pursued the Kings, who carried *Lot* away captive, as far as *Dan*, whereas the name of that place was *Laiſh*, till the *Danites*, long after the Death of *Moses*, possessed themselves of it, and ^hcalled it *Dan*, after the name of *Dan* their father. And therefore it could not be called *Dan* in the original copy of *Moses*, but that name must have been put in afterwards instead of that of *Laiſh* on this review. And so in several places in *Genesis*, and also in *Numbers*, we find

^h Joshua xix. 47. Judges xviii. 29.

mention made of *Hebron*, whereas the name of that city was *Kiriath Arba*, till *Caleb*, having obtained the possession of it after the division of the land, called it *Hebron*, after the name of *Hebron* one of his sons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of *Moses*, by way of exchange for that of *Kiriath Arba*; which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the study of those who governed the church of God in those times, was to render the scripture as plain and intelligible to the people, as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. HE wrote out the whole in the *Chaldee* character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the *Babylonish* captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old *Phœnician* character, from which the *Greeks* borrow'd theirs. And the old *Ionian* alphabet bears some similitude to it, as ⁱ *Scaliger* shews in his notes upon *Eusebius's Chronicon*. In this *Moses* and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present *Hebrew* letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character, in which the holy scriptures were written, and that the *Samaritan* was never in use for this purpose, but only among the *Samaritans*, who in opposition (say they) to the *Jews*, on the riie of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of *Moses*, (which is the only scripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion. For the *Chaldee* character is one of the beautifullest, and the *Samaritan* the uncouthest, and the most incapable of calligraphy, of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for ^k there are many old *Jewish* shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in *Judea*, with this inscription on them in *Samaritan* letters, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, i. e. *Jerusalem the holy*, which inscription shews, that they could not be the coin either of the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, or of the *Samaritans*, who after succeeded them in their land. For neither of them would have put the name of *Jerusalem* upon their coin, or ever have called it the holy city. These pieces therefore must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity, and this proves the *Samaritan* character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said, that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands. For *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman* tells us of several which he met with in his time, that had this inscription upon them in *Samaritan* letters, who lived about five hundred years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present *Hebrew* character was introduced among the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity, and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was *Ezra* that did first put the holy

ⁱ In animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon. p. 110, 111, &c.

^k Scaliger in Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 117. col. 2. Vossius de Arte Grammatica, lib. 1. c. 9. Walferus de nummis Hebræorum. Waltonus de ciclorum formis & in Prolegom. 3. §. 29, 30, &c.

scriptures

scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to *Jerusalem*. ¹ *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* tells us so, and ^m *St. Jerome* doth the same, and so do also both the *Talmuds*; and the generality of learned men, as well among the *Jews* as christians, hold to this opinion. *Capellus* hath written a tract for it, and *Buxtorf the son* another against it. They who shall think fit to read them, will see all that can be said on either side. But I think the argument which is brought from the shekels cannot be answered. But

VI. WHETHER *Ezra*, on this review, did add the vowel points which are now in the *Hebrew* bibles, is an harder question to be decided. It went without contradiction in the affirmative, till *Elias Levita* a *German Jew* wrote against it, about the beginning of the reformation. *Buxtorf the father* endeavoured to refute his arguments. But *Capellus*, a protestant divine of the *French* church, and professor of *Hebrew* in their university at *Samur*, hath in a very elaborate discourse made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. *Buxtorf the son*, in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an answer to it; but not with that satisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the question, and then enquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

AND first, as to the state of the question, it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us christians, than it is among the *Jews*. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both sides, and which *Elias Levita* comes in unto as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fix'd and settled by the vowel points in all the books of holy scripture, is the true, genuine, and authentick reading, as it came from the sacred penmen themselves of the said books, and consequently is as much of divine authority as the letters, only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The question therefore between them is only about the time when this reading was first marked, and expressed in their bibles, by the present vowel points. This, *Elias* and his followers say, was not done till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, about five hundred years after *Christ*; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them) that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of *Ezra*, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters, in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading, according to the present punctuation, (for they all hold this to be the very same which was dictated with the word it self, by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning) but about the antiquity of the figures and points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their present bibles. But among us christians, who have no regard to what the *Jews* tell us of their oral tradition, and their preserving of the true reading of the scriptures by it, the question is about the authority of the reading it self; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by *Ezra*, and therefore of the same divine authority with the

¹ Ad annum 4740.

^m In præfatione ad 1 Regum, & in comment. in Ezekielem, cap. 9.

rest of the text, or else invented since by the *Jewish* critics, called the *Maforites*; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the style of the language, or the nature of the context, or any thing else, shall give reason for a better reading. And this being the state of the question as it is now in debate among christians, that side of it, which I have here last mentioned, is that which is now generally held for the truth, and these following arguments make strongly for it.

1. THE sacred books made use of among the *Jews*, in their synagogues, have ever been, and still are, without the vowel points, which could not have hapned had they been placed there by *Ezra*, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters. For had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that when the holy scriptures began first to be publickly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being, and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of an human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the same care, in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogue, as the original draught of the law of *Moses* anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them even to this day.

2. THE ancient ^pvarious readings of the sacred text called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points, which seems manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text. For if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. THE ^aancient *Cabbalists* draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters, which is an argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text. For had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one, as well as from the other, as the later *Cabbalists* have done.

4. IF ^rwe compare with the present pointed *Hebrew* bibles, the version of the *Septuagint*, the *Chaldee* paraphrases, the fragments of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, or the *Latin* version of *Jerom*, we shall in several places find that they did read the text otherwise, than according to the present punctuation; which is a certain argument that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority, for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. NEITHER ^tthe *Mishnah*, nor the *Gemara*, either that of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Babylon*, do make any mention of these vowel points, altho' in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted

^a Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 4.

^p Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 7.

^r Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9, 10.

^o Buxtorfii synagoga Judaica, cap. 14.

^q Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 5.

^t Arcanum punctuationis, cap. 5.

it, if they had been in being when those books were written; or if in being, had been looked on by the *Jews* of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find 'the least hint of them in *Philo Judæus* or *Josephus*, who are the oldest writers of the *Jews*, or in any of the ancient christian writers for several hundred years after *Christ*. And altho' among them, *Origen* and *Jerom* were well skill'd in the *Hebrew* language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. *Origen* flourished in the third, and *Jerom* in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in *Judea*, and there more especially applyed himself to the study of the *Hebrew* learning, and much conversed with the *Jewish* Rabbi's for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the *Jews* in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially since in his commentaries there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them. And it cannot be deny'd but that this is a very strong argument against them.

MANY more arguments are urged on this side of the question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For to instance in one of them; great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the *Chaldee* and not of the *Hebrew* dialect. But it is certain the *Jews* had the present names of their months from the *Chaldeans*, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that notwithstanding this the names of these months were in use in the time of *Ezra*, for they are named in scripture, both in the book of *Ezra*, and also in that of *Nehemiah*, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in *Ezra's* time too, notwithstanding this objection? And this is all which those on the other side contend for. But the other arguments, which I have above recited, are of much greater weight: If any one would see all at large that hath been said on this head, *Capellus's* book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

BUT there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion, and much hath been written for it, especially by the two *Buxtorfs*, the father and the son; their arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them, are these which follow:

I. THE 'ancient books *Bahir* and *Zohar*, which are said to have been written, the one a little before, and the other a little after, the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanswerable against the later invention of them, could we be sure that these books are as ancient as the *Jews* say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us, * that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themselves which manifestly prove them to be so. And for above a thousand years, after the pretended times of their composition, they were never heard of among the *Jews* themselves, nor were they ever quoted, or made mention

* Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. c. 10.

† Buxtorfius filius de punctorum antiquitate, part. 1. cap. 5.

‡ Buxtorfii bibliothecam rabbinicam in *Bahir* & *Zohar*.

† Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. §. 3.

‡ Vide Arcanum punctationis,

of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that till after these thousand years they never had any being; but that a false date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them to recommend them to the world with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times, but the other is still in manuscript. They are both cabbalistical books, and the most they are remarkable for is the obscurity of their style, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them.

2. THAT whereas it is said on the other side, that the *Masorites* of *Tiberias* invented the vowel points about five hundred years after *Christ*, this * appears very unlikely. For the schools which the *Jews* had in *Judea* were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned men there left, of sufficient ability for such a performance. For at that time all their learned men were removed into the province of *Babylon*, where they had their universities of *Sora*, *Naberdia*, and *Pumbeditha*, and nothing of their learning was then left in *Judea*, that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at *Tiberias*, or any where else in that land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the assertion. *Elias Levita* indeed saith it, and *Aben Ezra*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancienter writer, either of their being invented by the *Masorites* at *Tiberias*, or any where else after the *Talmud*; and it is not likely, that if this had been so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence, without the least mention made of it by any of the *Jewish* writers. But † to all this it is replied, that in historical matters it is not to be regarded what the *Jews* write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain, there were *Jews* eminent in their way of learning at *Tiberias*, in St. *Jerom's* time; for he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty years before the time assigned; and it must be acknowledged that nothing of this can be gainsaid. And it is farther added by those, who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the invention of these vowel points either to the time or place which *Elias Levita* assigneth for it, but only say, that it must be after the time of the writings of *Jerom*, and after the time of the composition of the *Talmud*, because in neither of these any mention is made of them, and this will necessarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at *Tiberias*, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by *Ezra*, that they are not of a divine, but only of an human original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the *Talmud*, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this is only guess and con-

* Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade*, cap. 5, 6, 7. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctuorum, part. 2. cap. 11.

† Capellus in arcano punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 15.

jecture, which doth not at all affect the question, and therefore they will not contend about it.

3. IF by the *Masorites*, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the authors of the present *Masorah*, which is printed with the great bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*, it is ² certain they cannot be the inventors of these points. For a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily prove them to have been long before fix'd and settled. For none use to criticise upon their own works. To ^a which it is replied, that there were *Masorites* from the time of *Ezra* and the men of the great synagogue, down to the time of *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphtali*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030, that some of these invented the points some time after the making of the *Talmud*, and that after that some of those who succeeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made these criticisms and remarks upon them. For the *Masorah* that is now printed in the bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgement of all the chief remarks and criticisms, which those men did make upon the *Hebrew* text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

4. THAT when the *Hebrew* language ceased to be the mother tongue of the *Jews*, (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the *Babylonish* captivity) it ^b was scarce possible to teach that language without these vowel points; and this is the best and strongest argument, that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

5. THAT if it be allowed that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the holy scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the decisions of the infallible guide, which they pretend to have therein. And to avoid this ill consequence is, indeed, the most prevailing cause, that hath drawn into this opinion most of those learned protestants that contend for it. But to answer both these last arguments, and settle the whole of this controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter, in these following positions.

I. THAT the vowel points having never been received by the *Jews* into their synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence, that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the holy scripture of the *Old Testament*, but reckoned only as an human invention, added for the easier reading of the text, after the *Hebrew* ceased from being a vulgar language among them. And the *Jews* having been till the time of *Christ* the true church of God, and his chosen people, ^c to whom those scriptures and sacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of *Christ* hath received them, and their

² Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, cap. 9. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 6. ^a Arcanum punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 10. ^b Buxtorfius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 10. ^c Romans iii. 2.

evidence is that, which is to witness and determin unto us, what part of them is authentic scripture, and what is not.

II. IT is most likely, that these vowel points were the invention of the *Masorites* a little after the time of *Ezra*. That they came into use a little after the time of *Ezra*, seems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the *Hebrew* text. And that they were invented by the *Masorites* seems most likely, because of the business and profession, which these men employed themselves in. For,

Ist, THESE *Masorites*^d were a set of men, whose profession it was to write out copies of the *Hebrew* scriptures, and to criticize upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true readings of them; and what they observed and taught in order hereto, is by the *Jews* called the *Masorah*. But this tradition reached no farther than the readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures. For as the *Jews* held a tradition of the true interpretations of the holy scriptures, (which I have already spoken of) so also did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original *Hebrew* language. And this last they will have, as to the law, to be a constitution of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that when God gave unto *Moses* the law in mount *Sinai*, he taught him first the true readings of it, and secondly the true interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the Interpretations were by the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*. The former they call *Masorah*, which signifyeth *tradition*, and the other they call *Cabbala*, which signifyeth *reception*; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from generation to generation; in the doing of which there being tradition on the one hand, and reception on the other, that which relates to the readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures, hath its name from the former and that which relates to the interpretations of them, from the latter. And what they say of this, as to the law, they say also of it, as to the prophets and the rest of the *Hebrew* scriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from those who were the first penmen of them; to whom they say God revealed both at the same time, when he revealed to them the word it self. As those who studied and taught the *Cabbala*, were called the *Cabbalists*; so those, who studied and taught the *Masorah*, were called the *Masorites*. For altho' the word *Cabbala* be now restrained to signify the mystical interpretations of the scriptures only, and in the common usage of speech now among the *Jews*, they alone are called *Cabbalists* who give themselves up to these dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word, the *Cabbala* extends to all manner of traditions, which are of the interpretative part of the *Hebrew* scriptures, and the *Cabbalists* is the general name of all those who professed the study and knowledge of them. And they were all those, whom under the names of *Tannaim*, *Amoraim*, *Seburaim*, &c. I have already made mention of. And as these *Cabbalists* first began a little after the time of *Ezra*, so also did the *Masorites*; and their whole business and profession being to study the true

^d Eliæ Levitæ Masoreth Hammasoreth. Buxtorfius in Tiberiade. Waltoni Prolegom. 8.

readings

readings of the *Hebrew* text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of those points is to serve to this purpose.

AND, 2^{dy}, This use of them being absolutely necessary from the time that the *Hebrew* language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of *Ezra*) we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced. For from this time the *Hebrew* language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of such a profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the scriptures, as written in it; so was there as much need of these vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive, how they could do either without them, or some other such marks, that might serve them for the same purpose. What the *Jews* tell us of preserving the true readings only by tradition and memory, is too absurd to be swallowed by any one. For had there been nothing else but tradition and memory in this case to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any ones memory, but all must necessarily have dropp'd in the way, and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this case. For to those, who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other *Hebrew* books. For, excepting the bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their *Rabbinical* authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed, and yet all that understand the language can read them without points, as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those who do not understand the language. For how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learnt it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for those, who thus understood the language, to learn to read it by the letters only without the vowels. But when the *Hebrew* became a dead language the case was altered. For then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps, whereby to know with what vowel every syllable was to be pronounced, and to give them this help, the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented; and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary, that is, when the *Hebrew* became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order, in which now it is, till some ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the *Hebrew* language could never have been learned after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels; but they who will not allow the points to have been so ancient, tell us, that the letters *Aleph, He, Vau, Iod*, which they call *matres lectionis*,

* All those authors as originally written are without points. But the Mishna and their Machzor have lately had points put to them, but still they are reckoned the best editions that are without them.

† Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 18.

onis, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the *Hebrew* way of writing, both in the bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the syllables are not without them: and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading instead of them, since every where they are not to be found? Besides, there are none of these letters which have not, according as they are plac'd in different words, the different sounds of every one of the vowels some time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As for example, the letter *Aleph* hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel [a], but sometimes of [e], sometimes of [i], sometimes of [o], and sometimes of [u], according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And farther, all the other oriental languages have in their alphabets these same letters, which they call *matres lectionis*, as well as the *Hebrew*, as for example, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Turkish*, the *Persian*, the *Malayan*, &c. and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading; neither can we find that they were ever without them, though such as are well versed in any of these languages read them readily without vowels, and all the books, epistles, orders, and publick instruments, that are in them, are generally so written. And why then should we think the *Hebrew* had not such vowels also, especially when after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them? The unpointed words in *Hebrew* are the same with abbreviations in *Latin*; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the *Latin* language by books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the *Hebrew*, ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so. For the abbreviations in *Latin* are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other; but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed *Hebrew*, for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may as pronounced with different vowels be different words; as for example, there are two conjugations in *Hebrew*, one called *Pibel*, and the other *Puhal*; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tenses (except the infinitive) with the same letters, and they as differently pointed may be either the one or the other; and although in the reading the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not by pointed books first learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed books? And abundance of other such instances may be given in the *Hebrew* language, wherein the same letters, as differently pointed, make different words, and of different significations; and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different pronunciations belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification? All that can be said against this is, that the *Samaritan* hath no such vowels, but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the *Hebrew*, it is taught and learnt without them. To this I answer, that it is true that all the books, which we have as yet brought us into these western parts, in
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the *Samaritan* character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the *Hebrew* bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove that they have no such vowels in use among them; multitude of books are brought us out of the east in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkish*, and *Persian*, all written with the letters only, without any vowel marks; but this doth not prove that they have none, for it's certain that they all have them, and use them, where there is need of them: And therefore it is no evidence but that the *Samaritan* may have them also, though all the books which we have hitherto seen in it are without them. The sect of the *Samaritans* are those only who use this character and language, (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the *Hebrew* in another character) and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the east. And what their practice may be, as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings, (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such) we have no account of, either *pro* or *con*, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the *Hebrew*, and all other such languages, in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those books, after the languages are become dead languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language it is impossible to be done, and therefore the only way to make it possible, is to learn the language first by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of people, who being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it, and that especially in the *Jews* case, since their neighbours on each side of them (I mean the *Syrians* and *Arabians*) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them either have taken the same, or learn'd to have fram'd others like them. Though the *Greeks* in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned *Greek*, from which the modern doth as much differ, as the *Chaldee* from the *Hebrew*) but they found out accents, spirits, and several other marks to help those who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And so also are there in the *Latin* several such marks; as for example, a mark over the [ò] and [è] at the end of adverbs, to distinguish them from nouns ending in those vowels; and the mark over the [à] ablative to distinguish it from the [a] nominative, &c. None of which marks were ever used while the *Latin* language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterwards. And is it possible that the *Jews* only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their language became a dead language, for the easier learning and reading of it; but on the contrary, should have continued so many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauses, or stops, but also without any figures so much as to denote the vowels, with which their letters were to be pronounced? The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures, evidently proves that they must have

had them, and that as soon as they needed them, which was as soon as their language became a dead language ; and was thenceforth to be learn'd by books (and not by common converse) as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of *Ezra*, (as hath been already shewn) it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the *Hebrew* language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such like signs to serve for the same purpose, is not material, and therefore I shall raise no enquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely, that no more were at first used than there was a necessity for, but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after-*Maforites*. Three served the *Arabs*, and five most other nations, and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the *Jews*. And it is most likely that the same profession of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were also the authors of all those other inventions which have been added to the *Hebrew* text, for the easier reading and better understanding of it. The dividing of the law into sections, and the sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works. * Originally every book of the *Hebrew* bible was written as in one verse, without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words. But when the publick reading of the law was brought into use among the *Jews*, and some part of it read every sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into fifty four sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each sabbath ; and the whole gone over every year, as hath been afore observed. And when the disuse of the *Hebrew* language among them made it necessary, that it should not only be read to them in the original *Hebrew*, but also interpreted in the *Chaldee*, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter, where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had verse by verse gone through the whole section. And in imitation hereof, the like division was afterwards made in all the rest of the holy scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the *Hebrew* language by book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the people. And some time after the accents and pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is, for the easier and more distinct reading of the text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full stop ; (which *Athnak*, *Revia*, and *Silluk* do) but as for the musical use, for which only the others were added to the *Hebrew* text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. THESE vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the *Maforites*, whereby they preserved to themselves the true readings of the holy scriptures, and taught them to their scholars ; but they were not received into the divinity-schools till after the making of the *Talmud*. For

* Elias Levita in *Maforeth Hammaforeth*.

there were two sorts of schools anciently among the *Jews*, the schools of the *Masorites*, and the schools of the *Rabbi's*. The former taught only the *Hebrew* language, and to read the scriptures in it, the others to understand the scriptures, and all the interpretations of them; and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the *Masorites* were as much inferior, as the teachers of grammar-schools among us are to the professors of divinity in our universities. And therefore as long as these vowel points went no higher than the schools of these *Masorites*, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason that we find no mention of them, either in the *Talmud*, or in the writings of *Origen*, or *Jerom*. But some time after the making of the *Talmud* (in what year or age is uncertain) the punctuation of the *Masorites* having been judged by the *Jewish* doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the traditionary readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures, as the *Mishnah* and *Gemara* had been then found to be for the preserving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity-schools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedest of their *Rabbi's*, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from *Moses* and the prophets, who were the first penmen of them; ever since that time the points in the *Hebrew* scriptures have been by the *Jews* held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara* for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the letters themselves. For they reckon them both of divine original, only with this difference, that the letters they say were written by the holy penmen themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the holy scriptures in unpointed copies, and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

IV. ALL those criticisms in the *Masorah* that are upon the points, were made by such *Masorites* as lived after the points were received into the divinity schools of the *Jews*. For this profession of men continued from the time of *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue, to that of *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphthali*,^a who were two famous *Masorites*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the last of them. For they having, after many years labour spent herein, each of them published a copy of the whole *Hebrew* text, as correct as they could make it, the eastern *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Naphthali*, and the western *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Asher*, and all that hath been done ever since is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well as to the letters, without making any more corrections or *Masoritical* criticisms or observations upon either. These *Masorites*, who were the authors of the *Masorah* that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher, than the numbring of the verses, words, and letters, of every book in the *Hebrew* bible, and

^a Buxtorfius pater in praefatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 1. cap. 15. Zacutus in Jucafin. Shalsheth Haccabbala, Zemach David, Elias Levita, &c.

the marking out which was the middle verse, word, and letter in each of them, and the making of other such poor and low observations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever *Richard Simon* the *Frenchman* may say to the contrary.

V. THESE vowel points having been added to the text, with the best care of those who best understood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned that this work hath been done in the perfectest manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who shall undertake a new punctuation of the whole, can do it better; however since it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the holy scriptures, and therefore these points are not so unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the style of the language, or any thing else shall give a sufficient reason for it. And that especially since, how exactly soever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are still liable to the mistakes of transcribers and printers, and by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the letters, are more likely to suffer by them, than any other sort of writing whatsoever.

VI. IT doth not from hence follow, that the sacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed *Hebrew* books, as the genuine sense is in the pointed; the former indeed may sometimes be mistaken or perverted, and so may the latter; and therefore whether the books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the case to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honestly read the same. Ignorant men may indeed mistake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but those who are knowing and honest can do neither. For, except the bible, no other *Hebrew* book is pointed, unless some few of late by modern hands. All their *Rabbinical* authors are unpointed; and all their other books, to which the moderns have in some editions added points, were originally published without them, and so they still are in the best editions; and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one who understands the *Hebrew* language, can rightly read them and rightly understand them. Were I to make my choice, I would desire to have the bible with points, and all other *Hebrew* books without them. I would desire the bible with points, because they tell us how the *Jews* did anciently read the text. And I would have all other *Hebrew* books without them, because in such they rather hinder and clog the reading, than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point such books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading, as we have an instance in the pointed edition of the *Mishnah* published in octavo by *Menasseh Ben Israel* at *Amsterdam*. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehensions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. Indeed to read without vowels may look very strange to such, who are conversant only with the modern *European* languages, in which often several consonants come together without a vowel, and several vowels without a consonant, and several of both often go to make up one syllable; and therefore if in them the consonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word; but it is quite otherwise in the *Hebrew*. For in that language

guage there is never more than one vowel in one syllable, and in most syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two, and therefore in most words the consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read; and if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same consonants, which, as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words and of different significations, and therefore when put alone are of an uncertain reading; but it is quite otherwise when they are joyned in context with other words. For where the letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do; and this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own. For we have many equivocal words, which being put alone are of an uncertain signification, but are always determin'd in the context. As for example, the word *let* in *English* when put alone by it self, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings. For it signifies *to permit*, and it signifies also *to hinder*; but it never doth so in the context, but is thereby always so determined either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in *Hebrew*, as having the same letters are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do, when the word is put alone by it self, that the other words always do, with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skill'd in the *Hebrew* language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatsoever. And therefore though the *Hebrew* bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the church of *Rome*, or any where else, for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone with the context being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the language, to determine us thereto.

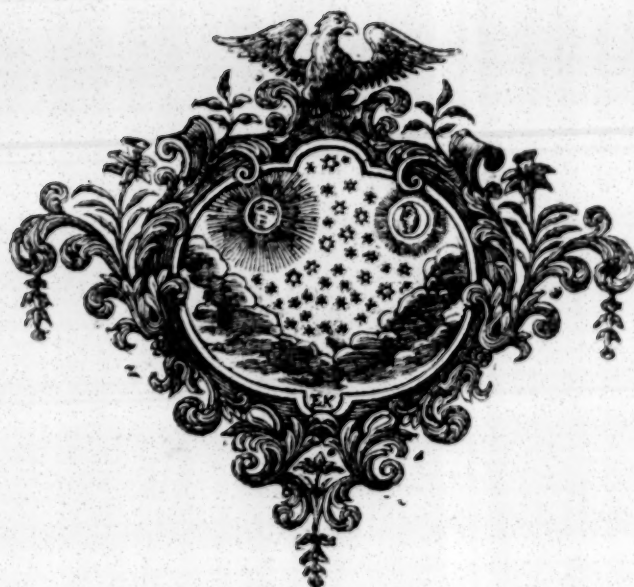
THERE is in the church of St. *Dominic* in *Bononia* a copy of the *Hebrew* scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by *Ezra* himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the *Bononians* upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a sort of leather, and made up in a roll according to the ancient manner; but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair without any decay, both these particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But such forgeries are no uncommon things among the papistical sect.

BUT though *Ezra's* government over all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* expired with this year, yet his labour to serve the church of God did not here end; for still he went on as a preacher of righteousness, and a skilful scribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the scriptures, and also in bringing all things in church and state to be conform to the rules

i Fini Adriani Flagellum Judæorum, lib. 9. c. 2. Tiffardi Ambacei grammatica Hebræa. Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 115. & p. 513.

thereof.

thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived ; and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor, who coming to *Jerusalem* with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour of God, and the welfare of his people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as *Ezra* did, he struck in heartily with him in the work ; so that *Ezra* went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor, which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection forty nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*. Whether *Ezra* lived so long, or not, is uncertain. But what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor, with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT

Connected in the

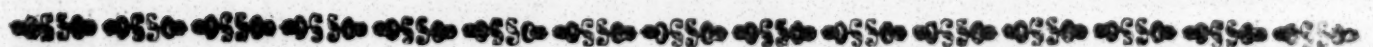
HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



BOOK VI.



HE who succeeded *Ezra* in the government of *Judah* An. 445.
 and *Jerusalem* was ^a *Nehemiah*, a very religious and Artax-
 erxes 20.
 most excellent person, one that was nothing behind his
 predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge
 in the law of God. He came to *Jerusalem* in the ^b twen-
 tieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by a commissi-
 on from him superseded that of *Ezra*, and succeeded him
 in the government of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And he had in that commission,
 by an exprefs clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the

walls and set up the gates of *Jerusalem*, and to fortify it again in the same manner, as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the *Babylonians*. He was a *Jew*, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of *Jerusalem*. For ^c there he saith was the place of his father's sepulchres. But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was *Hachaliah*; who seemeth to have been of those *Jews*, who having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own countrey, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of *Shushan*; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the King's palace. For he was one of the cup-bearers of King *Artaxerxes*, ^d which was a place of great honour and advantage in the *Persian* court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the King's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him. And that especially since the times of his attendance always were, when the King was making his heart merry with the wine, which he served up unto him. For this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was ^e at such a time, that he asked the government of *Judea*, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place no doubt it was, that he gained those immense riches, which enabled him for so many years ^f out of his own private purse only, to live in his government with that splendor and expence as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen *Esther*, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his countrey, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land, yet he had a great love for *Sion*, and an heart thoroughly set for the advancing the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God. And therefore ^g when some came from *Jerusalem*, and told him of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burnt with fire by the *Babylonians*, and that by reason hereof the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people, and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man being suitably moved with this representation, applyed himself in fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people *Israel*, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the King for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto. And therefore

^c Nehem. ii. 3.^d Vide Briffonium de Regno Persæ, lib. i. §. 93.^e Nehem. ii. 1.^f Nehem. v. 14---19.^g Nehem. i.

when

when his turn came next to wait in his office, the ^h King observing his countenance to be sad, which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of his countrey, and owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the King to send him thither to remedy it; and by the favour of Queen *Esther* he had his petition granted unto him. For it being particularly remarked ⁱ in the sacred text, that the Queen was sitting by the King when *Nehemiah* obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of *Jerusalem*, and *Nehemiah* was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of *Judea*, to put it in execution. And to do him the more honour, the King sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the river *Euphrates*, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to *Asaph* the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them, as should be needed for the finishing of it. However the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Samaritans*, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity, which those people bore to the whole *Jewish* nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands. For during the time that the *Jews* were in captivity, these nations having seized their lands, were forced ^k to restore them on their return. For which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement, hoping that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity some time or other of resuming again the prey they had lost. But *Nehemiah* was not at all discouraged hereat. For having, on his arrival at *Jerusalem*, made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and ^l immediately set about the repairing of them, dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole, in which he laboured so effectually, that all ^m was accomplished by the end of the month *Elul*, within the compass of fifty two days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For from within several false prophets and other treacherous persons endeavoured to create him obstructions; and from without *Sanballat the Horonite*, *Tobias the Ammonite*, *Geshem the Arabian*, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force; so that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a signal given to draw together to any part, where the enemy should be discovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured them-

^h Nehem. ii.ⁱ Nehem. ii. 6.^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.^l Nehem. iii. and iv.^m Nehem. vi.

selves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls, and set up the gates, a publick dedication of them ^a was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and *Levites*, and all the people.

THE burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made ^o many of them faint and groan under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it: to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that, which was farther to be done, ^p care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *Centesima* for all monies lent them, ^q that is, one *per Cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per Cent.* for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families; which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by *Moses*, (for ^r that forbids all the race of *Israel* to take usury of any of their brethren) *Nehemiah*, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people, where having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, olive-yards and houses, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

AND thus far *Nehemiah* having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the King to be sent to *Jerusalem*, he appointed *Hanani* and *Hananiah* to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into *Persia*. For a time ^t had been set him for his return again to court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission, which as expressed in the text plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years, (after which ^t he again went unto the King) as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time. For had he still continued at *Jerusalem*, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And furthermore, the building of the walls of *Jerusalem* being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings, which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that countrey. But on his coming to the King, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what farther was needful to be done for

^a Nehem. xii. ^o Nehem. iv. 10. ^p Nehem. v. ^q Nehem. v. 11. Vide *Sal-*
masium de fœnore Trapezitico. ^r Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.
^t Nehem. ii. 6. ^t Nehem. xiii. 6.

the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, tho' the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

NEHEMIAH being returned from the *Persian* court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the *Jews*, which *Ezra* had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did was to provide for the security of the city which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But finding *Jerusalem* to be but thinly inhabited, and that to make this burthen more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough re-peopling of the place. In order whereto he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation, to agree to build them houses there, and dwell in them. And then others following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to *Jerusalem*, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well secured by walls and gates, against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts. So that *Herodotus*, who travelled thorough *Judea* a little after this time, doth in the description which he gives us of it * compare it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of all the *lesser Asia*, † as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of *Jerusalem*, mentioned in the prophecy of *Daniel*, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city. For what was predicted by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, forty nine years. It must be acknowledged that *Herodotus* is said ‡ by *Eusebius* to have publickly read his history at *Athens* in the last year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, (that is, four hundred forty five years before *Christ*) and by § others to have gone the next year after (which is this very year four hundred forty four, of which we now treat) with a colony of *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, into *Italy*, to inhabit *Thurium*, ¶ a city then newly built near the place where formerly *Sibaris* stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that *Herodotus* must before this time have ended his travels which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished and publickly read at *Athens* the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when *Eusebius* saith, yet he had not completed it till at least thirty three years after. For there-

† *Nehem.* vii. 3, 4

‡ *Nehem.* xi.

* *Herodot.* lib. iii. initio libri.

† See above, under the year 610.

‡ In *Chronico* sub *Olympiade* 83.

§ *Dionysius Ha-*

licarnassensis in *vitâ Lyfiæ Oratoris.* *Plinius*, lib. xii. c. 4. *Strabo*, lib. xiv. p. 656

¶ *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78.

in he makes mention of the *Peloponnesian* war, and of things done in it, ^c in the second, and also ^d in the nineteenth year of that war, which last was the thirty third year after that, wherein he is said by *Eusebius* to have publicly read that history at *Athens*, and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus: In the year four hundred forty five before *Christ*, which was the last year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, he did read his first draught of this history at *Athens*, being then thirty nine years old, but employed all his life after farther to polish and complete it; and did not put his last hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, which was the thirty third after his first reading it at *Athens*. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the colony to *Thurium*, that is, in the first year of the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, which was ^e the three hundred and tenth of the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varronian* account, and ^f twelve years before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. And on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at *Athens*, from whence it is that he is said by *Pliny* there to have made this history. And after his having continued some time at *Thurium*, he travelled from thence into the east for the farther completing of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing, of *Assyria* and *Babylon*. But this last was never published, ^g though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it's supposed, was, that he liv'd not to finish it, though by the above-mentioned account it appears he out-lived the seventy second year of his age, and by ^h other particulars in his history it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in those travels which he undertook from *Thurium*, that he went through *Judea*, and there saw *Jerusalem*, which he calls *Cadytis*. For that the city, which he describes under that name, could be none other than *Jerusalem*, I have already shewn.

NEHEMIAH finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated, ⁱ betook himself in the next place to enquire into the matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there either as *Levites*, which were not of the tribe of *Levi*, or as priests, which were not of the family of *Aaron*. And therefore for the true settling of this matter, search was made for the old registers, and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others, whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. For in the ii^d chapter of *Ezra* we have the old register made by *Zerubbabel*, and in the viith of *Nehemiah*, from the 6th verse to the end of the chap-

^c Herodot. lib. 7.Halicarnassensis in vita Lysiae Oratoris.
sub anno J. P. 4306.^d Herodot. lib. 9.ⁱ Nehem. vii.^e Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4.^g Herodot. lib. 1.^f Dionysius^h Vide Usserii Annales

ter, a copy of it, as settled by *Nehemiah* with the alterations I have mentioned.

EZRA having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the *Chaldean* character, ⁱ did this year on the feast of trumpets publicly read it to the people at *Jerusalem*. This feast was celebrated ^k on the first of *Tisri*, the seventh month of the *Jews* ecclesiastical year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of *Egypt* having been in the month of *Nisan*, ^l from that time the beginning of the year in all ecclesiastical matters was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month, (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox) but ^m in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and begun their year from the first of *Tisri*, (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox) as all other nations of the east then did, (as hath been afore observ'd) and all instruments and writings relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; and ⁿ all their jubilees and ^o sabbatical years begun with it. And therefore it being reckoned their new-years day they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnized by the sounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the feast of trumpets. For the celebrating of this feast, ^p the people being assembled from all parts of the land at *Jerusalem*, and understanding that *Ezra* had finished his revisal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, *Ezra* ascended into it with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people, and having placed six of them on his right hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the *Hebrew* text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the *Levites*, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendred it period by period into *Chaldee*, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, and the rest, that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and *Ezra* and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the 23^d chapter of *Leviticus*, wherein is written the law of the feast of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which

ⁱ Nehem. viii.

^k Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.

^l Exod. xii. 2.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in Rosh Hashanah.

ⁿ Levit. xxv. 9.

^o Levit. xxv. 8, 9. Maimonides de anno sabbatico.

^p Nehem. viii.

was upon them to observe this festival, and shewn them, that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all *Judah* to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at *Jerusalem* on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner, as had not been observed before from the days of *Joshua* to that time. *Ezra* taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them, (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from *Babylon*) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God and the interest of religion, and therefore ^a forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held the next day save one after the festival was ended, that is, on the twenty fourth day of the same month, to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a publick and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God, to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant, were; 1st, Not to make intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2^{dly}, To observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3^{dly}, To pay their annual tribute to the temple, for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessaries for the carrying on of the publick service in it; and, 4^{thly}, To pay the tithes and first fruits to the priests and *Levites*. Which particulars thus especially named in this covenant shew unto us, what were the laws of God, which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

AND it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them, for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this time got the learnedest of the *Levites*, and other scribes, that were best skill'd in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city, which at first they did no doubt in the same manner as *Ezra* had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to

^a Nehem. ix.

receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose, and this was the original of synagogues among them. That they had no synagogues before the *Babylonish* captivity is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For as it is a common saying among the *Jews*, 'that where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it. For the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all *Judah* before the *Babylonish* captivity, many texts of scripture tell us. When *Jehosaphat* sent teachers through all *Judah*, to instruct the people in the law of God, they carried a book of the law with them, which they needed not have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a *Jewish* synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a bible. And therefore as this proves the want of the law through all *Judah* in those times, so doth it also the want of synagogues in them. And when *Hilkiah* found the law in the temple, neither he nor King *Josiah* needed have been so surpris'd at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the *Jews*, till after the *Babylonish* captivity. And it is most probable, that *Ezra's* reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was, of having it oftner read among them for their instruction in it, gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and most learned men are of this opinion, and * some of the *Jews* themselves say as much. Concerning these synagogues I think it proper here to inform the reader; 1, In what places they were to be erected; 2^{ly}, What was the service to be performed in them; 3^{dly}, What were the times of their assembling for this service; and 4^{thly}, Who were their ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be erected in every place, * where there were ten *Batelnim*, that is, ten persons of full age and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it. For less than ten such according to them did not make a congregation, and without such a congregation present, no part of the synagogue service

* Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2.

† 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

‡ 2 Kings xxii.

‡ Spencer de Legibus Heb. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Relandus in Antiquit. Sacr. part. 1. cap. 10.

* Maimonides in Tephillah.

† Megillah, cap. 1. §. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. See also Lightfoot in his Harmony, §. 17. and in his Talmudical exercises upon St. Matthew. iv. 23.

could be performed; and therefore wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of ten such persons to be present at the service, in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious assemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built, but not otherwise. For I take the rule above-mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to shew where a synagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption, that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on their sabbaths, because without such a number they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great number in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resembled. So that in our Saviour's time, there was no town in *Judea* but what had one or more of them. The *Jews* tell us, that about that time ¹*Tiberias* alone, which was a city of *Galilee*, had twelve of them, and *Jerusalem* ² four hundred and eighty; but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said ³ by some of these ten *Batelnim*, that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them. For were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is *Lightfoot's* opinion, that these ten *Batelnim* were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. THE service to be performed in these synagogue assemblies were prayers, reading the scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

¹^a, FOR their prayers they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few, but since they are increased unto a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplex'd and intricate, and encumber'd with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition, and also the length of the popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those, which they call ^b*Shemoneh Eshreh*, i. e. *The eighteen prayers*. These they say were composed and instituted by *Ezra*, and the great synagogue; and to them *Rabbi Gamaliel*, a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, added the nineteenth against the christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and hereticks. It is certain these prayers are very ancient. For mention is made of them ^cin the *Mishna* as old settled forms; and no doubt is to be made but that

^a Berachoth, f. 8.
Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 292.
choth, cap. 4. §. 3.

² See *Lightfoot's Chorographical Century*, c. 36.
^b Of these see *Maimonides* in *Tephillah*.

³ Buxtorff
^c In *Bera-*

they

they were used in our Saviour's time; at least most of them, ^d if not all the eighteen, and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the *Jews*, whenever he went into their synagogues, as ^e he always did every sabbath day. And from hence two things may be inferr'd for the consideration of our dissenters; 1st, That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in publick worship. And, 2^{dly}, That he was contented to join with the publick in the meanest forms, rather than separate from it. For these eighteen prayers in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in the same order as they are in the *Jewish* liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them, which according to the said order is the twelfth in number, as here recited.

1. *BLESSED be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God, bountifully dispensing benefits, the creator and possessor of the universe, who remembrest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a redeemer to those, who are descended from them, for thy name sake, O King, our helper, our saviour and our shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham.*

2. *THOU, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save; thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustaineest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might? and who is like unto thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.*

3. *THOU art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day. Selah. For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy.*

4. *THOU of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teacheest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.*

5. *BRING us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.*

6. *BE thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord, most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.*

7. *LOOK, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations, and*

^d It must be acknowledged, that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the 10th, the 11th, the 14th, and the 17th. Tho' it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancients times.

^e Luke iv. 16.

make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

8. *HEAL* us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.

9. *BLESS* us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land, and satiate the World with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years.

10. *CONVOCATE* us together by the sound of the great Trumpet to the enjoyment of our Liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.

11. *RESTORE* unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble; and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice.

12. *LET* there be no hope to them who apostatise from the true religion; and let Heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.

13. *UPON* the pious and the just, and upon the Proselytes of Justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed; for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.

14. *DWELL* thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily, even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

15. *MAKE* the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation. For we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.

16. *HEAR* our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our Prayers with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence, O our King. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer.

17. *BE* thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and

^f This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians; or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

^g The Roman empire.

^h The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and these were called the proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner-courts.

have regard unto their prayers. Restore thy worship to * the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.

18. *WE* will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening, and night, continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee; and for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.

19. *GIVE* peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine Eyes, to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who bledest thy people Israel with peace. Amen.

SINCE our Saviour spared not freely to tell the *Jews* of all the corruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his publick service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean forms, when much better might have been made, we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he having never found fault with them for using set forms, but on the contrary taught his own disciples a set form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the forms then in use because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in their synagogues in the forms above recited; this may satisfy our dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversely bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our publick worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to joyn with us in them. For they have the example of *Christ* in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our

* i.e. The Adytum temple, which in the temple at Jerusalem was the Holy of Holys, into which none ever enter'd but the High-priest once a year on the great day of expiation. From this place after the Babylonish captivity were wanting the ark, the mercy seat, the Shecinah of the divine presence, and the Urim and Thummin, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be that which is prayed for in this place.

prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only, that can make them acceptable unto him. For it is this only that gives life and vigor, and true acceptance to all our religious addressees unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervor and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegance of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new gingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise in such of them, as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addressees unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we come into the house of God to worship before him, and with this in any form, which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into undecent, and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behoves those, who are for this way, seriously to consider.

BUT to return from whence I have digressed: ⁱ These nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever, either in publick or in private, three times every day, that is in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only, looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so, than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are on every synagogue day offered up in the solemnest manner in all their publick assemblies. But these prayers are, in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours; that is, they are the fundamental and principal part. For besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their synagogue-service very long. ^k Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time; many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. THE second part of their synagogue-service is the reading of the scriptures, which is of three sorts: 1st, The *Kiriath Shema*; 2^d The reading of the law; and 3^d, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken, and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. ^l It consists in the reading of three portions of scripture. The first is from the beginning of the 4th verse of the vith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end

ⁱ Maimonides in Tephillah.

^k Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

^l Maimonides in Kiriath Shema. Vitringa de synagoga vetere, lib. 3. part. 2. cap. 15.

of the 9th verse; the second, from the beginning of the 13th verse of the xith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end of the 21st verse; and the third, from the beginning of the 37th verse of the xvth chapter of *Numbers*, to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these portions in the *Hebrew* bible begins with the word *Shema*, i. e. *hear*, they call all these three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is, *the reading of the Shema*. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious service, and is in the same manner as that to be performed according to their ritual every day, (that is, either publicly in their synagogue-assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them) only with this difference, that whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age without any exception; the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening; and the males only, which are of free condition, are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, *Deuter. vi. 7. And thou shalt talk of them---when thou liest down, and when thou risest up*; and also because of the like words, *Deuter. xi. 19*. The reading or repeating of this *Shema*, in the manner as is here related, they think is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them, as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. THE third part of the synagogue-service is the expounding of the scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain *Christ* taught the *Jews* in their synagogues both these ways; when ^m he came to *Nazareth*, his own city, he was called out, as a Member of that synagogue, to read the *Haphterah*, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets, which was to be read that day. And when he had stood up and read it he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the *Jews* in both these cases. For out of reverence to the law and the prophets they stood up, when they did read any portion out of either; and in regard to themselves, as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did ⁿ every sabbath day wherever he was) he taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so ^o *St. Paul* taught the *Jews* in their synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. For there it is expressly said in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. THE times of their synagogue-service ^p were three days a week, besides their holidays, whether fasts or festivals, and thrice on every one of those days; that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days in every week were *Monday, Thursday* and *Sa-*

^m Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.

ⁿ Luke iv. 16.

^o Acts xiii. 15.

^p Maimonides in *Tephillah*.

tuesday.

turday. *Saturday* was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the publick reading of the law among them. The reason which they give for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said, (*Exodus* xv. 22.) that the *Israelites* were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water, by water they tell us is there mystically meant the law, and therefore say, that for this reason they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it, and consequently for the avoiding hereof they have ordained, that it be publickly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole law, or five books of *Moses*, being divided into as many sections or lessons, as there are weeks in their year, (as hath been before shewn) on *Monday* they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way thorough, and on *Thursday* proceeded to read the remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue-service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It's certain that it was anciently among God's people, the steady practice of good and religious persons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find *David*, and this we find *Daniel* did. For the former says, (*Psal.* lv. 17.) *Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray*. And the latter tells us, *That notwithstanding the King's decree to the contrary, he kneel'd upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did afore time*. By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the *Babylonish* captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers, neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer, ⁹ so *Isaiab*, and so from him ¹⁰ our Saviour calls it, and to this use *Solomon* consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also

⁹ Ch. lvi. 7.¹⁰ Matth. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin 'the stationary men were present in the court of *Israel*, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of *Israel*, and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called the court of the women, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any 'publick forms to pray by, nor any publick ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour * in the parable of the publican and the pharisee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there, as each making his own prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the publick sacrifices were offering up, both morning and evening. And * the offering of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without, praying unto him. And hence it was, that * *St. Luke* tells us, that while *Zacharias* went into the temple to burn incense, *The whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense.* And for the same reason is it that † *David* prayed; *Let my prayers be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.* And according to this usage, is to be explained what we find in the *Revelations*; (chap. viii. 4. 5.) for there it is said, *That an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it up with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and the smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hands.* For the angel here mentioned is the angel of the covenant, *Christ* our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and as our mediator constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this, is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple. For as there at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy seat, (the throne of God's visible presence among them, during the tabernacle and the first temple) did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without, thereby as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him from out of his hands, as a sweet smelling favour in his presence; so *Christ* our true priest, and most powerful intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet smell-

† See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*. * If there were any stated forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himself without a publick minister. † Luke xviii. 10, 11, 12, 13. * See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, chap. 9.

* Chap. i. 9, 10.

† Psalm cxli. 2.

ing favour in his presence. And it being well understood among the *Jews*, that the offering up of the daily sacrifices, and the burning of incense up on the altar of incense, at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendring of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings, and the times of their prayers, both at the temple, and every where else, to be exactly the same. And therefore as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of publick devotions in them on their synagogue-days, were as to morning and evening prayers the same hours, in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at *Jerusalem*, chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus ² *Peter* and *John* are said to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice. For the *Jews* reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or being at *Jerusalem* had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue-day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and if it were not a synagogue-day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and if they had leisure to go to the synagogue they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such an holy place the properest for such an holy exercise, tho' performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such an holy place, then they prayed where-ever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market place. And for this it was, that our Saviour ³ found fault with them, when he told them, that *they loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets*, thereby affecting more to be seen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chappels, particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In ⁴ such an one *Cornelius* was praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him. And such an one ⁵ *Peter* went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve or thereabout. For then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days, and such an one it seems hereby that was. And in such an ⁶ upper room were the holy apostles assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. As to the ministration of the synagogue-service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed of the morning and evening sacrifices, the *Levites* and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and in the conclusion the priests blessed the people, which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done

² Acts iii. 1.³ Matth. vi. 5.⁴ Acts x. 3. and 30.⁵ Acts x. 9.⁶ Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, Book 2. Tract. 1.

in the synagogue. But in ^e all other particulars the publick synagogue-service was wholly different from the publick service of the temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained. And any one that by learning was qualify'd for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be perform'd in it. And these were by imposition of hands solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are in the scriptures of the *New Testament* ^f called Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, that is, rulers of the synagogue. How many of these were in every synagogue is no where said. But this is certain, they were more than one. For they are mentioned in scripture ^g in the plural number, in respect of the same synagogue. And at *Corinth*, ^h Crispus and Sosthenes are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue, tho' it is not likely, that there was more than one synagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the publick prayers to God for the whole congregation; who, because he was the mouth of the congregation, delegated from them as their representative, messenger or angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore in the *Hebrew* language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the church*. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of *Asia* are in the *Revelations*, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those churches. For as the *Sheliach Zibbor* in the *Jewish* synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God, so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of *Christ*. The bishop indeed did not always officiate in this ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office, but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry, was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the congregation*, for that time. For the proper signification of the word used in the *Hebrew* language for an angel, is a *messenger*. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name of angel given to the minister of the synagogue; but it belongs to the minister of the christian church in both senses. For he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation unto them. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in *Hebrew* called *Chazanim*, that is, *overseers*; who were also fix'd ministers, and under the rulers of the synagogue had the charge and over-

^e Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Judaicam & Vitringam de Synagoga vetere. ^f Mark v. 35, 36, 37. Luke viii. 41. and ch. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15. ^g Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15. ^h Acts xviii. 8, 17.

fight of all things in it, kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets and other holy scriptures, as also the books of their publick liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth, whenever they were to be used in the publick service. And particularly they stood by, and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and correct them, and set them right, when they did read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour,ⁱ when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets, in the synagogue of *Nazareth* of which he was a member, that after he had done he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the *Chazan* or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fix'd synagogue-minister for the reading of the lessons; but the rulers of the synagogue, when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order: A priest was called out first, and next a *Levite*, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other *Israelite*, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the sake of the seven readers. And in some *Hebrew* bibles these lesser sections are marked in the margin; the first with the word *Cohen*, i. e. *the priest*; the second with the word *Levi*, i. e. *the Levite*; the third with the word *Shelishi*, i. e. *the third*; and so the rest with *Hebrew* words signifying the numbers following, to the seventh, thereby to shew what part was to be read by the priest, what by the *Levite*, and what by each of the other five, who might be any *Israelites* of the congregation that were able to read the *Hebrew* text, of what tribe soever they were. The next fix'd officer of the synagogue, after the *Chazanim*, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into *Chaldee* the lessons, as they were read in *Hebrew* to the congregation; for which, learning and skill in both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation, he always did the office, but if there were no priest then present, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better understanding of the scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue-worship of the *Jews*, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain, is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter, may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga vetere*, and above all *Maimonides*, especially in his tracts *Tephillah*, *Chagigah*, and *Kiriath Shema*.

THOSE who think synagogues to have been before the *Babylonish* captivity, alledge for it what is said in the lxxivth *Psalms*, ver. 8. *They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land*. But in the original the words are *Col moadbe El*, that is, *all the assemblies of God*; by which I acknowledge must be understood the places where the people did assemble

ⁱ Luke iv. 20.

to worship God. But this doth not infer that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of *Aquila*, that so render this passage. The chief place where the *Israelites* assembled for the worship of God, was the temple at *Jerusalem*, and before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part, in both of them, where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle, and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of *Proseucha*. Some of the *Latin* poets^k make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them^l *St. Paul* taught the people of *Philippi*. They differed from synagogues in several particulars. For 1st, In synagogues the prayers were offered up in publick forms, in common for the whole congregation; but in the *Proseucha* they prayed as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so^m our Saviour prayed in the *Proseucha* which he went into. 2^{dly}, The synagogues were covered houses, but the *Proseucha* were open courts, built, saith *Epiphanius*, in the manner of forum's, which were open enclosures, where anciently at *Rome*, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the publick. And such a *Proseucha*,ⁿ *Epiphanius* tells us, the *Samaritans* had in his time near *Sechem*. 3^{dly}, Synagogues were all built within the cities, to which they did belong; but the *Proseucha* without, and mostly in high places; and that in which our Saviour prayed was^p on a mountain; which makes it probable, that these *Proseucha* were the same which in the *Old Testament* are called *high places*. For these high places are not always condemned in scripture, but then only when they were made use of for idolatrous worship, or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they^q were made use of by prophets and good men, as several instances hereof in scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the *Proseucha* had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt^r the sanctuary of the Lord, in which *Joshua* did set up his pillar under the oak, or oaken grove in *Sechem*, was such a *Proseucha*; and it's plain from the text, that it had a grove of oaks in it. And the *Proseucha* which *Philo* makes mention of in *Alexandria* had such groves in or about them; and that at *Rome*, in *Egeria's* grove, was of the same sort. And perchance where^s the *Psalmist* makes mention of green olive trees in the house of God, such a *Proseucha* is there meant. And such an one also anciently was^t in *Mis-*

^k Juvenal, Sat. 3.^l Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, And continued all night in prayer to God, is the original *καὶ ἦν διαρκήσας ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τῷ Θεῷ*, i. e. And he continued all night in a *Proseucha* of God.^m Acts xvi. For in that chapter, ver. 13. and 16. what we render in our English version by the word prayer, is in the original a *Proseucha*, or place of prayer.ⁿ Luke vi. 12.^o In tract. de Messalianis hereticis.^p Luke vi. 12.^q 1 Sam. ix. 19. Ch. x. 5, &c. ^r Josh. xxiv. 26. ^s For he complains that the Alexandrians, in a tumult which they there made against the Jews, did cut down the trees of their *Proseucha*. In legatione ad Caium Cæsarem.^t Juvenal, Sat. 3.^v Psalm lli. 8.^w 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

pa, as the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* tells us. And all these were *Moadhe El*, and might be understood by that phrase in the *Psalmist*. It must be acknowledged, that altho' some *Proseuchæ* were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose, as the *Proseuchæ* were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the *Proseuchæ*, and so *Josephus* and *Philo* seem to use the word, tho' it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* were built after the same manner as the ancient *Proseuchæ*, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in *Egypt* it never or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their publick assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot countrey, than of roofs over them, to shelter them from the weather. And these, *Philo* * complains, the *Alexandrians* did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the *Jews* that then dwelt with them in that city. And besides these *Proseuchæ*, there were other places to which the *Israelites* before the captivity frequently assembled upon the account of religion. For they often resorted to the cities of the *Levites*, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the *Mosaical* law, and to the schools of the prophets, for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last it's plain from scripture, that they usually resorted on the sabbaths, and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the *Proseuchæ*, were *Moadhe El*, i. e. places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the *Psalmist* be understood in the place above-mentioned. Whether this *Psalms*, as well as the 79th, were written prophetically by that *Asaph* * who lived in the time of *David*, of the *Babylonish* captivity, (to which it's plain they both relate) or else by some other after it, as is * most probable, I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of, is, that nothing which is in either of these *Psalms* can prove, that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the scriptures were read, or publick prayers offered up unto God, till after the *Babylonish* captivity.

AND if it be examin'd into, how it came to pass that the *Jews* were so prone to idolatry before the *Babylonish* captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity they having no synagogues for publick worship or publick instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at *Jerusalem*, or the cities of the *Levites*, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them; for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten. And therefore as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal

* In legatione ad Caium.

† 2 Kings iv. 23.

* 1 Chron. xvi. 5, 7, 37.

* Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. part. 1. lib 3. cap. 29.

destruction in the *Babylonish* captivity: But after that captivity, and the return of the *Jews* from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for publick worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that from the time of *Antiochus's* persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were by sermons and exhortations, there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it: This kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of *Moses* was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of *Ezra* (when synagogues first came into use among them) to the time of our Saviour, and they would have been unblameable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as ^b our Saviour chargeth them) they made the law it self of none effect. And as by this method the *Jewish* religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same, that the christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us. For as the *Jews* had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the christians had their churches, in which from the beginning all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions; and notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other artifices and methods of cruelty and oppression, which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and encreased under them; which *Julian the Apostate* was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than ^c to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the ministers of the gospel did the christian religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off, before he could put this design in execution, it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit. For the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state, or civil government of every christian countrey, is no less benefited hereby than the church it self. For as it best conduceth to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself; so it may be reckoned, of all methods, the most conducive, to preserve peace and good order in the state. For hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to

^b Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.^c Gregorij Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianum Apostatam.

their

their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned that the good order, which is now maintained in this kingdom, is more owing to this method, than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching, and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can, by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are entrusted with. For these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no farther than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would in seven years time relapse into as bad a state of barbarity, as was ever in practice among the worst of our *Saxon* or *Danish* ancestors. And therefore supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality, as that holy christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach, (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say) yet the service which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to those duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

An. 433.
Artax-
erxes 32.

NEHEMIAH, after he had held the government of *Judah* twelve years, ^d returned to the *Persian* court, either recalled thither by the King, or else going thither to solicit for a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great justice, ^e and supported the dignity of his office through these whole twelve years with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table every day an hundred and fifty of the *Jews* and rulers, besides strangers, who came to *Jerusalem* from among the heathen nations that were round about them. For as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him every day one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expence; yet all this he bore thro' these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burthening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raised out of it by other governors, to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burthen, and also his vast wealth in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches, and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his

^d Nehem. v. 14. and xiii. 6.

^e Nehem. v. 14, 19.

countrey, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in church and state, and God prospered him in the work according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

ABOUT this time flourished ^f *Meto* the famous *Athenian* astronomer, *An.* 432. who invented the *Enneadecaeteris*, or the cycle of nineteen years, which ^{Artax-} we call the cycle of the moon, the numbers whereof being, by reason of the ^{erxes 33.} excellency of their use, written in the ancient kalenders in golden letters, from hence, in our present almanacks, that number of this cycle which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the christians for the finding out of *Easter*, and also to the *Jews* for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient *Greeks* for the ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that *Meto* invented it. For the *Greeks* being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals, ^g *κατὰ τρία*, *i. e.* according to three, and this being interpreted to mean years, months and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore ^hendeavours were made to bring all these to meet together; that is, to bring the same months and all the days of them to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that whereas the year, according to the course of the sun, (which is commonly called the solar year) is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic, and the *Greeks* reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon, which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, *i. e.* from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year, (which is commonly called the lunar year) this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore their oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year, without intercalations. For otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and in thirty three years space would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year; (as is now done in *Turkey*, where they use this sort of year) and to intercalate these eleven days every year, would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle, as to the months and days. For then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month. And besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year. For with them, in the same manner as with the *Jews*, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and to find out such an intercalation

^f Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12. p. 305. Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2.

in Isagoga, cap. 6.

^g Geminus

^h Vide Scaligerum de emendatione Temporum, Petavium de doctrina

Temporum, aliosque Chronologos.

of months, as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose. For thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months, and the same days of them, and constantly be made fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later within the same times of the solar year. And therefore in order hereunto cycles were to be invented; and to find out such a cycle of years, wherein by the intercalation or addition of one or more months this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the *Dieteris*, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month; but in two years time the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty two days, and a lunar month making twenty nine days and an half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, over-did it by seven days and an half; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the *Tetraeteris* was introduced, which was a cycle of four years, wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights, which was over-done by the like intercalation of the *Dieteris*. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their *Olympic* games. For they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year, in which it was performed the *Olympiad* before, which regularly ought always to have been begun according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice, and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty three days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty nine days and an half, (of which it consists) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days, which fault soon discovering it self, for the amending of it they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the *Octoeteris*, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights, and indeed it came much nearer to it, than any of the former cycles. For by this intercalation the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours and nine minutes. And therefore this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by encreasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered, which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it, of which this invented by *Meton* of nineteen years is the perfectest. For it brings the two luminaries to come about to the same points, within two hours one minute and twenty seconds; so that after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle, in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle, in which these intercalations were made, were the 3^d, 6th, 8th,

11th, 14th, 17th and 19th, according to *Petavius*; but according to Mr. *Dodwell*, they were the 3^d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the *Greeks* being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their *Olympiads* being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these *Olympiads* being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice, and this *Meto* observed this year to be on the twenty first day of the *Egyptian* month *Phamenoth*, which reduced to the *Julian* year falls on the twenty seventh of *June*. And therefore the *Greeks*, having received this cycle, did from this time forward celebrate their *Olympiads* on the first full moon after the twenty seventh day of our *June*, and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding, whereas before they begun it from the winter solstice, and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year; and that first full moon after the said solstice in every fifth year was the time of their *Olympiads*. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was in their computation of time called the first year of that *Olympiad*, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next *Olympiad*, which made the time from one *Olympiad* to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

BUT this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen *Greeks*, after that christianity had gotten the ascendant in the *Roman* empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use; and that not only by the christians, but also by the *Jews*. For by it the christians, after the council of *Nice*, settled our *Easter*. And from them, some few years after, the *Jews* learnt to make the like use of it, for the fixing the time of their passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

THE war between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, called the *Peloponnesian* war, (of which *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* have written the history) began about the end of the first year of the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, which lasted twenty seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties^b sent their ambassadors to King *Artaxerxes* to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war.

ABOUT the same time there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did over-run a great part of the world. It begun first in *Ethiopia*; from thence it came into *Libya* and *Egypt*; and from *Egypt* it invaded *Judea*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, and from those parts spread it self through the whole *Persian* empire; from whence it passed into *Greece*, and grievously

^f *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

Xenophon's Hellenics continues the Greek History from thence.

Herodotus, lib. 7.

^g *Thucydides gives an account of the 21st years of this war, and*

^b *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

afflicted the *Athenian* state, destroying a great number of their people, and among them died *Pericles*, the chiefest and eminentest man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. *Thucydides* hath ^{*} in his history, given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it. For he had it himself, and after that being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. *Lucretius* hath also given us a poetical description of it, and *Hippocrates* hath written of it as a physician. For that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at *Athens* all the while this distemper raged there. *Artaxerxes* invited him, with the promise of great rewards, to come into *Persia* during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the *Grecians* his countreymen in this distress, to give his help to *Barbarians*. There are several epistles still extant at the end of *Hippocrates's* works, said to be written by *Artaxerxes*, and by *Hystanes* his prefect on the *Hellepont*, and by *Hippocrates* himself, about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond the *Persians* were of *Greek* physicians. And *Artaxerxes* looking on himself as the greatest of Kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But *Hippocrates*, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned, which provoked him so far, that he sent to *Cos*, the city of *Hippocrates*, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him *Hippocrates*, to be punished according to his perverseness, threatening them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the *Coans* in their answer did let him know, that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before *Hippocrates* went to *Athens*. For this plague had ravaged thorough the *Persian* empire before it came to that city, and it was not till the next year after this, that the *Athenians* were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the *Peloponnesian* war, as *Thucydides* tells us.

An. 428.
Artax-
erxes 37.

NEHEMIAH, on his return to the *Persian* court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the King to be sent back again to *Jerusalem* with a new commission. The generality of chronologers as well as the commentators upon this part of scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But considering the many and great corruptions, which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the *Jews* had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how in less than five years time they could have grown up to such an height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and *Ezra*

ⁱ Plutarchus in Pericle. *Thucydides*, lib. 2. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 12. p. 310.

^{*} Lib. 2.

¹ Lib. 3. Epidem. Sect. 3.

had

had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner to have again unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our *English* version, that *Nehemiah* came back again from the *Persian* court to *Jerusalem* ^m after certain days; but the *Hebrew* word *yamim*, which is there rendred *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the *Hebrew* scriptures so used.

ABOUT this time most likely lived *Malachi* the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the *Jews* with, are the same with those which they had run into in the time of *Nehemiah's* absence, and therefore it is most probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein before his time. For there are passages in his prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the *Jews* with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied, is no where said in Scripture, and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

MANY things having gone wrong among the *Jews* during the absence of *Nehemiah*, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government ⁿ he applied himself with his usual zeal and diligence to correct, and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be reformed by so good a man; was ^o a great prophanation, which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of *Tobiah* an *Ammonite*. This man, though he had made two alliances with the *Jews*, (for ^p *Johanan* his son had married the daughter of *Mesbullam* the son of *Berachiah*, ^q who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of *Jerusalem* under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the son of *Arah*, another great man among the *Jews*) yet being an *Ammonite*, ^r he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of *Israel*, and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct *Nehemiah* in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with *Sanballat* their greatest enemy to carry on this purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had ^s many correspondents among the *Jews*, who were favourers of him, and acted infidiously with *Nehemiah* on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at *Jerusalem*. But when he went from thence to the *Persian* court, *Eliashib* the high-priest ^t was prevailed with (as being one of those that was of that confederacy and alliance with *Tobiah*) to allow and provide for him lodgings

^m Nehem. xiii. 6.^q Nehem. iii. 4.^r Nehem. xiii. 4.ⁿ Nehem. xiii.^r Nehem. ii, iv, vi.^o Nehem. xiii. 7, 8, 9.^t Nehem. vi. 17, 18, 19.^p Nehem. vi. 18

within the temple it self; in order whereto he removed *the meat-offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters) and the offerings of the priests,* out of the chambers where they used to be laid, and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this *Eliaſhib* were *Eliaſhib* the high-priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high-priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high-priest only, and it is not to be conceived how any one, that was less than absolute governor of the whole temple, could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, *Eliaſhib* the high-priest hath no character in scripture, with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of *Ezra* (ch. x. 18.) it appears, the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high-priest being the head of the *Jewish* church, had he born any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it's utterly improbable that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that reformation. What *Jeshua* his grandfather did in concurrence with *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Haggai* and *Zechariah* the prophets, in the first resettling of the church and state of the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, is all recorded in scripture, and had *Eliaſhib* done any such thing in concurrence with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, we may take it for certain it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely, that it was *Eliaſhib* the high-priest who was the author of this great prophanation of the house of God. What was done herein (the text tells us) *Nehemiah* immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to *Jerusalem*, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For over-ruling what the high-priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the household-stuff of *Tobiah* to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

THE reading of the law to the people * having been settled by *Nehemiah*, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun under his government by *Ezra*, (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath day) when in the course of their lessons they

* *Ezra* iii, iv, and v. *Haggai* i, and ii. *Zech.* iii.

* *Nehem.* viii.

came to the 23^d chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is commanded, that a Moabite or an Ammonite should not come into the congregation of the Lord even to the tenth Generation for ever, * *Nehemiah* taking an handle from hence, separated all the mixt multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true *Israelite* might lawfully marry. For neither this law, nor any other of the like nature, is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a profelyte, and becoming a member of their church that would be converted thereto; neither did any of the *Jews* ever so interpret it. For they freely receiv'd all into their religion that would embrace it, and immediately on their conversion admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true *Israelites*, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase [†] in the text of *not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation*, must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then; and thus all the *Jewish* doctors expound it. For their doctrine, as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their nation, is stated by them in manner as followeth.

[‡] NONE of the house of *Israel*, of either sex, were to enter into marriage with any *Gentiles* of what nation soever, unless they were first converted to their religion, and became intire profelytes to it. And when they were become thus thorough profelytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making inter-marriages with them. For some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort, were all of the seven nations of the *Canaanites*, mentioned in *Deuteronomy* ch. vii. Of the second sort were the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*, whose males they hold were excluded for ever, but not their females. For the *Hebrew* text naming an *Ammonite*, and a *Moabite*, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the sake of *Ruth*. For she, tho' a *Moabitish* woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of *Israel*, the last of which was *Boaz*, of whom *David* was descended by her. And of the third sort [§] were the *Edomites* and the *Egyptians*, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they ^{||} might freely make inter-marriages, whenever they became thorough profelytes to their religion. But at present [¶] it not being to be known, who is an *Edomite*, who an *Ammonite*, or a *Moabite*, or who an *Egyptian* of the race of the *Egyptians* then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date, and that now any *Gentile*, as soon as profelyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make inter-marriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* in the text, to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered.

* Nehem. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

† Deut. xxiii. 3.

‡ Maimonides in *Issure Biah*.

§ Deut. xxiii. 8.

|| A sister of David's married Ithra an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, captain of the host of Israel.

¶ Maimonides in *Issure Biah*.

For there (*i. e. Deut. xxiii. 3.*) it is extended only to the tenth generation: The words are, *Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever.* The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an *Ammonite* or a *Moabite* was not to be admitted into the congregation of *Israel*, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming profelytes to the *Jewish* religion. But ten generations and for ever being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten generations, signifieth therein tantamount to for ever, and they ground this chiefly upon the text of *Nehemiah*, which we are now treating of. For here in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of *Nehemiah* are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the original text of the law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the law-giver, before any quotations of them by whomsoever made.

AMONG other corruptions that grew up during the absence of *Nehemiah*, one especially to be taken notice of, ^d was, the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God, in such manner as it ought. For the tithes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple in their offices and stations, being either imbezzled by the high-priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else substracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the *Levites* and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the publick worship, could not be long without taking notice of, and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy. For he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them; whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristin order. And he also took care ^e that the sabbath should be duly observed, and made many good orders for the preventing of the prophanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in execution. But tho' all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time, but the good man brought them about as occasions were administred, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

IN this same year, in which we suppose *Nehemiah* came back again to his government of *Judæa* from the *Persian* court, that is, ^f in the first year of the eighty eighth olympiad, was born *Plato* the famous *Athenian* philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens. For he having in his travels into the east, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the *Jews*, and ^g gotten some

^d Nehem. xiii. 10---14 Malachi iii. 8---13.

^f Diogenes Laertius in vitâ Platonis.
apud Eusebium de præparatione evangelica.

^e Nehem. xiii. 15---23.

^g Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristobulus

insight into the writings of *Moses*, and their other sacred books, he learned many things from them which others of his profession could not attain unto; and therefore he is said ^b by *Numenius* to be none other than *Moses* speaking *Greek*, and ⁱ many of the ancient fathers speak of him to the same purpose.

IN the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, ^k the plague broke out again ^{An. 426.} at *Athens*, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the ^{Artax-} other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that ^{erxes 39.} city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, ^l a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of *Cecrops*, who was the first planter of *Attica*, and the founder of the city of *Athens* in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cause which I have mentioned, and *Socrates* the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then forty three years old. For he was born in the last year of the seventy seventh olympiad, (which was the year 469 before *Christ*.) For to *Xantippe*, his former wife, he took another called *Myrto*, and all the benefit he had by it, was, to have two scolds instead of one, to exercise his patience. ^m As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often ⁿ fell on him with their fists, as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly. And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving countenance by his practice to so unnatural and mischievous a usage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme law-giver dispensed with the children of *Israel* in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

IN the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* war, *Artaxerxes* ^o sent an em- ^{An. 425.} bassador called *Artaphernes* to the *Lacedemonians*, with letters written ^{Artax-} in the *Affyrian* language, wherein among other things he tells them, that se- ^{erxes 40.} veral ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this *Persian* to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should on his return send with him to his court some, by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as *Eion*, on the river *Strymon* in *Thracia*, he was there taken prisoner about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where the *Athenians* treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the *Persian* King.

AND the next year after, as soon as the seas were safely passable, they ^{An. 424.} ^{Artax-} ^{erxes 41.}

^b Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νεμίνι. ⁱ Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. ^o Theodoretum.

^k Thucydides, lib. 4.

^l Thucydides, lib. 3.

^m Diogenes Laertius, ibid.

Vide Menagii observationes ad

ⁿ Athenæus, lib. 13.

^p Porphyrius apud

sent him back in a ship of their own at the publick charges, and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as embassadors from them to the King; but when they were landed at *Ephesus*, in order to this journey, they there understood that *Artaxerxes* was lately dead, whereon the embassadors proceeded no farther; but having there dismissed *Artaphernes* returned again to *Athens*.

ARTAXERXES dyed within three months after the beginning of the forty first year of his reign, and was succeeded in his kingdom by *Xerxes*, the only son that he had by his Queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were *Sogdianus*, (by *Ctesias* called *Secundianus*) *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bed-chamber, *Sogdianus* took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of *Pharnacyas*, one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him after he had reigned only forty five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death *Bagorazus*, the faithfulest of his father's eunuchs. *Artaxerxes* being dead, and his Queen the mother of *Xerxes* dying also the same day, *Bagorazus* undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corps to the accustomed burial place of the royal family in *Persia*. But on his return, *Sogdianus* being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's life-time; in revenge whereof, a little after taking pretence from something, which he found fault with, in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother *Xerxes*, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served *Xerxes*; and fearing *Ochus*, whom his father had made governor of *Hyrkania*, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But *Ochus* perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences from time to time delayed his coming, till at length having got together a powerful army, he marched against him for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother *Xerxes*; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of *Sogdianus*, revolted from him, and went over to *Ochus*, and having put the royal *Tiara* upon his head declared him King. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with *Ochus*; who having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This was one of the punishments of the *Persians*, whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the xiiith chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees* to be thus: An high tower being filled a

^p Thucydides, lib. 4.

^c Ctesias. Diodor. Sic lib. 12. p. 319. & p. 322.

^r Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 2. exter. §. 6.

great

great way up with ashes, the criminal was from the top thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes by a wheel continually stirred up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen days.

SOGDIANUS being thus dispatched, *Ochus* obtained the kingdom, An. 422.
Darius
N. thus
1. and 'as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ochus*, and is the same whom historians call *Darius Nothus*. He reigned nineteen years, and is in *Ptolemy's* canon placed as the next immediate successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, according to the method of that canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following, (as hath been already observed) and both the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, their reigns in that canon are cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

BUT it not being the usage of the *Persian* Kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, *Nehemiah*, during all these revolutions in the empire, continued still in his government of *Judea*, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things, relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights, that was amiss in either of them.

ARSITES seeing how *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and *Ochus* An. 422.
Darius
Nothus *Sogdianus*, thought to do the same with *Ochus*. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother as well as by the same father, 'rebelled ² against him, and *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus* joined with him in this revolt. *Ochus*, now called *Darius*, sent against *Artyphius*, *Artasyras* one of his generals, while he with another army marched against *Arsites*. *Artyphius* vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help of his *Grecian* mercenaries. But these being bribed over to *Artasyras* he lost the third battel, and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrender'd, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of *Darius*, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by *Parysatis* his Queen. She was one of the daughters of *Artaxerxes* his father by another mother, and a very subtle crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat *Artyphius* with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy, and that if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. *Darius* following this advice, had that success in it which was proposed. For *Arsites* being informed with what clemency *Artyphius* was treated, thought he, as a brother, might be favoured much more; and therefore coming to terms with the King, yielded himself unto him. But when he had thus

¹ Ctesias. Diodorus Sic. lib. 12. p. 322. Ptol. Can.

² Ctesias.

got him into his power, he cast both him and *Artyphius* into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. *Darius* was much inclined to have spared *Arsites*, but he was over-ruled herein by the advice of *Parysatis*, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, but by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes* another eunuch, who was the chief confidant of *Sogdianus*, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself to avoid the punishment of a much severer death, which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set *Darius* at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterwards.

An. 414.
Darius
Nothus
10

THE chiefest and the most dangerous of them^v was the rebellion of *Pisuthnes*, who being made governor of *Lydia* did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the King; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary *Greeks*, whom he had got together into his service under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes* with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of *Lydia* in his stead. *Tissaphernes*, being a very crafty and insidious man, finds ways to get within *Pisuthnes*'s *Grecian* Mercenaries, and having with large gifts and larger promises corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted *Pisuthnes* and went over to *Tissaphernes*; whereby *Pisuthnes* being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but as soon as he was brought to the King, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish, in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for ^w *Amorgas* his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and about two years after it felted the maritime provinces of lesser *Asia*, till at length, being taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a city of *Ionia*, he was delivered to *Tissaphernes*, and put to death.

THE next disturbance which *Darius* had^x was from *Artoxares* the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs, by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire, these were *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*; and next *Parysatis* his Queen, he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority *Artoxares* being intoxicated, from being chief minister he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off *Darius*, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and be-

^v Ctesias.

^w Thucydides, lib. 8.

^x Ctesias.

ing perchance weary of an husband, whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the King, whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

BUT the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius* during all his reign, was the ^y revolt of *Egypt*, which happened in the same year with the revolt of *Pisuthnes*. For altho' *Darius* again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of *Egypt*, which was one of the best of the whole *Persian* empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by *Ochus*, as will be hereafter related. For the *Egyptians* being weary of the *Persian* yoke, *Amyrtaeus Saïtes* took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of *Inarus's* revolt, and being joined by the other *Egyptians*, soon drove the *Persians* out of the countrey, and made himself King of all *Egypt*, and reigned there six years.

ABOUT this time happened at *Athens* the condemnation of *Diagoras* the *Melian*. He having settled in that city, and there ^z taught atheism, the *Athenians* prosecuted him for it. But by flying out of that countrey he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, altho' not the sentence. For the *Athenians*, having in his absence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before ^y they had proceeded against *Protagoras* another philosopher with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books he having written thus, *Of the Gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life:* the *Athenians* would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter, but calling in all his books by the common cryers of their city, they caused them all publickly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars of *Democritus* the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For tho' it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect. For by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect, as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do even among the heathens for fear of punishment; the greater shame is it to us, who in a christian state permit so many impious wretches to do this among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

ELIASHIB the high-priest of the *Jews* died in the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and ^b was succeeded in it by *Joiada* his son.

An. 413.
Darius
Nothus
11.

^y Eusebius in Chronico.
Avibus. Hefychius Milefius.

Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.
lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^z Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristophanes in

^a Diogenes Laertius in Protagora. Josephus contra

^b Nehem. xii. Josephus,

An. 412.
Darius
Nothus.
12.

AT this time ^b *Tissaphernes* was governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and ^b *Pharnabazus* of the *Hellepont*, for King *Darius*; who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the *Greeks*, for the promoting of the welfare of the *Persian* empire. The *Peloponnesian* war had now been carried on between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians* to the twentieth year. The policy practised herein, by these two *Persians*, was sometimes to help one and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally ballanced between them, neither might by suppressing the other be at leisure to trouble them who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore at this time the *Athenians* seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the *Asian* coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent under the command of *Lycon*, for the aiding and supporting of *Pisuthnes*, in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the *Lacedæmonians* against them. This had been treated of with them by *Tissaphernes* the former year, but now was by the consent of both governors agreed to, whereby the *Persians* were obliged to furnish the *Lacedæmonians* with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the *Lacedæmonians*, in consideration hereof, yielded that the *Persian* King should have all those countries and cities, which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of the treaty been possessed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the concessions made in it to the King of *Persia* were thought too large, as including all the islands of the *Egean* sea, and also all those countries which *Xerxes* had taken possession of on this side the *Hellepont*, and therefore the ratification of them was deny'd. And by this time the *Athenians* wanting the ballance on their side, to make them bear even with their adversaries, *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* upon this provocation carried over their assistance to them; and altho' the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clause, by limiting of it to the *Asian* provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the *Lacedæmonians*, yet by several underhand and indirect practices they rather assisted the *Athenians* than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to them, and by sending back *Alcibiades* again to the *Athenians*, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till *Cyrus* came to be chief governor of the *Asian* provinces.

An. 410.
Darius
Nothus
14.

AMRTÆUS having settled himself in the kingdom of *Egypt*, by a total expulsion of the *Persians* out of that countrey, made great preparations to follow them into *Phœnicia*, and had the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this purpose. Of which the King of *Persia* having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following.

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Darius
Nothus
15.

IN the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* ended the first seven weeks of

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^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 335.

the seventy weeks of *Daniel's* prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the *Jews* in *Jerusalem* and *Judea* was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in the xiiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the 23^d verse to the end of the chapter, just forty nine years after it had been first begun by *Ezra*, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people. For altho' the law ^d strictly forbid them to make inter-marriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themselves, yet since their return from the *Babylonish* captivity they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It seems most likely, that while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the east, into which they were carried captive by the *Babylonians*, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return, *Ezra* found ^e it spread among them on his first coming to *Jerusalem*, and altho' for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet by the time that *Nehemiah* came to succeed him ^f the corruption was grown up again; and altho' he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future; and a little after his last return to his government, he had made another reformation herein, ^g by separating from *Israel* all the mix'd multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil, but it grew up again, and ^h at length came to such an height, that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the sons of *Joiada* the high-priest, whom ⁱ *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, had married the daughter of *Sanballat the Horonite*; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see to the observance of it, *Nehemiah* came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the countrey; whereon *Manasseh* being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to *Samaria*; and many others, who being in the same case with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the protection of *Sanballat*, who was the governor of the place.

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^k Nehem. xiii. 28.

^l The number of years, which the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* ascribe to each high-priest, brings down the first of *Joiada* to that year which is the eleventh of *Darius* Northern in the canon of *Ptolemy*.

Alexandrinum, (which gives us ^m the truest account of the succession of the high-priests of the *Jews*, from the captivity of *Babylon* to the reign of the *Seleucian Kings*) *Joiada* succeeded in the high-priesthood on the death of *Eliashib* his father, only four years before this year, in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of *Joiada's* high-priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks. For by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, by a thorough reformation of both) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is, forty nine years. And these forty nine years beginning in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when this decree was granted to *Ezra*, they must end in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* his son, which was the fifth year of the high-priesthood of *Joiada*, and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of *Manasseh*, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it; what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion? and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, which I have mentioned. And from the seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fifteenth of *Darius Nothus* were just forty nine years. If any one shall say, that in the text of *Nehemiah* (chap. xiii. 28.) the word *high-priest* is put in apposition with *Eliashib*, and not with *Joiada*, and that therefore this last act of *Nehemiah's* reformation was in the high-priesthood of *Eliashib*, and not in that of *Joiada* his son; my answer to it is, that the *Hebrew* original cannot bear this interpretation. For it having been the usage of the *Jews*, as well as of all other nations of the east, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the *Welsh*, and still is among the *Irish*, these words in the text, *Joiada Ben Eliashib*, i. e. *Joiada the son of Eliashib*, all together make but one name of the same person; and therefore the word *high-priest*, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of *Manasseh* too high, my answer is, I place it there where the scriptures place it, that is, in the high-priesthood of *Joiada*. *Josephus* indeed placeth this marriage in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua* the grandson of *Joiada*, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of *Jaddua* and the son of *Johanan*. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two *Sanballats*, the first the *Sanballat* of the holy scriptures, and the other the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high-priests of the *Jews*, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different *Sanballats*; the first

^m It best agreeth both with the scripture and the prophane histories of those times.

the daughter of the *Sanballat* of the scriptures, and the other the daughter of the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that he that married the first of them was a son of *Joiada*, but that he that married the second of them was the son of *Johanan*, and brother of *Jaddua*. But as I have shewn before, that there could be but one *Sanballat*, and that the *Sanballat* of *Josephus* was the same with the *Sanballat* of the holy scriptures, but that *Josephus*, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, whereas he should have placed him in the time of *Darius Nothus*; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high-priest's son, that married his daughter. For each, who is said to have contracted this marriage, being the son of an high-priest of the *Jews*, each marrying the daughter of a *Sanballat* governor of *Samaria*, and each being expelled *Jerusalem* for it; these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The scriptures indeed give him no name, but *Josephus* calls him *Manasseh*, and therefore I call him so too. The question therefore being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high-priesthood of *Joiada*, and the reign of *Darius Nothus*, where the scriptures place it, or else in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, where *Josephus* placeth it; I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

THE war being ⁿcarried on between the *Egyptians* and the *Persians*, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that *Darius* on this occasion came in person into *Phœnicia*, and that then it was, that *Sanballat* attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour, ^oas to obtain from him a grant to build on mount *Gerizim*, near *Samaria*, a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make *Manasseh* his son-in-law high-priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which *Josephus* by mistaking the time attributes to *Darius Codomannus* and *Alexander the Great*. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of *Gaza*, at ^pwhich *Sanballat* died. For even at this time he must have been a very old man. *Gaza* being the common inlet between *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the *Egyptians*, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; and if by the *Persians*, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also be a like gate for the passage of the *Persian* forces into *Egypt*. And therefore if *Amyrtaeus* had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the King of *Persia* to do his utmost to recover it. For without it he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into *Egypt* to recover what he had there lost. For he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore ^r*Alexander* himself, after his victory at *Issus*, could not pass into *Egypt* till he had taken it.

SANBALLAT having built this temple, and made *Manasseh* high-priest of it, *Samaria* thenceforth became ^rthe common refuge and asylum of the refractory *Jews*; so that if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath

ⁿ Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355.

^o Joseph. lib. 13. c. 8.

^p Joseph. ibid.

^q Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 2. edit. Blancard, p. 150.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and there found reception, by which means it came to pass, that after some time the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate *Jews*, and their descendants. The first of these *Samaritans* were the *Cuthaeans*, and such others of the eastern nations, as *Eserhaddon* planted there after the deportation of the *Israelites*. But when these apostate *Jews* flocked to them, they became a mungrel sort of people made up of both. But the mixing of so many *Jews* among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto ' worshipped the God of *Israel* only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of those nations of the east from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at *Jerusalem*, and the book of the law of *Moses* was brought to *Samaria*, and there publickly read to them, they soon ' left off worshipping their false gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as ' some of the *Jewish* doctors acknowledge) than the *Jews* themselves. However, the *Jews* looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so as * to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them. This hatred first began from the opposition which the *Samaritans* made against them, on their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much encreased by this apostacy of *Manasseh*, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar, and a temple, in opposition to theirs at *Jerusalem*. And all others, who at any time after fled from *Jerusalem* for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the *Jews* had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the *Jews* published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people. For thereby they forbade all manner of communication with them, declaring all the fruits and products of their land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drank among them, to be as swines flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof; and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And in the last place proceeded so far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse, they say, was first denounced against them by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole *Jewish* church. This account is given of it ' in *Pirke R. Eliezer*, which is ' reputed one of the ancientest of their books. And ever since, they

^f 2 Kings xvii.

^t Epiphanius hæc. 9. Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianæ, §. 16.

^v Maimonides in tractatum misnicum Beracoth. c. 8. §. 8. Obadiah Bartenora in eundem tractatum, cap. 7. §. 1.

^w John iv. 9.

^x Cap. 38. & vide Animadversiones Voistii ad

locum prædictum, p. 226---230. Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 599.

^y The Jews say this book was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, but there being mention made therein of the Saracen empire, it must have been written at least six hundred years after.

say it hath been renewed, and also by adding curse upon curse continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, in the manner as related by *R. Eliezer*. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the *Jews* against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages past, the conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the tenor of this anathema, they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them, and so it was even in our Saviour's time. For why else should the woman of *Samaria* ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me who am a Woman of Samaria?* but that it was even then forbidden among the *Jews*, either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the *Samaritans*. And the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us, that *the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans*. The common name by which they call these people, is that of *Cutbeans*, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him *Cutbean*, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest *Jews* or *Turks*; but that of *Cutbean* imports a much greater degree of detestation among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the *Jews* expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him, *Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil*; as if to be a *Samaritan* and have a devil were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the *Jews*, *names the foolish people that dwell in Sechem*, to be those who were chiefly so. However the *Samaritans* themselves will not own their original from those eastern colonies of *Eferhaddon*, but claim to be descended from the sons of *Joseph*, and therefore call *Jacob* their father; and so the woman of *Samaria* ^b calls him in her discourse with our Saviour. But *Josephus* ^c tells us, they used to do this only when the *Jews* were in prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions, they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation, as ^d was notoriously done by them in the time of *Antiochus's* persecution. The particulars in which they and the *Jews* differ from each other in their religion, are these following.

I. THE *Samaritans* ^e receive none other scriptures than the five books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other books, which are in the *Jewish* canon. And these five books they still have among them, written in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* character, which was in use among them before the *Babylonish* captivity, and in which both these, and all other scriptures were written, till *Ezra* transcribed them into that of the *Chaldeans*. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the *Samaritan* copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that *Ezra's* was only a transcript; whereas in truth, the *Samaritan* pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that

^a John viii. 48.^b Ecclesiasticus v. 25.^c John iv. 12.^d Antiq. lib. 9.

c. 14. & lib. 11. c. 8.

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.^f Hieronymus in Dialogo

adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius Hæres. 9. Benjaminis itinerarium, p. 38. Eutychius, &c.

of *Ezra*, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of *Ezra* is manifest from two reasons. For, first, It hath all the interpolations that *Ezra's* copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: And therefore had it been ancients than *Ezra's* copy, it must have been without them. Secondly, There are a great many variations in the *Samaritan* copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the *Hebrew* alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the *Samaritan* character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the *Samaritan* from the *Hebrew*, and not in transcribing the *Hebrew* from the *Samaritan*. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt that *Manasseh*, when he fled to the *Samaritans*, first brought the law of *Moses* among them. *Esarhaddon*, indeed, sent to his new colony, which he had planted in *Samaria*, an *Israelitish* priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former Inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of *Moses* among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till *Manasseh* came among them. For had they received the law of *Moses* from the first, and made that the rule of worship, which they paid the God of *Israel*, from the time of the coming of that priest among them; how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other Gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on mount *Gerizim*; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that when *Manasseh*, and so many apostate *Jews* with him, came over to them, and settled in *Samaria*, they first brought it among them; and because the old *Phœnician* character was that only which the *Samaritans* were accustomed to, they caused this law, for their sakes, to be written out in that character, and in this they have retained it ever since. This *Samaritan* pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers, and ancient christian writers. For it is quoted by *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Diodor* of *Tarsus*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Procopius Gazæus*, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a *Greek* translation of it then extant, which now is lost. For as there was a *Greek* translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures made for the use of the hellenistical *Jews*, which we call the *Septuagint*, so also was there a like *Greek* translation of the *Samaritan* scriptures, (that is, the pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the hellenistical *Samaritans*, especially for those of *Alexandria*,^e where the *Samaritans* dwelt in great numbers, as well as the *Jews*. *Origen* indeed, and *Jerom*, understood the *Hebrew* language, and therefore might have consulted the *Samaritan* text, that being none other than *Hebrew* in another character. But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this *Samaritan* pentateuch, but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the *Septuagint*, that makes frequent mention of it. But this as well as the other ancient books, in which any mention of this *Samaritan* pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth century. From that time for above a thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and

^f 2 Kings xvii. 28.^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & lib. 13. c. 6.

in an absolute state of oblivion among all christians both of the west and east, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when *Scaliger*, having gotten notice that there was such a *Samaritan* pentateuch among those of that sect in the east, ^bmade heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this ⁱarchbishop *Usher* procured several copies of it out of the east, and not long after *Sancius Harley* a priest of the oratory at *Paris*, and afterwards bishop of *St. Malo's* in *Britany*, ^kbrought another copy into *Europe*, and repositied it in the library belonging to that order in *Paris*. From which copy *Morinus*, another priest of the same order, published it in the *Paris Polyglot*. This *Sancius Harley* had been embassador from the *French King* at *Constantinople*, where having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there, of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return, and having a while after enter'd himself among the oratorians at *Paris*, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which *Morinus* published.

THE *Samaritans*, besides the pentateuch in the original *Hebrew* language, have also ^lanother in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them. For as the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity degenerated in their language from the *Hebrew* to the *Babylonish* dialect, so the *Samaritans* did the same; whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of *Affyria* with them, when they first came to plant in *Samaria*, or that they first fell into it, by conforming themselves to the speech of those *Phœnician* and *Syrian* nations who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those *Jews* who revolted to them with *Manasseh*, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore, as the *Jews* for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make *Chaldee* versions of the scriptures, which they call the *Targums* or *Chaldee Paraphrases*; so the *Samaritans* were forced for the same reason to do the same thing, and to make a version of their pentateuch into the vulgar *Samaritan*, which is called the *Samaritan* version. And this *Samaritan* version, as well as the original *Samaritan* text, *Morinus* published together in the *Polyglot* above-mentioned. The *Samaritan* text he printed from *Sancius Harley's* copy, but the *Samaritan* version he had from *Peter a Valle*, a gentleman of *Rome*, who having many years travelled over the east, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to *Morinus*. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from *Perescius*, *Dr. Comber* dean of *Carlisle*, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein, was afterwards rectified in the *London Polyglot*, in which the *Samaritan* text, and the *Samaritan* version, and the *Latin* translation of both, are published all together, much more complete and correct than they were

^b De emendatione Temporum, lib. 7. p. 669.
Polyglotta Lond. §. 10.

ⁱ Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia

^k Morini exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum cap. 1.

^l Vide Waltonum & Morinum, ibid.

before. This *Samaritan* version is not made, like the *Chaldee* among the *Jews*, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text word for word, for the most part without any variation. So that *Morinus* thought one *Latin* translation might serve for both, and the *London Polyglot* hath followed the same method; only where there are any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions and transpositions, whereby the *Samaritan* copy differs from the *Hebrew*, they are all enumerated in *Hottinger's* book against *Morinus*, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the *London Polyglot*. It is not to be so much wondered at, that there are these differences between those two copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years. For so long had passed from the apostacy of *Manasseh* to the time when these copies were first brought into *Europe*. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers, and the most that are between these two copies, are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the *Samaritans*, for the better support of their cause against the *Jews*, of which sort one that is notoriously such, will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1st, The addition which we find in the xviiith chapter of *Exodus*, where, between the 25th and the 26th verses is inserted, what we have from the 9th to the 14th verse of the 1st of *Deuteronomy* inclusively; And, 2^{dly}, That which we find in the xth of *Numbers*, where between the 10th and 11th verses is inserted, all that which we read in the 6th, 7th and 8th verses of the 1st of *Deuteronomy*; both which insertions are wanting in the *Hebrew*. And of the other sort are what we find in the ivth chapter of *Genesis*, ver. 8. and in the xiith chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the *Hebrew* text, *And Cain spake* (or said) *to Abel his brother*; the *Samaritan* text adds, *Let us go into the field*. And in the latter, instead of these words in the *Hebrew* text; *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*; The *Samaritan* text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*. Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear, and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the *Hebrew* copy, but what must be understood by the reader, to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before *Abraham*, in which the *Samaritan* computation comes nearer to the *Septuagint* than to the *Hebrew*, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the *Samaritan* copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered; but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light

light to direct us herein, than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the *Samaritan* copy which we now have, is not truly that which was anciently in use among them. For most, if not all of those passages, which were quoted out of it above eleven hundred years since, by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from or agreeing with the *Hebrew* text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present *Samaritan* copies in the same words, as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from, or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch now shewn at *Shechem*, (or *Naplous* as they now call it) the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For^m they tell us, that therein are written these words; *I Abishua the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high-priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land.* But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of *Rapho* in *Ireland*, having, while chaplain to the *Turkey* company at *Aleppo*, been at *Shechem*, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the *Samaritans* did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other scriptures besides the pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certainⁿ from the discourse of the woman of *Samaria* with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a *Messiah*, that the *Jews* had, and this, they say, they could nowhere clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance altho' they did read the pentateuch only in their Synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. THE second point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, anciently was, and still is, that the *Samaritans* reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word it self; and in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the *Jews* themselves to be more exact than they are, and good reason is there for them so to say. For the *Jews* often make the law^o of none effect by their traditions, whereas the *Samaritans* always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the *Sadducees*, (for they also denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the Law only) hence the *Jews* have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the *Sadducees* also, and^p denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led *Epiphanius* and *St. Gregory* into the error of asserting this to be their opinion, whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the *Jews* themselves.

III. THE third point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans*

^m Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. §. 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ, §. 37. Baskin's History of the Jews, Book i. chap. 2. p. 81.

ⁿ John v. 25.

^o Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

^p Joseph. Albo, §. 31. Sermon. 4.

^q Hærel. 9.

^r Moral. in Job, lib. i. cap. 15.

and the *Jews*, was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of *Samaria*, in the gospel of *St. John*, state this matter exactly right. For in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, but ye (meaning the Jews) say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.* The law given by *Moses* was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations ^f *in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there,* and that place was *Jerusalem*. For ^t there the temple, by the direction of God himself, was built, and ^v there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of *Israel*, that adhered to the true worship of God, offered up their sacrifices; and there the temple was again rebuilt after the *Babylonish* captivity, and the same service there carried on in a unity and uniformity of worship by all of that nation, till *Manasseh* made the schism that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to *Samaria*, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple. For after he had built that temple on mount *Gerizim*, and therein erected an altar in opposition to that at *Jerusalem*, the *Samaritans* and apostate *Jews*, who revolted to them, would no longer allow *Jerusalem* to be the place which God had chosen; but contended that mount *Gerizim* was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of *Samaria* did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain. For they plead that there ^u *Abraham*, and there ^w *Jacob* built altars unto God, and by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship, and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill ^x of blessing on the coming of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; and that accordingly *Joshua* on his entering the land of *Canaan* had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon; and also that on his having passed the river *Jordan*, he built an altar on it, of twelve stones taken out of that river in his passage, ^y according as God had commanded by *Moses*. And this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain, even to this day. But to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to mount *Gerizim*, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text. For whereas the command of God is (*Deut.* xxvii. 4.) that they should set up the altar upon mount *Ebal*, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the text, and instead of mount *Ebal* have put mount *Gerizim*, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the *Jews* loudly charge them with, and the *Samaritans* do as loudly retort it upon them, and say that the *Jews* have corrupted the text in that place, by putting mount *Ebal* in their copies, where it should be mount *Gerizim*; and bring this argument for it, that mount *Gerizim* having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the blessings of God, and mount *Ebal*, whereon to denounce his curses; the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper for an altar of God to be built upon. But notwithstanding this allegation in their be-

^f Deuter. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c.

^t 1 Chron. xxii.

^v 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3.

^u Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 4.

^w Gen. xxxiii. 20.

^x Deuter. xxvii. 12.

^y Deuter. xxvii. 2--7.

half, all other copies and translations of the *Pentateuch* make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the xxth chapter of *Exodus*, where ^z after the tenth commandment they have subjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the xith and xxviith chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of the altar in mount *Gerizim* instead of mount *Ebal*, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause, this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places, where either by alterations or additions it differs from that of the *Jews*.

THESE two mountains, called *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, are in the tribe of *Ephraim* near *Samaria*, and in the valley between them lieth *Shechem*, now called *Naplous*, which hath been the head seat of the *Samaritan* sect ever since *Alexander* expelled them out of *Samaria* for the death of *Andromachus*. This place the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called *Sichar*, and therefore we have it so named in ^a *St. John's* gospel. It signifieth the drunken city; and the prophet *Isaiah* having called the *Ephraimites* (whose dwelling was in those parts) ^b *Siccorim*, i. e. *Drun-kards*, they have this text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field ^c which *Jacob* bought of the children of *Hamor*, and gave unto *Joseph* his son a little before his death. Therein *Joseph's* bones ^d were buried, when brought up out of the land of *Egypt*; and within the same plot of ground was the well, called *Jacob's* well, ^e at which our Saviour sat down when he discoursed the woman of *Samaria*. But after all the contest that is made between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, about these two mountains, ^f *Jerom* is positive, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the holy scriptures, but that the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of *Israel*, on their first passing over *Jordan* into the land of *Canaan*, were two small mountains or hills lying near *Jericho*, at a great distance from *Shechem*. And *Epiphanius* was of the same opinion with *Jerom* in this matter; and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1st, That the scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the river *Jordan* where the children of *Israel* passed into the land of *Canaan*, and near *Gilgal*; but *Shechem* is at a great distance

^z The words added by the Samaritans, after the tenth commandment in the xxth chapter of *Exodus*, are as followeth,--- And it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and plaister them with plaister, and thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day, in mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones. Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champion over against Gilgal, besides the plains of Moreh, which are over against Shechem.

^a John iv. 5.

^b Isaiah xxviii. 1.

^c Gen. xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. Josh. xxiv. 32.

^d Josh. xxiv. 32.

^e John iv. 6.

^f Vide Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon sub numero 1681.

from both. And, ^{2^d}, That the mountains near *Shechem*, called mount *Gerizim* and mount *Ebal*, are at too great a distance from each other, for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the curfings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near *Jericho*, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* meant in scripture. But that hill from which *Jotham* the son of *Gideon*, made his speech to the *Shechemites*, being ^e called *Gerizim*, and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently proves the mount *Gerizim* of the holy scriptures to be that very mount *Gerizim*, on which the temple of the *Samaritans* was built.

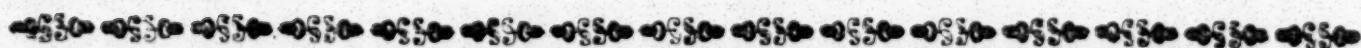
THE *Jews* accuse the *Samaritans* of two pieces of idolatry, which ^h they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain *Teraphim*, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge, they took the handle from the idolatry of the *Assyrians*. For that people having worshipped one of their deities (*Simiramis*, ⁱ saith *Diodorus Siculus*) under the image of a dove, they reproached the *Samaritans* as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them, and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of *Israel*, but never afterwards. And as to the second charge, it's true *Jacob* having found out that *Rachel* had stolen her father's *Teraphim*, or idol gods, took them from her, ^k and buried them under the oak in *Shechem*, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain *Gerizim*; and from hence, because the *Samaritans* worshipped God in that mountain, the *Jews* suggest that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies falsely imputed to them. For after the time that *Manasseh* brought the law of *Moses* among them, and instructed them in it, the *Samaritans* became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the *Jews* themselves, and so continue even to this day.

AND with this last act of *Nehemiah's* reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory *Jews* that would not conform to it, not only the first period of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, but also the holy scriptures of the *Old Testament* ending, I shall here also end this book, and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

^e Judg. ix. 7. ^h Talmud in tractatu Cholin. Vide etiam Waltoni prolegom. xi. ad biblia polyglotta Lond. §. 7. & Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianus, §. 16. & 17.
ⁱ Lib. 2. p. 66. & p. 76. ^k Gen. xxxv. 2, 3, 4.



THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.



BOOK VII.



Hus far we have had the light of scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the *Maccabees*, *Philo Judeus*, *Josephus*, and the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us thorough the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*. How long after this *Nehemiah* lived at *Jerusalem*, is uncertain; it is most likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death, but when that happened is no where said, only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more governors

An. 408.
Darius
Nothus
16.

nors of *Judea*, but that this countrey being added to the prefecture of *Syria*, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high-priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

WHILE *Darius* was making war against the *Egyptians* and the *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted from him, but being vanquished in battel they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance; and for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to an heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects, when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

AND the next year after *Darius* seems to have had as good success against the *Egyptians*. For *Amyrtaeus* being dead (perchance slain in battel) *Herodotus*^b tells us, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him in the kingdom by the favour of the *Persians*; which argues, that before they granted him this, they had reduced *Egypt* again under them, otherwise *Pausiris* could not have been made King of it by their favour.

An. 407.
Darius
Nothus
17.

DARIUS having thus settled his affairs in *Media* and *Egypt*,^c sent *Cyrus* his younger son to be commander in chief of all the provinces of *lesser Asia*, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors afore placed in them. He was a very young man to be entrusted with so large an authority. For having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been now above sixteen years old. But being the darling, and best beloved son of *Parysatis*, who had an absolute ascendant over the old King her husband, she obtained this commission for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death, and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole *Persian* empire, as will be hereafter related.

ON his receiving his commission, he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by *Tissaphernes*, and the other governors of the *Persian* provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side and sometimes by helping the other, so to ballance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the *Persian* empire. This order of the King's, for a contrary practice, soon discovered the weakness of his politics. For the *Lacedæmonians* having by the help which *Cyrus* gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, and gain'd an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agésilas* their King, to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*; where they did the *Persians* a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the *Persians* by distributing vast sums of money among the *Grecian* cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found

^a Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodotus, lib. 9.

^b Lib. 3.

^c Xenophon Hel-

lenic. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Lyfandro. Ctesias. Justin, lib. 5 c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 368.

^d Xenophon. ibid. Diodor. Sic. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 2. Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Lyfandro.

means to rekindle the war again in *Greece*, which necessitated the *Lacedaemonians* to recal their forces for their own defence, just when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppressing and over-powering the rest. And this instance also shews, that it is no new thing for the managers of publick affairs, to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money, even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

CYRUS at *Sardis* having put to death two noble *Persians*, who were sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but that they did not on their meeting of him wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the *Persians* on their meeting of the King: *Darius*, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son, in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the King; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But before *Cyrus* did put himself upon this journey, he ordered such large subsidies to *Lyfander* general of the *Lacedaemonians*, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats River* in the *Hellepont*, whereby he absolutely overthrew the *Athenian* state. For after this they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in *Asia*, and having besieged *Athens* it self, forced them to a surrender, on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet, which did put an end to the *Athenian* power, and vested the government of *Greece* wholly in the *Lacedaemonians*, after they and the *Athenians* had contended for it in a very bitter war full seven and twenty years. This was called the *Peloponnesian* war, and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, two of the best historians *Greece* ever had, their writings having ennobled it in the same manner as *Homer's* did the war of *Troy*.

ABOUT the time of the ending of this war died *Darius Nothus* King of *Persia*, after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death *Cyrus* was come to him, and his mother *Parysatis* the Queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his male-administration in his government, pressed hard upon the old King to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby *Xerxes* had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*; that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But *Darius* refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to *Cyrus* only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to *Arfaxes* his eldest son by the same *Pary-*

* Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 2.
lib. 2. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.
Justin, lib. 5. c. 8. & c. 11. Ctesias.

† Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Xenophon Hellenic.
§ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.

satis, who on his ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same to whom the *Greeks*, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name of *Mnemon*, i. e. the rememberer. When his father lay a dying, and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which ^h he had this memorable answer given him by the dying King, *That it was by doing in all things that which was just both towards God and man*; a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

An. 404.
Artax-
erxes 1.

CYRUS ⁱ being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of *Artaxerxes* in the temple at *Pasargada*, when he was to come thither according to the ancient custom to be inaugurated King, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother *Parysatis* was so importunate with *Artaxerxes* for the saving of his life, that at length by her means he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into the lesser *Asia*, unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him.

As soon as *Artaxerxes* was settled in the throne, ^k *Statira* his Queen, who for her great beauty was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on *Udiastes*, for the death of her brother *Teriteuchmes*. The whole matter had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and was a complication of adultery, incest and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of *Statira* was *Hidarnes* a noble *Persian*, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, the King's eldest son, then called *Arfaces*, falling in love with her took her to wife; and *Teriteuchmes*, her brother, about the same time married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius*, and sister of *Arfaces*; by reason of which marriage on the death of his father he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named *Roxana* of as great beauty as *Statira*, and excellently skill'd in archery and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with *Hamestris*, and rebel against the King. Of which wicked designs, *Darius* having notice, engaged *Udiastes*, a chief confidant of *Teriteuchmes*, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off *Teriteuchmes*. This *Udiastes*, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and falling upon *Teriteuchmes* slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, being one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it; and in ab-

^h Athenæus, lib. 12.
Justin, lib. 5. c. 11. Ctesias.

ⁱ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1.
^k Ctesias.

horrence of what was done seized the city *Zaris*, and there declaring for the son of *Teriteuchmes* rebelled against the King. But *Darius* having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up *Mithridates* within his fortress, got all the family of *Hidarnes*, excepting the son of *Teriteuchmes*, whom *Mithridates* protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of *Parysatis* to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused *Roxana* in the first place to be fawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death, only at the earnest entreaty and importunate tears of *Arfaces* she spared *Statira* his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of *Darius*, who told her, that she would afterwards have reason to repent of it, and so accordingly it hapned. Thus this matter stood at the death of *Darius*; but *Arfaces* was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* prevailed with him to have *Udiastes* delivered into her hands, whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death, in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made *Mithridates* his son, for the affection he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But *Parysatis* bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* her self, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

CYRUS designing a war against his brother, ¹ employed *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian* captain to raise an army of *Greeks* for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the *Thracians*; but they being maintained by *Cyrus's* money, were kept on foot for the executing of those designs which he was forming against the King. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* ^m finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with purpose to go to the *Persian* court, there to make known to *Artaxerxes* what was a brewing against him. But those who were the partizans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to *Pharnabazus* to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state. For had he got to the *Persian* court, he would so far have merited the favour of *Artaxerxes*, by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his countrey; and with that assistance, a person of his valour and other great abilities would have turned the scales, and again set the *Athenians* as high as ever, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the *Lacedæmonians* took the course of having him cut off, in the manner as I have mentioned.

THE cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolting

¹ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14.

^m Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodorus Sic. & Xenophon, ibid. Cornelius Nepos in Alcibiade.

from him to *Cyrus*, ⁿ this produced a war between them; and *Cyrus*, under the pretence of arming against *Tissaphernes*, went more openly to work in getting forces together; and to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the King against *Tissaphernes*, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him; by which *Artaxerxes* being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against *Tissaphernes* only, and not being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves masters of *Greece*, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them, which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring any thing against *Artaxerxes*, or pretending to know at all of the designs which *Cyrus* was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act, while the event of the war was uncertain, that in case *Artaxerxes* gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

^{n. 401.}
^{rtax-}
^{rxes 4.} At length *Cyrus* having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together, ^o he marched with them directly against his brother. He was followed in this expedition by thirteen thousand *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus* (which were the flower and main strength of his army) and by an hundred thousand of other forces, raised from among the *Barbarians*. *Artaxerxes* having notice of this from *Tissaphernes*, who posted to the *Persian* court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. *Cyrus's* greatest difficulty was to pass the streights of *Cilicia*, where *Siennesis*, King of that countrey, was making ready to stop his progress, and would certainly have effected it, but that *Tamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians* with their fleet, coming upon the coasts of that countrey, diverted him to defend his own territories. For a small guard, in those narrow passes, might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after *Cyrus* had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of *Cunaxa*, in the province of *Babylon*, where *Artaxerxes* meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battel between them, in which *Cyrus* rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battel, was unfortunately slain, after his auxiliary *Greeks* had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those *Greeks* into a great distress. For they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the *Persian* empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a

ⁿ Plutarchus, Xenophon & Diodor. ibid.

Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin, lib. 5. c. 11.

^o Xenophon de expeditione Cyri. Diodor.

conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by breaking thorough them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemies countrey, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties. For the next day after, having on consultation together resolved to attempt their return by the way of *Paphlagonia*, they immediately set themselves on their march, and in spite of all oppositions from a numerous army of *Persians*, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred twenty five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Grecian* cities on the *Euxin* sea, which was the longest and the most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's countrey. *Clearchus* first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, it was afterward conducted chiefly by *Xenophon*, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing, that they at length got safely again into *Greece*. The same *Xenophon* having written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that book being still extant, and published in the *English* language, I need say no more, than refer the reader to it for a full history of all this matter.

^P *PSAMMITICHUS*, who was descended from the ancient *Psammitichus* that was King of *Egypt* some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this history, reigned over the *Egyptians* after *Pausiris*. To him fled *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* admiral. For after the death of that prince, *Tissaphernes* being sent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power, (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the King in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that *Cyrus* had,) all the governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of *Cyrus*, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only *Tamus*, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was by birth an *Egyptian* of the city of *Memphis*, and being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maritim affairs, he was first employed by *Tissaphernes* in the *Persian* fleet, and afterwards, under *Cyrus*, became chief commander of it, and also governor of *Ionia*; by which means having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of *Tissaphernes*, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own countrey, much confiding in the friendship of *Psammitichus*, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him, while he served the *Persians*. But the perfidious man having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy, and having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only *Gaus*, one of his sons, staying behind in *Asia*, escaped this massacre, and afterwards

became admiral of the *Persian* fleet in the *Cyprian* war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickednesses doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

STATIRA being very troublesome to *Parysatis* her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches, for the countenance which she gave unto *Cyrus* her younger son against King *Artaxerxes*, to be revenged for this, and other grudges formerly conceived against her, ^a she caused her to be poisoned, which was effected by this stratagem. They supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law, by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to *Parysatis*, and she having eaten it, this encouraged *Statira* without any suspicion to eat the other part, which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife, and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much beloved wife greatly afflicted *Artaxerxes*, and therefore afterwards full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to *Babylon* for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in every thing, right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing, whatsoever it was, that he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently shew.

An. 400.
Artaxerxes 5.

TISSAPHERNES being settled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, ^r he began to set hard upon the *Grecian* cities in those parts; whereon they sent to the *Lacedæmonians* to pray their protection against him, and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the *Athenians*, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* into those parts with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, and such others as were raised out of the *Grecian* cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against *Tissaphernes*, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that countrey, in which he had some few, but not any great successes.

An. 399.
Artaxerxes 6.

BUT ^r he having kept very bad discipline in his army, and permitted his soldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the *Lacedæmonians*, whereon they sent *Dercyllidas* to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer, (which last he was more particularly famous for) he managed it with better order, and much better success; and *Thimbro* being

^a Ctesias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
lib. 14.

^r Xenophon & Diodorus, ibid.

^r Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic.

called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had entered on his charge, finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* both together, resolved to agree with one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this scheme, made peace with *Tissaphernes*, he marched against *Pharnabazus* with all his forces, and took from him all *Æolis*, and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts; whereon *Pharnabazus*, fearing that he might invade *Phrygia* also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.

ABOUT this time *Conon*, by the means of *Ctesias the Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, procured peace from that King for *Euagoras* of *Salamine* in the island of *Cyprus*. This *Euagoras* having expelled *Abdymon the Citian* out of that city, where he was governor for the *Persian* King, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as King of that place many years. *Conon* having been one of the generals of the *Athenians* at the battle of the *Goates River*,^{*} as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point, made his escape with nine of the *Athenian* ships, and having sent one of them to *Athens*, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this *Euagoras*, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest he had with the said *Ctesias* at the *Persian* court, to do his friend this good office. For *Ctesias* being chief physician to *Artaxerxes* (as I have already said) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was[†] at first physician to *Cyrus* his brother, and followed him to the battle in which he was slain, where being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure *Artaxerxes* of the wounds received by him in that battle, in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that King, and lived with him in that quality seventeen years. While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries[‡] he wrote them in twenty three books. The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, from the time of[§] *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to that of *Cyrus*; the other seventeen were of the affairs of *Persia*, from the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus*, to the third year of the ninety fifth olympiad, which was coincident with the year before *Christ* 398, the very next immediately following after this of which I now write. For here *Diodorus Siculus*[¶] tells us it ended. And he wrote also an history of *India*. Out of both these *Photius* hath written extracts, and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often^{||} contradicts *Herodotus*, and in some things also differs from *Xenophon*. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet

^{*} Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

Theopompus in excerptis Photii, n. 176.

[†] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora.

[‡] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

[§] Suidas in Κνωσία.

[¶] Lib. 14. p. 421.

^{||} c. 28. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

[¶] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Ctesias.

^{||} Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic.

[¶] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

^{||} Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421.

[¶] Aristoteles in Historia Animalium, lib. 8.

Diodorus Siculus and *Trogus Pompeius* take most of that from him which they have written of the *Assyrian* affairs. For he having professed, ^dthat all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of *Persia*, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registred, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such royal records then in *Persia*, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of *Ezra* and *Esther* ^egive us a testimony of them. And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority there-to. While he lived in the *Persian* court, he was employed by the *Grecians*, as their common solicitor in most of the businesses which they had there depending; and in this quality *Conon* made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

THIS year ^fthe *Athenians* put *Socrates* to death for contemning their gods. He was the father of the moral philosophy of the *Greeks*, and a very excellent person; but finding the theology of his country-men too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars; for which being accused, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of it did put all to death that had an hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

DERCYLLIDAS having made the truce with *Pharnabazus* that is above mentioned, marched into *Bithynia*, ^gand there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from *Lacedaemon* to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the *Grecian* cities in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, that the *Isthmus* of that *Peninsula* might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the *Thracian* freebooters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

An. 298.
A. 187.
xcs 7.

AND therefore having the next spring again made a truce with *Pharnabazus*, ^hhe marched with his army into the *Chersonesus* or *Peninsula* above-mentioned, and there built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven *Grecian* cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into *Ionia*, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditi having fortified the city of *Atarna* against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months time before he could reduce it.

PHARNABAZUS, after the second truce with *Dercyllidas*, ⁱmade a journey to the *Persian* court, and there accused *Tissaphernes* to the King,

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

^e Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.

^f Diogenes Laertius

in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate & in Phædone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Stanley's History of Philosophy, Part 3.

^g Xenophon Hell. lib. 3.

^h Xenophon, ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Justin, lib. 6. c. 1. Pausanias in Atticis. Licrates in Euagora & in Oratione ad Philippum.

for the peace which he had made with *Dercyllidas*, blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joyned with him, for the driving of those *Grecians* out of *Asia*, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the King's expences, and to the great damage of his affairs. This no doubt contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the King, of that great commander of his, which being afterwards encreased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruine. And at the same time consultation being had, how the mischiefs which the King suffered from this invasion of the *Lacedæmonians* might be best remedied, *Pharnabazus* earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him, that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the *Lacedæmonians* into *Asia*, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And *Euagoras* the *Cyprian* having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, *Artaxerxes* was prevailed upon by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed. And therefore having delivered to *Pharnabazus* five hundred talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make *Conon* the admiral of it. And accordingly *Conon* had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make ready the fleet that was to be under his command.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had reduced *Atarna*, and set a strong garrison therein, *marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* had the chief seat of his residence. For the *Lacedæmonians* being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to *Dercyllidas* for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his army. For *Pharnabazus* having joined *Tissaphernes*, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces in pieces. *Pharnabazus* was very earnest for making the assault; but *Tissaphernes* having experienced the extraordinary valour of the *Grecian* troops, that followed *Cyrus* to the battel of *Cunaxa*, dreaded all *Grecians* in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battel, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, and absolutely destroying them, sent Heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus *Dercyllidas* escaped ruine only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

ONE ¹*Herod* a *Syracusan* being in *Phœnicia*, and seeing a great many ships there a new building, and learning that a great many more were

* Diodor. Sic. ibid. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agesilao.

¹ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plu-

An. 397.
Artaxerxes 8.

An. 396.
Artaxerxes 9.

preparing on all the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make up a fleet for some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the *Greeks*, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for *Greece*, and hasting to *Lacedæmon*, informed the *Lacedæmonians* of what was a doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified, and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, *Lyfander* proposed to them the sending *Agefilaus*, who was one of their Kings, into *Asia*, that by making a strong assault there he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of, *Agefilaus* was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into *Asia*, there to take upon him the command which *Dercyllidas* then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and *Lyfander*, with several others of the principal *Lacedæmonians*, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition. And this whole matter was dispatch'd with that speed and secrecy, that *Agefilaus* arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the King's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field as soon as he arrived with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon *Tissaphernes* sending to him, to know for what end he came thither, *Agefilaus* answered, that it was to restore the *Græcian* cities in *Asia* to their liberty; hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, *Tissaphernes* prayed a truce, till he should send to the King and receive his instructions what to do herein. Accordingly a truce was agreed, and sworn on both sides. But *Tissaphernes* having little regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce, than to send to the King for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to *Agefilaus*, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the countrey; at which the *Lacedæmonians* and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of *Tissaphernes*, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But *Agefilaus* not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bid the ambassadors who came with the message tell *Tissaphernes*, that he was very much beholden to him, in that by his perjury he had made the Gods enemies to himself, and friends to the *Græcians*. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood that he had thereby drawn all the *Persian* forces into that province to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, a province of the government of *Pharnabazus*, and where he had the chief seat of his Residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him, and therefore over-run a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to *Dasylum*, the place of *Pharnabazus*'s usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia*,

^m Plutarchus in *Agefilao* & *Lyfandro*. Cornelius Nepos in *Agefilao*. Pausanias in *Laconicis*.
 a, lib. 6. c. 2. Xenophon, *ibid*.

carrying with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at *Ephesus*.

NEPHEREUS succeeding *Psammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*,^{An. 395.} the *Lacedæmonians* sent to him to solicit his aid in their war against the *Per-
sians*, who thereon presented them with an hundred gallies for their sea war, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn for the subsistence of their forces. At this time *Pharax*, admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, who hearing at *Rhodes*, where he put in, that *Conon* was with forty ships at *Cau-
nus*, a city of *Caria*, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an army of *Per-
sians* coming to his succour, *Pharax* was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to *Rhodes*; whereon *Conon* having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty sail, took the seas and sailed to the *Doric Chersonesus*; but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the *Rhodians*. For they being weary of the *Lacedæmo-
nians*, for some disorders and insolencies there committed, drove them thence, and sent for *Conon* to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there the ships which were carrying *Nephereus's* gift of corn to the *Lacedæmonians* put in at *Rhodes*, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon *Conon* having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet and also that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was re-inforced with ninety other ships, which came to him from *Phænicia* and *Cilicia*, whereby he was made much superiour to the *Lacedæmonians*, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the munity of his soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they, whom the King had entrusted with the care of this matter, fraudulently detained from them.

In the interim *Agésilas* coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the *Per-
sians* in the strongest part of the countrey which they were possessed of in those parts; and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards *Sardis*. *Tissaphernes* thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for *Caria*, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But *Agésilas*, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into *Lydia*. *Tissaphernes* hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But *Caria* being a very rugged countrey, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon the borders of that countrey, and therefore on their marching back for the relief of *Ly-
dia*, the horse being much before the foot, *Agésilas* took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance, and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the *Persian* camp, he became absolute master of the field, and having thereon over-run all the countrey, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

THE loss of this battel^r very much incensed the King against *Tissapher-*

ⁿ Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438. Justin, lib. 6. c. 2. Orosius, lib. 3. ^o Xenophon Hel-
lenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in *Agésilao*.
^r Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe* & *Agésilao*, Xenophon, ibid.

nes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest; and *Conon* coming at this time to the *Persian* court much heighten'd the King's displeasure by farther accusations which he there brought against him. For the depriving the soldiers of their pay on board *Conon's* fleet, disabling him from doing the King any service, and he having often in vain wrote to court of it, ^a at length being encouraged thereto by *Pharnabazus*, and having a commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the *Persian* court then at *Babylon*, and by the means of *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, so represented the matter to the King, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on *Tissaphernes*, this completed his ruin. For the King forthwith sent *Tithraustes* into the maritime provinces of the *lower Asia*, with orders to put *Tissaphernes* to death, and succeed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the King, of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the King, against *Cyrus* her most beloved son. But this very consideration ought to have moved *Artaxerxes* not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without controul, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild capricious may prompt them to.

As soon as *Tissaphernes* was cut off, *Tithraustes* sent to *Agésilas*, that the King having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising on this condition to grant full liberty to the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the King, which was all the *Lacedæmonians* desired when they first began the war. But *Agésilas* thirsting after greater conquests would not hearken hereto, but to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of *Lacedæmon*, telling him he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by *Tithraustes*, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and *Agésilas* ordered his army to prepare for a march into *Phrygia*.

BUT while he was making ready for this war, ^a a new commission came to him from *Lacedæmon*, whereby he was made generalissimo of their fleet as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in *Asia*, both by sea and land, put under his command, that by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity for the good of the state. This drew him down to the sea-coast to take care of the fleet, which having put in good order, he made *Pisander* his wife's brother admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this it is certain he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law,

^a Cornelius Nepos in *Conone*. Justin, lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.

^r Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 3. Diodor. *ibid*. Polyænus *Stratagem*. lib. 7. Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe & Agésilao*. ^t Xenophon, *ibid*. Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. ^u Pausanias in *Laconicis*. Xenophon & Plutarchus, *ibidem*.

or some other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the publick good of the state. For altho' *Pisander* were a man of valour, and great courage, yet he was in other respects no way adequate to that trust, as the event afterwards sufficiently proved.

AGESILAUS having thus settled the sea-affairs, * pursued his designs of invading *Phrygia*, where having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the province, he passed on into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the King; where having made a league with *Cotys*, the King of that countrey, and married the daughter of *Spithridates* to him, he returned into *Phrygia*, and taking the city of *Dascylium*, there wintered in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, and fed his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent countrey.

TITHRAUSTES * seeing that *Agésilau*s was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, to divert him from it sent emissaries into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to re-kindle a war in *Greece* against the *Lacedæmonians*, that so *Agésilau*s might be called home to defend his own countrey; which had that effect, that *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Argus* and *Corinth*, with other cities of *Greece*, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, as produced all that was intended by *Titbraustes* in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears, hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion to prepare men for it.

IN the beginning of the next spring, *Agésilau*s being ready to take the field, * a parley was procured between him and *Pharnabazus*, at which *Pharnabazus* having recited the great services which he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate at *Dascylium*, that were his own proper inheritance; and all this being truths which could not be denied, *Agésilau*s and his *Lacedæmonian* council that attended him at the conference, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his Government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the *Persian* King; and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of *Asia*, and carrying the war into the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But * while *Agésilau*s was projecting this expedition, there came messengers to him from *Lacedæmon*, to recal him thither. For the *Persian* money having procured a very strong

An. 394.
Artaxerxes II.

* Plutarchus in *Agésilau*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. w Pausanias in *Laconicis* & *Messenicis*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 3. Plutarchus in *Agésilau* & *Artaxerxe*. * Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. y Plutarchus in *Agésilau* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in *Agésilau*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Justin, lib. 6. c. 4.

confederacy of several of the *Grecian* states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own countrey; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining at his departure out of *Asia*, that the *Persians* had driven him thence by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many *Darics*, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon them; but so small a sum did not do this job, it cost the *Persians* much more, and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage. For hereby they saved vastly greater expences, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes, who by following the same methods have gained the same success, and in the way of bribery and corruption have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

CONON, on his return from the *Persian* court, * having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took *Pharnabazus* on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near *Cnidus*, under the command of *Pisander*, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain *Pisander* himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his ships, which did put an end to the empire of the *Lacedaemonians* in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else. For after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantineia* put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in *Greece*, any farther than as the affairs of *Greece* interfere with what is the main design of this history.

AFTER * this victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of *Asia*, and took in most of the cities which the *Lacedaemonians* had in those parts; only *Sestus* and *Abydus*, two cities in the mouth of the *Hellepont*, being under the command of *Dercyllidas*, held out against them; whereon *Pharnabazus* assaulted them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but not succeeding in the attempt, *Pharnabazus* on the approach of winter returned home, and *Conon* was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it, with as many ships from the cities on the *Hellepont* as he could get from them against the next spring.

An. 393.
Artaxer-
xes 12.

AND *Conon* having, according to this commission, gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed, ^b *Pharnabazus* went on board it, and sailing though the islands, landed on *Melos* the farthest of them, and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the countrey of the *Lacedaemonians*, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got. After this *Pharnabazus* being on his return home into his province, * *Conon* obtained of him to send him with eighty ships of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the

* Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Justin, lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Isocrates in Euagora & in oratione ad Philippum. ^c Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. ^b Xenophon & Diodor. Sic. ibid.

^c Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Plutarchus in Agesilao. Justin, lib. 6. c. 5. Isocrates in Euagora. Xenophon & Diodor. ibid. Pausanias in Atticis.

walls of *Athens*, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, than by this means to put *Athens* again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore being arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, he immediately set about the work, and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of *Athens* and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the long walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty talents which he had received from *Pharnabazus* among his citizens, whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

THE *Lacedæmonians* being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith dispatch'd *Antalcidas*, a citizen of theirs, to *Tiribazus*, then governor for the *Persian* King at *Sardis*, to propose terms of peace. And the confederates on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also, and among them *Conon* was one from the city of *Athens*. The terms ^d which *Antalcidas* proposed were, that the King should have all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in *Greece*, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the King, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, none of the other ambassadors would consent to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting *Conon*. For the *Lacedæmonians* bearing an implacable spight to him for what he had done in the restoration of *Athens*, accused him of purloining the King's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and subjecting them again to the *Athenian* state; whereon ^e *Tiribazus* clapped him in chains, and then going to the *Persian* court to communicate to the King the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against *Conon*; hereon *Conon* being ordered to be brought to *Susa*, ^f was there put to death by the King's command.

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, ^g *Struthas* was sent down ^{An. 392. Artaxerxes 13.} from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of *Asia*; where finding the great devastations which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them, as carried him wholly over to the *Athenian* side. Whereon the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Thymbro* into *Asia* again to renew the war there, but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the *Persians*, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him *Dephridas* came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in *Asia*, after the battel of *Cnidus*, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power, and therefore they were at length forced to give up all there, when they could no longer

^d Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarchus in Agefilao.
Sib. lib. 14. p. 442. Cornelius Nepos in Conone.
in Panegyrico.

^e Xenophon, ibid. Diodor.
^f Cornelius Nepos, ibid. Isocrates

^g Xenophon ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the *Grecian* name.

An. 391.
Artaxer-
xes 14.

AND therefore *Artaxerxes* being in a manner almost wholly eased of the *Grecian* war, ^b turned his whole power against *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and began a war against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How *Euagoras* seized *Salamine*, by expelling the *Persian* governor, and made himself King of that city, and procured by the means of *Conon* to be confirmed herein by *Artaxerxes*, I have already given an account. But *Euagoras* being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength, and his power, that he made himself in a manner King of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians*, were those only that held out against him; and *Artaxerxes* becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterwards openly embraced their cause, and declared war against *Euagoras*, in which, *Isocrates* tells us, he expended above fifty thousand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

An. 390.
Artaxer-
xes 15.

THE *Athenians*, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the *Persians*, and the Benefits they had lately received from them, ⁱ would not deny their assistance to *Euagoras*, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception which those, who fled with *Conon* from the battel of the *Goats* river, had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the King, for the death of that gallant *Athenian* their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of *Euagoras*, under the command of *Philocrates*. But a fleet which the *Lacedaemonians* had at sea, under the command of *Telautias* the brother of *Agefilas*, falling in with them in the isle of *Rhodes*, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the King of *Persia*, destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him.

An. 389.
Artaxer-
xes 16.

ACHORIS succeeding *Psammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, ^k *Euagoras* drew him, and also the *Barceans*, a people of *Libya*, into confederacy with him against the *Persians*, and all of them engaged in conjunction together to carry on the war with vigour against them.

An. 388.
Artaxer-
xes 17.

PHILOCRATES having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to *Euagoras*, in manner as hath been related, the *Athenians* ^l sent *Chabrias* into the same service with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it, who arriving safe in *Cyprus*, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island under the power of *Euagoras* before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the *Athenian* arms.

An. 387.
Artaxer-
xes 18.

THE *Lacedaemonians* finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities against them, became desirous of a peace with the *Persian* King, and ^m appointed *Antalcidas* again to treat with *Tiribazus*

^b Isocrates in *Euagora*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 458.

ⁱ Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4.

^k Theopompus in excerptis Photii. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.

^l Cornelius Nepos

in *Chabria*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 5.

^m Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 5. Plutarchus in

Agefilao & *Artaxerxe*. Isocrates in *Panathenaico*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Justin, lib. 6. c. 6.

about it; and resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their ambassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind sent him with it into *Asia* to transact this matter. On his arrival at *Ephesus*, having appointed *Nicolochus* his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to *Sardis*, and there communicated to *Tiribazus* the commission on which he was sent. But *Tiribazus* having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the *Persian* court, they both went thither; where on their arrival the matter was soon concluded. For *Artaxerxes* being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the *Lacedæmonians*, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the *Cyprian* war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal, upon the scheme which *Antalcidas* offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, with the islands of ^a *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus*, should be under the power of the *Persian* King; and that all the other Cities of *Greece*, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of *Scirus*, *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, which having been anciently subject to the *Athenians*, should still continue so to be; and that *Artaxerxes* should join with the *Lacedæmonians*, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of *Greece* submit thereto. Which peace being ratified under the seal of King *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* and *Antalcidas* returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of *Greece*. Hereby the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* finding themselves betrayed by the *Lacedæmonians*, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the *Grecian* states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The *Athenians* and *Thebans* of all others were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the *Persians*, now joined with the *Lacedæmonians*, their allies, to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the *Lacedæmonians* themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the *Persians*, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruine which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace. For hereby they engaged the *Persians* into an alliance with them; and by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of *Greece* desist from that war, which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger, but at the same time they betrayed the common interest of *Greece*, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And *Antalcidas* at last met with his ruine from it. For the ^b *Lacedæmonians*, after the blow they had received from the *Thebans* at *Leuctra*, needing the assistance of the *Persian* power to support them, and being made believe, that *Antalcidas* could do every thing at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither, to solicit for money to help bear them up in that distress. But King *Artaxerxes* finding his interest no way

^a The city of *Clazomenæ* then stood on an island, but afterwards that island was joined to the continent in the same manner as were the islands of *Tyrus* and *Pharus*. Strabo, lib. 1. p. 58.

^b Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*.

concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he famished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace, ^p *Polybius*, ^q *Trogus Pompeius*, ^r *Diodorus Siculus*, and ^s *Strabo*, tell us, was made in the same year that *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of *Antalcidas*, but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name; because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all *Greece*.

An. 386.
Artaxer-
xes 19.

THE *Athenians*, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home *Chabrias* out of *Cyprus*; and ^t *Artaxerxes*, now freed of all trouble from the *Greeks*, bent his whole force against *Euagoras* King of that island. For having drawn together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred sail, he made *Gaus* the son of *Tamus* (who hath been before spoken of) admiral of the fleet, and *Orontes* one of his sons-in-law general of the army, and *Tiribazus* generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade *Cyprus*; and accordingly they landed this great army on that island for the reducing of it. *Euagoras* being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the *Persians*; and with his money, of which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries, out of all places wherever he could get them, which all together made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships. These at first he sent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought provisions to the *Persian* army from the continent, which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied, and slew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from *Cilicia*, whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim *Euagoras* received a great supply of corn from *Egypt*, and fifty sail of ships, which, with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred sail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the *Persians*, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the *Persian* army and gained the victory, and being flush'd with this, and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took and destroyed several of their ships. But *Gaus* at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove *Euagoras* out of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet; with the remainder he escaped to *Salamine*, where the *Persians*, after this victory, shut him up in a close siege both by sea and land, and *Tiribazus* went to the *Persian* court with the news of this success, and having there obtained two

^p Lib. 1.
lib. 15.

^q Justin, lib. 6. c. 6.

^r Lib. 4.

^s Lib. 6.

^t Diodor. Sic.

thousand

thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, *Euagoras*, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got thorough the enemies fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for *Egypt*, leaving *Protagoras* his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was to engage *Acoris* to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

BUT failing in the main of what he there expected, * he was sent back An. 385. Artaxerxes 20. only with some supplies of money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress; and therefore being returned to *Salamine*, and got again into the place by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to *Tiribazus* to treat of peace, but could be allowed no other terms, than to be divested of all that he had in *Cyprus*, excepting the city of *Salamine* only, and to hold that of the King as a servant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of *Salamine* as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a King under a King. But *Tiribazus* not consenting to this the war went on. In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war; and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the King, accusing him of having secret designs against the King's interest; and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, had admitted a treaty with *Euagoras*, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him for the promoting of his hidden purposes; whereon he was taken into custody by order from the King, and sent prisoner to the court, and *Orontes* had the chief command conferred on him, which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the King's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct. For all his orders through this discontent of the soldiery were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length *Orontes* was forced to renew the treaty with *Euagoras*, for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused. For he consented that he should hold *Salamine* of the King of *Persia* as King of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with *Euagoras*, but this did not put an end to the war in those parts. For * *Gaus* taking ill the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the *Egyptians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and revolted from the King, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein. The *Lacedæmonians* entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of *Antalcidas*. For by this time discerning all the disadvantages of it, espe-

* Diodor. *ibid.*

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 15

cially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other *Greeks* from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all of the *Grecian* name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the *Persians*. But *Gaus* the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and *Tachos*, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing; and after this the *Lacedæmonians* no more meddled with the *Asian* affairs.

An. 384
Artaxerxes 21.

ARTAXERXES having thus finished the *Cyprian* war, * led an army of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse against the *Cadusians*. But the countrey, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that *Tiribazus* extricated him from this danger. He followed the King in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of *Orontes's* accusation; and having received information, that whereas the *Cadusians* had two Kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the Kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe, that the other was treating separately with the King, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people * inhabited some part of the mountainous countrey, which lies between the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* seas to the north of *Media*, where * they having neither seed-time nor harvest, liv'd mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree-fruits, the land, by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the *Persians* into such distress when they invaded them, the countrey not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. *Fuller* * hath a conceit, that these *Cadusians* were the descendants of the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the Kings of *Assyria* carried captive out of the land of *Canaan*; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called *Cadusians* from the *Hebrew* word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *holy people*, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that * the *Colchians* and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision. For not far from the *Colchians* was the countrey of the *Cadusians*.

ARTAXERXES lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, and a very gallant man. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was on his death succeeded therein by *Datames* his son, who was also with *Artaxerxes* in this

* Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462.
519, 523, 524. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe
lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

† Strabo, lib. 11. p. 507, 508,
* Miscel. lib. 2. c. 5. † Herodot.

expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the *Hannibal* of those times. *Cornelius Nepos* hath given us his life at large, by which it appears, no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the *Persian* court, as at last caused his ruine; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

ON the King's return to *Susa*, the service which *Tiribazus* did him in this expedition^c procured him a fair hearing of his cause, and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the King for it, he was found innocent, and honourably discharged; and *Orontes* his accuser was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the King's favour for it.

ARTAXERXES being now free from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the *Egyptians*, they having freed themselves from the yoke of the *Persians*, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty six years; and^d accordingly he made great preparations for it. *Acoris* foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*. *Pharnabazus* having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent ambassadors to *Athens* to make complaint against *Chabrias*, for engaging in this service against the King, threatening them with the loss of the King's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded *Iphicrates* another *Athenian*, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary *Greeks* in the *Persian* army for this war. The *Athenians* at that time much depending on the favour of the *Persian* King, for the support of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of *Greece*, readily complied with both these demands. For they immediately recalled *Chabrias*, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent *Iphicrates* into the *Persian* army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of war, in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers, they became as famous among the *Greeks*, as formerly the *Fabian* were among the *Romans* for the same reason. And they had time enough before they entered on action, to grow up hereto by the instruction that was given them.

FOR the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after e'er the war commenced; in the interim died *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, and was succeeded^e by *Psammuthis* in that kingdom, who reigned only one year.

AFTER *Psammuthis*, reigned in *Egypt*^f *Nepherites*, the last of the *Mendesian* race in that kingdom. For after a reign of four months, he was succeeded by *Nectanabis*, the first of the *Sebennite* race, who reigned twelve years.

ARTAXERXES, that he might the easier get *Grecian* auxiliaries

^c Diodor. Sic. p. 463.
Iphicrate.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 471. *Cornelius Nepos* in *Chabria* &
^e Eusebius in *Chronico*. Syncellus, p. 257. ^f Eusebius in *Chronico*.

for his *Egyptian* war, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to put an end to all war there, requiring that all the different states and cities in that countrey should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of *Antalcidas*, and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of *Greece*, excepting the *Thebans*, who having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only *Grecian* people that refused to comply herewith.

An. 374.
Artaxer-
xes 31.

ALL things being now ready for the *Egyptian* war, ^a the *Persian* army was all drawn together at *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*, and now *Acon*, in *Palestine*; and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand *Persians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thousand *Grecian* mercenaries under the command of *Iphicrates*, and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto. For their fleet consisted of three hundred gallies, and two hundred ships, besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furnish both the fleet and army with all things necessary. At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made was upon *Pelusium*. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land; but the *Persians* having been long in preparing for this war, gave *Neftanabis* time enough to provide for the defence of the place, which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, failed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*. For that river then discharged it self into the *Mediterranean* by seven mouths, (tho' now there are but ^b two) each of these was guarded by a fortress and a garrison; but the *Mendesian* mouth not being so well fortified against them as the *Pelusian*, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action *Iphicrates* advised, that they should immediately have sailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis*, the capital of *Egypt*. And had they followed his advice, before the *Egyptians* had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion and the first success thereof had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it; and with it, all *Egypt* must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But *Iphicrates* rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus* envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprize, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the *Egyptians* having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into *Memphis*, with the rest took the field, and so harraffed the *Persians*, that they kept them from making any farther progress,

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. Cornelius Nepos in Iphicrate.
Rosetta.

^b That is Damietta and

till at length ⁱ the *Nile*, in its proper season, overflowing all the countrey, forced them to withdraw again into *Phœnicia*, with the loss of a great part of their army. And so this expedition, in which were expended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced great dissensions between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*; and *Iphicrates*, with much more reason, on *Pharnabazus*. But *Iphicrates* being aware, that *Pharnabazus* would be believed before him at the *Persian* court, and remembring the case of *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to *Athens*. Hereon *Pharnabazus* sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into *Egypt* miscarry, to which the *Athenians* gave only this answer, That if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency, as to this matter, that they never called him to a tryal for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

THAT which made most of the expeditions of the *Persians*, under this empire, miscarry, was their slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court, and usually before these could arrive the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore *Iphicrates* observing *Pharnabazus* to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words and so backward in his actions, had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer, That his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his master. And many like instances may be given, wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the publick have been wholly lost, by too streightly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

THE same year that these things were done in *Egypt*, ⁱ *Euagoras* King of *Salamine*, in the island of *Cyprus*, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, *Nicocles* his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of *Isocrates*'s orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name. In the first of these is proposed the duty of a King to his subjects; in the second, the duty of subjects to their King; for which *Nicocles* gave him ^m twenty talents, *i. e.* three thousand seven hundred and fifty pound of our money.

ⁱ The nature of this river is to be six months a rising, and six months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole countrey, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains, which for six months together fall in the upper parts of Ethiopia, where the rise of the Nile is. These rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the Nile, which beginning to reach Egypt in the April following, do there cause this rising or increase of the Nile, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher, till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise sixteen cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to three and twenty. If it riseth no higher than twelve or thirteen cubits, a famine followeth in that countrey.

^k Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478.

^l Aristoteles Politic. lib. 5. c. 10. Theopompus in bibliothecca Photii. N. 176.

^m Plutarchus in vita Isocratis.

An. 373. *Artaxerxes* 32. THE " next year after, which was the thirty second of *Artaxerxes* *Mnemon*, *Joiada* the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, ° *Johanan* his son, called also *Jonathan*, succeeded him in his office, and held it thirty two years.

An. 371. *Artaxerxes* 34. *ARTAXERXES* ^a again sent embassadors into *Greece*, to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with *Antalcidas*. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the *Thebans*. That which made them at that time dissent, was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of *Greece* should be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the *Lacedæmonians* pressed the *Thebans* to set all the cities of *Bæotia* free, and to rebuild *Plataea* and *Thespia*, two cities of that countrey, which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And on the other side, the *Thebans* retorting upon the *Lacedæmonians* the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of *Laconia* to enjoy their liberties, and restore *Messena* to its ancient owners. For they urged, that the article of the peace insisted on, did as much require the one as the other, and that therefore if the *Lacedæmonians* would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the *Lacedæmonians*, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at *Cnidu*, would not understand this way of arguing, but looking on themselves still as much superior to the *Thebans*, would have them submit to that, which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them, to force them to it, which produced the battel at *Leuctra*, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown, with the loss of *Cleombrotus* one of their Kings, and above four thousand of their citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past. For it brought the *Thebans* in pursuit of this victory into *Laconia*, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of *Lacedæmon* it self, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

An. 370. *Artaxerxes* 35. THE *Lacedæmonians* being brought to this distress, ^c sent *Agésilas* into *Egypt*, and *Antalcidas* to the *Persian* court, to solicit for succours. But the *Lacedæmonians*, since their overthrow at *Leuctra*, becoming contemptible to the *Persians*, *Antalcidas* had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

An. 369. *Artaxerxes* 36. HOWEVER, this embassy prevailed so far with *Artaxerxes*, that *Philiscus* of *Abydus* ^e was by his order the next year after sent into *Greece*, to endeavour the composing of the wars which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by *Antalcidas*. But the *Lacedæmonians* refusing to consent that *Messena* should enjoy its liberty, (to which it had been restored by the *Thebans*, in their late expedition in-

^a Chronicon. Alexandrinum.

^b Nehem. xii. 22. and xiii. 28.

^c Nehem. xii. 11.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 483. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 6.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xe-

nophon ibid. Plutarchus in Pelopida. Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda & Pelopida.

^f Plutarchus in Agésilao & Artaxerxe.

^g Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic.

lib. 15. p. 494.

to *Peloponnesius*, after the battel of *Leuctra*) and the *Thebans* refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect; only *Philistus* thinking the *Thebans* stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* two thousand mercenaries, which he had raised with the King's money, and so returned.

THE truth of the case was, the *Thebans* being elevated with their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced) aimed now at nothing less than the empire of Greece. And therefore to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, they sent *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias*, two of the eminentest of their citizens, in an embassy to King *Artaxerxes*, to secure him on their side. And on the hearing of this, the *Athenians* sent *Timagoras* and *Leontes*, and the other cities of Greece other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion. At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the King, *Ismenias* on his entrance into the presence of the King dropped his ring, and stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But *Timagoras*, the *Athenian*, to gain the greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, directly, without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required, for which he was put to death on his return, the *Athenians* thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of Kings. *Pelopidas* and *Leontes* would not submit to the *Persian* ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the King, and *Pelopidas*, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this court, got that ascendant above all the other ambassadors, both in the King's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from his embassy. For he brought back letters from the King under his seal royal, whereby it was required that the *Lacedæmonians* should let *Messena* be free, and that the *Athenians* should recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of Greece should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the *Thebans*, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of Greece. For should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the *Messenians* thoroughly restored, the *Lacedæmonians* would lose one half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and should the other cities of Greece, as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free, and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the King being engaged in this case to joyn with them to force all to it, they thought by this addition of strength they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same

^v Plutarchus in *Pelopida* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 7.

mus, lib. 5. c. 3.

^x Plutarchus in *Pelopida*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 7.

^w *Valerius Maximus*.

empire over the rest of *Greece*, as first the *Athenians*, and afterwards the *Lacedæmonians*, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars. For the cities of *Greece*, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the King's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms. And *Artaxerxes* not being at leisure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the *Grecian* cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatned; and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the *Thebans* failed of all that they designed by it. For

An. 366.
Artaxer-
xes 39.

ALL that *Artaxerxes* did hereupon, was ^y to send another embassy into *Greece* about two years after, whereby although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.

ABOUT this time ^z a wicked fact of *Johanan* the high-priest of the *Jews* brought a great oppression upon the temple at *Jerusalem*. For *Jeshua* his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of *Bagoses*, then governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* for the *Persian* King, obtained of him a grant of the high-priesthood, with which *Johanan* had been invested several years, and came with this grant to *Jerusalem*, to take possession of the office, and depose his brother from it. But *Johanan* not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them, and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that *Johanan* slew *Jeshua* in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in it self, but aggravated and rendered much more so, by the great prophanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed. *Bagoses* hearing of this, came in great wrath to *Jerusalem*, to take an account of the fact. And when on his going into the temple, to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindred his entrance, (all *Gentiles* being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither) he cried out with great indignation, *What, am I not more pure than the dead carcass of him whom ye have slain in the temple?* whereon entering without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the publick treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice, the sum of fifty drachms, which is about one pound eleven shillings and three pence of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty six thousand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than one thousand one hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings and six pence of our money. But if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more. For the ordinary sacrifices, which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were ^a a lamb in the morning, which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice, and these in the

^y Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 497.
Numb. xxviii. 3---8.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

^a Exod. xxix. 38.

whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added ^b on every sabbath two lambs more, on ^c every new moon seven, on ^d each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven, besides ^e one more on the second day, when the wave sheaf was offered, on ^f the day of pentecost sixteen, on ^g the feast of trumpets seven, on ^h the great day of expiation seven, on ⁱ each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles fourteen, and ^k on the eighth day seven. So that the additional lambs being three hundred seventy and one, these if reckoned to the other make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore if the mulct of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty five thousand and fifty drachms, which is of our money seventeen hundred and twenty pounds six shillings and three pence. But this sum being too small for a national mulct, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which *Josephus* makes hereof. For he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the *Jews*, which a payment of seventeen hundred and twenty pounds a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to. *Capellus* reckons this mulct at sixty talents. This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb instead of fifty, which is a plain mistake of his. For the text of *Josephus* in all copies hath πεντήκοντα fifty, and not πενταχίλια five hundred. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For on the death of *Artaxerxes*, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in *Syria*, he that succeeded *Bagoses* in that province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in *Greece*, between the *Arcadians* and the *Eliaus*, and that having produced another among the *Arcadians* themselves, ^m one party called in the *Thebans* to their assistance, and the other party the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. Hereon the *Lacedæmonians* set forth a great army under the command of *Agésilas*, to help that party which they favoured, and the *Thebans* another under the command of *Epaminondas* to support the other party, which produced the famous battle of *Mantineæ*, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* lost the victory, and the *Thebans* their general *Epaminondas*, which was the greater loss of the two. For with him all the vigour of the *Theban* state expired, and they never more signified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore soon after this battle both parties, and with them all the rest of the *Grecian* states, came to a general peace among themselves, and the *Messenians*, notwithstanding what the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the King of *Persia*.

^b Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.^c Numb. xxviii. 11.^d Numb. xxviii. 16--24.^e Levit. xxiii. 12.^f Levit. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27.^g Numb. xxix. 2.^h Numb. xxix. 8.ⁱ Numb. xxix. 13, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32.^k Numb. xxix. 36.^l *Historia Sacra & Exotica* sub A. M. 3639.^m *Plutarchus* in *Agésilao*. *Diodor. Sic.**lib. 15. p. 501, 502. Cornelius Nepos* in *Epaminonda*.

WHILE these things were doing in *Greece*, *Tachos* succeeded *Neftanabis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and gathered together all the strength he could, to defend himself in it against the King of *Persia*, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

An. 362.
Artaxerxes 43.

AND to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedemonians* to aid him with a good number of their forces under the command of *Agésilas*. For the *Lacedemonians* being angry, that *Artaxerxes* had forced them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And *Agésilas*, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, tho' it neither suited his age (which was above eighty) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person, thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous King. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, *Tachos* promised him to make him generalissimo of all his forces; but when he was landed in *Egypt*, and instead of a great and glorious King, which his great actions had represented him to be, the *Egyptians* found him a little old man, ill cloathed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him, and *Tachos* would allow him no other command, but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to *Chabrias* the *Athenian* the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And when he had joined the *Grecian* mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into *Phœnicia*, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and *Agésilas* was forced to attend him thither. But the old *Grecian* King saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in *Egypt*, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But *Tachos* contemning his advice in this particular, and flighting him in most things else, this so far alienated *Agésilas* from him, that when in his absence in *Phœnicia*, the *Egyptians* revolted from him, and set up *Neftanebus* his kinsman to be King in his stead, *Agésilas* joined with the revolters, and drove *Tachos* out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to *Sidon*, and from thence went to the *Persian* court. *Plutarch* condemns *Agésilas* as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. *Agésilas*'s excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the *Egyptians*, and that therefore the *Egyptians* having armed against *Tachos*, he could not fight against them, unless he had new instructions from *Lacedæmon*; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that *Agésilas* should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his countrey; whereon *Agésilas* going over to *Neftanebus*, *Tachos* was forced to make his flight out of *Egypt*, in the manner as hath been related.

^a Cornelius Nepos & Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504.

^b Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos & Diodor. *ibid*.

AND he was no sooner gone, ^p but another from among the *Mendesians* An. 361. Artaxerxes 44. did set up in his stead against *Neftanebus*, and got together an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions: *Agefilaus's* advice to *Neftanebus* was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But *Neftanebus* mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that *Agefilaus* intended to betray him, as he had *Tachos* before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim, his adversary having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him, whereon he was forced to coop himself up with all his forces in one of his towns, and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. *Neftanebus* seeing the danger, would then have had *Agefilaus* engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do, which encreased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round, as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up their army in, then *Agefilaus* told *Neftanebus*, that this was his only time to fall on, that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed, and that the gap which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battel; whereon an engagement ensuing the besiegers were put to the rout, and after this *Agefilaus* managed the rest of the war with that success, that he every where vanquished the other King, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon having settled *Neftanebus* in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the *African* shore, at a place called the haven of *Menelaus*, he there sickned and died, being full eighty four years old.

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes* great disturbances An. 360. Artaxerxes 45. grew in the *Persian* court, which ^q were occasioned by the contention of his sons, in making parties among the nobility about the succession. For he had an hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his Queen; the names of the latter were *Darius*, *Ariaspes* and *Ochus*. For the stilling of these commotions, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* the eldest of them to be his successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of King, and wear the ^r royal *Tiara* even in his life-time. But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the King's concubines, which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew in fifty of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by *Tiribazus*, whose name hath been often above-mentioned. *Artaxerxes* had promised him one of his daughters, but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also; such abominable incest was in those times allowed in *Persia*, by the religion which they then pro-

^p Plutarchus in *Agefilao*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Justin. lib. 10. cap. 1, 2.

^q Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. Ctesias. ^r This *Tiara* was a turban or cap with the peke upright. For the seven counsellors wore their turbans with the peke forward, all others with the peke backward, excepting the King, who wore it always with the peke upright.

felled. These two disappointments greatly discontenting *Tiribazus*, and provoking his resentments against the King for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being discovered, *Darius* was cut off in such manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him.

An. 359.
Artaxerxes 46.

AFTER the death of *Darius*,^f the same contention was again revived, which was in the *Persian* court before his being declared King, three of his surviving brothers in the same manner making parties for the succession. These were *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arfames*; the two former being the King's sons by his Queen, claimed as the lawful heirs, but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the most beloved of the three, tho' born to him only by one of his concubines. But the restless ambition of *Ochus* prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and the worst of means. For *Ariaspes* being an easy and credulous prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he suborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But *Arfames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments, the worthiest of the throne, to remove this obstacle, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old King with grief, that being now ninety four years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice, and therefore being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it; which *Ochus* being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with him on his succeeding, (the death of his two brothers having rendered the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill affected to him) for the avoiding of the inconveniencies which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead King, to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders, and sealing decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive, in one of those decrees he caused himself, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed King through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully established, he owned his father's death, and openly ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*; but by the name of *Ochus* is he mostly spoken of in history.

An. 358.
Ochus 1.

BUT this artifice had not that full success which he proposed. For as soon as it was known that the old King was dead, and that *Ochus* had taken possession of the throne,^w all *lesser Asia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, and several other provinces of the empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him, which very much distressed him. For hereby one half of

^f Ctesias & Plutarchus, *ibid.*

^w Polyænus *Stratagem*, lib. 7.

^f Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.

^w Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504, 505, 506.

the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they continu'd firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, e'er those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the King. The provinces of *lesser Asia*, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose *Orontes* governor of *Mysia* for their common head, and having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the King that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And *Rheomithres*, another prime leader in this revolt in *lesser Asia*, being sent from thence into *Egypt*, to gain succours in that kingdom for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery. For on his return with five hundred talents, and fifty ships of war, having called together at *Leucas*, a city in *lesser Asia*, several of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the King by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatned the *Persian* empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and *Ochus* became settled in the throne much firmer than he deserved. For he was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in *Persia*, which his actions soon made appear. For he had not been long on the throne e'er he fill'd the palace, and all parts of the empire, with a great number of murders. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance, * he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood. For he caused *Ocha*, his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter) to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of *Sisigambis* the mother of *Darius Codomannus*. For *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* slew eighty of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire, of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill affected towards him. *Diodorus Siculus* placeth this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but he being a prince, whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But *Ochus* giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather choien here to place it. For his ill disposi-

* Justin, lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Quintus Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8.

† Lib. 10. cap. 8.

tions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man and refuse their submission to him. And he having taken the name of *Artaxerxes*, this might lead *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quash'd by the means I have mentioned. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having seized also *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is nowhere clearly expressed. But by what is written of him by ^a *Cornelius Nepos*, and ^a *Polyænus*, it appears he maintained himself in both these provinces, in rebellion against the King of *Persia* a long while; and it was not till the time of *Ochus*, and some years after he had been King, that he was by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his confidants, at length cut off.

An. 356.
Ochus 3.

IN the first year of the hundred and sixth olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, *Alexander the Great*, who overthrew the *Persian* empire, was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*. ^b *Plutarch* and ^c *Justin* tell us, that at the time of his birth, King *Philip* his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse-race at the olympick games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And ^d *Arrian* telling us out of *Aristobulus* (who accompanied *Alexander* in all his expeditions) that he dyed in the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, in the year when *Hegesias* was archon of *Athens*, (which was the first year of that olympiad) after having lived thirty two years and eight months, these thirty two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, and the Month *Desius*, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But ^e *Eusebius*, and the ^f *Parian* chronicle, place it one year later, that is, in the second year of the said one hundred and sixth Olympiad. On the same day in which he was born, ^g the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was designedly burnt by one ^h *Erostratus*; when he was put upon the rack, to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by destroying so excellent a work he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembred in after-ages. Whereon the common council of *Asia* made a decree, that no one should ever name him; but this made him so much the more remembred; so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians, that have written of those times.

ARTABAZUS, governor of one of the *Asian* provinces, ⁱ being in rebellion against the King, drew *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him, with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and by this assistance overthrew an army of seventy thousand of the King's forces which were sent to reduce him; for the reward of which service, *Artabazus* gave unto *Chares* as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the King, and the *Athenians* being then

^a In vita Datamis.

^b Stratagem, lib. 7.

^c In vita Alexandri.

^d Lib. 12. c. 16.

^e Lib. 7.

^f In Chronico, p. 175.

^g Marm. Oxon.

^h Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cicero de natura deorum, lib. 2. & de divinatione, lib. 1.

ⁱ Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, cap. 40.

^j Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528.

engaged in a war against the *Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines*, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the King to be revenged of them was preparing a fleet of three hundred sail, to help their enemies in this war. Whereon the *Athenians* not only recalled *Chares*, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that thereby being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

ARTABAZUS therefore being thus deserted by the *Athenians*,^k applied himself to the *Thebans*, from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries, to the number of five thousand men, under the command of *Pammenes*, he did by their assistance gain two great victories over the King's forces, which redounded much to the honour of the *Thebans*, and their general that commanded in this expedition.

ABOUT the same time^l hapned the death of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, which was rendered famous by the great grief which^m *Artemisia* (who was both his sister and his wife) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead Husband, and in two years time pined her self to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died she took care for the erecting of that famousⁿ monument for him at *Halicarnassus*, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called *Mausoleums*.

As *Artemisia* succeeded *Mausolus* in the kingdom, so on her death she was succeeded by^o *Idrieus* her brother, who married *Ada* his sister, in the same manner as *Mausolus* had married *Artemisia*; it being usual for the *Carian* Kings to marry their sisters, and for those sisters on the death of their husbands to succeed them in the kingdom before their brothers or children.

THE^p *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed, and ill used by those whom the King of *Persia* had set over them, revolted from him, and entred into confederacy with *Neftanebus* King of *Egypt* against him. The *Persians* had long waged war with *Neftanebus*, in order to reduce *Egypt* again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter *Egypt*, but through *Phœnicia*, the revolt of that countrey hapned very opportune for him; and therefore to encourage them to stand out in it he sent *Mentor the Rhodian*, with four thousand of the *Grecian* mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnicia* a barrier to *Egypt*, and there keep the war out of his own countrey. The *Phœnicians*, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and by their assistance overthrew the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, two of the King's lieutenants, that were sent to reduce them, and drove the *Persians* wholly out of *Phœnicia*.

^k Diodor. *ibid.*

^l Diodor. *Sic.* lib. 16. p. 529. Plinius, lib. 36. c. 5. & 6.

^m Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18.

ⁿ Cicero *Tusc.*

Quæst. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656. A. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. Pausanias in *Arcadicis*.

^o Diodor. *Sic.* lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian de *expeditione Alexandri*, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.

^p Diodor. *Sic.* lib. 16. p. 531, 532, & 533.

THE *Cyprians* being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians* ^a to revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same confederacy. Hereon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idrieus* King of *Caria* to make war upon them, who having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand *Grecian* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *Euagoras*, to invade that island; who having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces, which came to them from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land. Another *Euagoras* had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and ^c this *Euagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war begun, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the countrey, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had then ^b nine chief cities, and each of them had its King, but subject to the King of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the *Persian* yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

OCHUS finding his wars with the *Egyptians* to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, ^d resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into *Phœnicia*. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon* with the *Grecian* mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with *Egypt*, where through his knowledge of the countrey he was enabled to do him great services. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage *Mentor* in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from *Ochus* as he desired, engaged *Tennes* King of *Sidon* into the same treason, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* into his hands. The *Sidonians*, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burnt all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their countrey. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children; and *Tennes* escaped not any better than the rest. For *Ochus*, after he had thus subdued *Sidon*, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also, which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his countrey to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet the like fate. There

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

^b This being a petty prince was subject to the King of Persia, and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.

^c Vide Isocratem in Nicocle & Euagora, & Usserii Annales ad A. M. 3639. & 3654.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, &c.

^f Diodor. Sic.

were vast riches of gold and silver in *Sidon* when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, *Ochus* sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city frightening the rest of the *Phœnicians*, they all submitted, and made their peace with the King, upon the best terms they could. And *Ochus* was the willinger to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon *Egypt*.

BUT before he marched thither, * he was recruited with ten thousand mercenaries, which were sent him out of *Greece*. For in the beginning of this expedition, *Ochus* had sent thither for auxiliaries. The *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the *Persian* ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the King, but could not send him any succours at that time. But the *Thebans* sent him a thousand men under the command of *Nicostratus*. The rest came from the *Grecian* cities of *Asia*, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of *Sidon*.

THE *Jews* seem to have been engaged in this war of the *Phœnicians* against *Ochus*. For * after he had taken *Sidon* he marched into *Judea*, and besieged and took *Jericho*, and making many of the *Jews* captives, he led part of them with him into *Egypt*, and sent a great number of others into *Hyrkania*, and there planted them on those parts of that country, which lay on the *Caspian* sea.

OCHUS at the same time also got rid of the *Cyprian* war: For having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of *Egypt*, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment, † he was content to come to a composition with the nine *Cyprian* Kings, and therefore having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composure, was to content *Euagoras*, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of *Salamine*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, *Protagoras* was continued at *Salamine*, and amends was made *Euagoras*, by conferring on him the government of another place. But having there run into the same misdemeanours which he had been guilty of at *Salamine*, he was ejected thence also, whereon being forced to flee into *Cyprus*, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

CYPRUS, as well as *Phœnicia*, being thus wholly reduced, and settled ^{An. 350.} again in peace, ‡ *Ochus* set forward for the *Egyptian* expedition. In his ^{Ochus 9.} way he lost many of his men at the lake of *Serbonis*. This lake lay in the entrance into *Egypt* from *Phœnicia*, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land, but if any went on upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of *Ochus's* men, as for want of good

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533.

* Solinus, cap. 35. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256.

Orosius, lib. 31. cap. 7. Josephus ex Hecateo, lib. 1. Contra Apionem. Eusebius in Chronico.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534, 535.

guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which have been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in *Egypt* he planted his camp near *Pelusium*, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the countrey, setting a *Grecian* and a *Persian* in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionian*; over the second *Nicostratus* the *Argive*, and *Aristazanes*; and over the third *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. To each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses, and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, *Nectanebus* having sufficient notice from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of an hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were mercenaries out of *Greece*, and twenty thousand out of *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes, through which the enemy was to enter into the countrey. The first of *Ochus's* detachments, under the command of *Lachares*, fate down before *Pelusium*, which was garrison'd with five thousand *Greeks*. While this siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* having put his detachment on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up through one of the channels of the *Nile*, into the heart of the countrey, and having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of *Clinius* a *Grecian* of the island of *Cos*, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battel between them, in which *Clinius* with above five thousand of his men being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon *Nectanebus*, fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the river with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his countrey open, which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the *Grecians* who garrison'd *Pelusium* heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into *Greece*, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and without any opposition took in all that part of the countrey. For having given it out through all his camp, that *Ochus* had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the *Sidonians*, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the countrey; who accordingly returning to their respective cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by *Ochus*, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed; this so frightened the garrisons through all the countrey, that in every city both *Greeks* and *Egyptians* were at strife, which of them should first yield to the invader; which *Nectanebus* perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself, and therefore gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into *Ethiopia*, and never again returned.

And

And this was the last *Egyptian* that ever reigned in this countrey, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers, according ^a to the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, which hath been already taken notice of. *Ochus* having thus made an absolute conquest of *Egypt*, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving *Pherendates*, one of his nobles, governor of the countrey. And here ^b *Manetho* endeth his commentaries, which he wrote of the *Egyptian* affairs. He was a priest of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, and wrote in the ^c *Greek* language an history of all the several *Dynasties* of *Egypt*, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and others; an epitome whereof is preserved in *Syncellus*. He lived in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; for to him he dedicates his book.

THE chief cause of *Nectanebus*'s losing of his kingdom, ^d was his overconfidence in himself. He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of *Agefilaus*, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of *Diaphantus* an *Athenian*, and *Lamius* a *Spartan*, who managing his wars, and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious against the *Persians*, in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruin'd for want of it.

OCHUS having thus mastered this war, and recovered *Phœnicia* and *Egypt* again to his crown, he ^e nobly rewarded the service of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*. The other *Greeks* he had sent back into their countrey, with ample rewards, before he left *Egypt*; but the success of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he not only gave him an hundred talents, with many other valuable gifts, but also made him governor of all the *Asiatic* coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the war, which he still had with some of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts. *Mentor* having thus gained so great a share in the favour of *Ochus*, he ^f made use of it to reconcile unto him *Memnon* his brother, and *Artabazus* who had married their sister. For they had both been in war against him. Of the revolt of *Artabazus*, and the several victories which he had gained over the King's forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and *Memnon*, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same banishment. After this reconciliation they both became very serviceable to *Ochus*, and his successors of that race, especially *Memnon*, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And *Mentor* was not wanting in answering that confidence which the King had placed in him. For when settled in his province, he soon restored the King's authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wise-

^{4n. 349}
Ochus
^{10.}

^a Chap. xxix. ver. 14, 15.
Græcis, cap. 14.

^b *Syncellus*, p. 256.

^d *Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535.*

^e Vide *Vossium de historicis*
^f *Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537.*

^f *Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538.*

ly managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-established the King's affairs in all those provinces.

An. 348
Ochus
11.

IN ^e the first year of the hundred and eighth olympiad, died *Plato*, the famous *Athenian* philosopher. The eminentest of his scholars was *Aristotle*, the founder of the peripatetic philosophy. He ^h was by birth of *Stagira*, a small city on the river *Strymon*, in the northern confines of *Macedonia*. He was born in the first year of the ninety ninth olympiad, (which was the year before *Christ* 384.) At the age of seventeen he came to *Athens*, and became one of the scholars of *Plato*, and heard him till his death. *Speusippus* succeeding *Plato* in his school, *Aristotle* went into *Asia* to *Hermias* the eunuch, who was King of *Atarna* a city of *Mysia*, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length *Hermias* being circumvented, and drawn into a snare by *Mentor the Rhodian*, who commanded for *Ochus* in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the *Persian* court, where he was put to death. Hereon *Aristotle* fled to *Mitylene*, and from thence went into *Macedonia*, and became præceptor to *Alexander the Great*, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to *Athens*, and there taught the peripatetic philosophy in the *Lyceum* twelve years. But being accused of holding some notions, contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a tryal for fear of *Socrates's* fate, he withdrew to *Chalcis* a town in *Eubæa*, and there died about two years after, being then sixty three years old. While he lived with *Hermias* in *Asia*, ⁱ he there fell acquainted with a *Jew* of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and goodness; who came thither from the upper parts of *Asia* upon some business, which he had on those maritime coasts, and having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This *Josephus* tells us from a book written by *Clearchus*, who was one of the chiefest of *Aristotle's* scholars. And from what he then learned from this *Jew*, it's most likely proceeded what *Aristobolus*, ^k and out of him *Clemens Alexandrinus*, have observed of *Aristotle's* philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by *Moses* and the prophets in the scriptures of the *Old Testament*.

An. 347.
Ochus
12.

OCHUS, after he had subdued *Egypt*, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure; ^l and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of which were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor the Rhodian*; who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower.

An. 341.
Ochus
18.

JOHANAN, high-priest of the *Jews*, died in the eighteenth year of *Ochus*, after he had been in that office ^m thirty two years, and was succeeded ⁿ by *Jaddua* his son, who held it twenty years.

An. 338.
Ochus
21.

OCHUS died after he had reigned ^o one and twenty years, being ^p poisoned by *Bagoas* the eunuch. This eunuch being an *Egyptian* by

^e Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnassensis in epistola ad Ammæum de Demosthene. Athenæus, lib. 5. c. 13. ^h Diogenes Laertius in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's account of the life of Aristotle, in his history of philosophy. ⁱ Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

^k In libro 5^{to} Stromatum. ^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537. ^m Chronicon Alexandrinum. ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7. ^o Can. Ptol. ^p Diodor. Sic.

lib. 17. p. 564.

birth, had a love for his countrey, and a zeal for his countrey religion, and thought to have influenced *Ochus* in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but not being able to over-rule the brutal ferity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them, which he deeply resented ever after. For *Ochus*, on his conquering of *Egypt*, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples, (as hath been already mentioned) but also ^a carried away all their publick records, (which were repositied and kept with great sacredness in their temples) and in contempt of their religion flew their god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull which they worshipped under that name. For *Ochus* being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity, as he was for his cruelty, the *Egyptians* for this reason nick-named him *the ass*; which angered him so far, that he caused their *Apis* to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast, to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended *Bagoas*. The records he afterwards redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented, and it is said that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but ^b having caused another body to be buried instead of his, he kept the true carcass, and in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their *Apis* to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

AFTER the death of *Ochus*, *Bagoas*, who had now the whole power ^{An. 337.} of the empire in his hands, ^{Arfes 1.} made *Arfes*, the youngest of his sons, King in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that by thus removing all rivals, he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the name of King was all that he allowed to *Arfes*, the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself.

PHILIP King of *Macedon*, ^c having overthrown the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, in a great battel at *Cheronea*, made himself thereby in a manner lord of all *Greece*; and therefore ^d calling together at *Corinth* an assembly of all the *Grecian* cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all *Greece*, for the carrying on of a war against the *Persians*, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition.

AND the next year after ^e he sent *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, ^{An. 336.} three of his chiefest captains, into *Asia* to begin the war, purposing soon ^{Arfes 2} after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the *Persian* empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he ^f was slain at home, while he was celebrating the

^a Diodor. lib. 16. p. 537.

cap. 8. Suidas in $\Omega\chi\Theta$.

lib. 17. p. 564.

Justin, lib. 9. cap. 3.

^x Justin & Diodor. ibid.

^r Severus Sulpitius, lib. 2. *Æliani varia historia*, lib. 4.

^r *Æliani varia historia*, lib. 6. c. 8.

^r Diodor. Sic.

^v Plutarchus in *Demosthene & Phocione*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 555.

^w Justin, lib. 9. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 557.

^y Justin, lib. 9. cap. 6. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558, 559.

marriage of *Cleopatra* his daughter with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. *Pausanias*, a young noble *Macedonian*, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and sodomitically abused by *Attalus*, the chief of the King's confidants, he had often complained to *Philip* of the injury, but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury, upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities, whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It ^z is observed by *Diodorus*, that in this solemnity, the images of the twelve gods and goddesses being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was succeeded by *Alexander* his son, being then twenty years old.

ABOUT the same time, *Arfes* King of *Persia* ^a was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For *Bagoas* finding that *Arfes* began to be apprized of all his villanies and treasons, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and all his family.

Ar. 335.
Darius 1.

AFTER *Bagoas* had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of *Arfes*, he placed on it ^b *Darius*, the third of that name that reigned in *Persia*. His true name was *Codomannus*; that of *Darius* he took afterwards, when he came to be King. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any King that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal seed, as descended from *Darius Nothus*. For that *Darius* had a son called *Ostanes*, of whom mention is made in ^c *Plutarch*, and he had a son called ^d *Arfanes*, who marrying *Sysigambis* his sister, was by her the father of *Codomannus*. This *Ostanes*, *Ochus* ^e put to death on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said; only it is to be observed, that in the former part of *Ochus's* reign he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an ^f *Astanda*, that is, one of the publick posts or couriers, that carried the royal dispatches thorough the empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner, as there is a post-master in *England*, and a chaous-bashee at *Constantinople*, over all the rest of that order and employment, (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which *Ochus* had with the *Cadusians*, toward the latter end of his reign, a ^g bold champion of that nation having challenged the whole *Persian* army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and *Codomannus* having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the *Cadusian*, for the reward of this action he was made governor of *Armenia*, and from thence, after the death of *Arfes*, by the means of *Bagoas*, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, e'er *Bagoas*, finding that he was not one that would

^z Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558.

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^b Diodor. ibid.

^c In Artaxerxe.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^e Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5.

^f Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri & in vita ejusdem.
lib. 10. cap. 3.

^g Diodor. ibid. Justin,

answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name, (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor, and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But ^a *Darius* being advised of the design, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The character given of him is, that he was for his stature and the make of his body the goodliest person in the whole *Persian* empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous. But having the good fortune of *Alexander* to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, soon after his father's death, ⁱ having called the general council of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet again at *Corinth*, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command, which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the *Persians*, and all excepting the *Lacedæmonians* consented hereto. But the war which *Alexander* had with the *Illyrians* and *Triballians* calling him north, as far as the river *Danube*, in his absence the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and some other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But *Alexander* returning conqueror from his northern war, soon brake this league. For ^k passing the streights of *Thermopylae* with his victorious army he terrified the *Athenians* into a submission, and several other cities following their example made their peace with him, only the *Thebans* stood out; whereon *Alexander* laying siege to their city took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying ninety thousand of the inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of thirty thousand more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all *Greece*, as brought all to submit. So that in a second council which he called at *Corinth*, he was again chosen captain-general of all *Greece* against the *Persians* by an universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota both of men and money for the carrying on of the war.

HEREON *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia*, and having by the next ^{An. 334.} spring there gotten his forces together, marched ^{Darius 2.} ^l with them to *Sestus*, and there passed the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. And with so small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole *Persian* empire, and added *India* also to his acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this undertaking was, that he set out on it only with ^m seventy talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for thirty days. For the rest he wholly cast himself upon providence, and providence did not fall him herein. For within a few days after having encountered the *Persian* army at the river *Granicus*, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five times his number, which

^a Diodor. *ibid.*

ⁱ Justin, lib. 11. cap. 2. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^k Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, 567, &c.

^l Arrian, lib. 1. Plutarchus in *Alexandro*.

^m At the highest reckoning it comes to no more

than 14437 l. 10 s. of our Money.

put him in possession not only of *Darius's* treasure at *Sardis*, but also of all the provinces of *Lesser Asia*. For immediately all the *Grecian* cities in those parts declared for him, and after that several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year.

BEFORE he went into winter quarters, " he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into *Macedonia*, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the *Jewish* law, (*Deut.* xxiv. 5.) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it's most likely *Aristotle* learnt it from the *Jew* he so much conversed with while in *Asia*, and approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to *Alexander* while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.

THE next ° year after, in the beginning of the spring, he reduced *Phrygia* under his obedience, and after that *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.

IN the ° interim *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which *Memnon* the *Rhodian* then gave him, was to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in. For he would be sure there to have the *Lacedæmonians*, and several other of the *Grecian* states, who maligned the *Macedonian* power, to join with him, which would soon have brought back *Alexander* out of *Asia* to defend his own country. *Darius* being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making *Memnon* admiral of his fleet, and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition, and he could not have made a better choice. For he was the wisest man, and the ablest general that *Darius* had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the *Persian* Interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of *Granicus*, and had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there hapned would have been avoided. For his advice was, not then to have hazarded battle, but to have desolated the country through which the *Macedonians* were to march; and had this been followed, *Alexander* would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued, which opened the way to the ruine of the *Persian* empire. However he did not desert *Darius's* interest on the misfortune of that day; but having gathered up the remains of the *Persian* army, retreated with them first to *Miletus*, and from thence to *Halicarnassus*, and lastly to the isle of *Cos*, where *Darius's* commission and the *Persian* fleet meeting him, he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto he took in *Chios* and all *Lesbus*, except *Mitylene*, purposing next

° Arrian, lib. 1.
Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

° Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian, lib. 1.

to pass into *Eubœa*, and from thence to have made *Greece* and *Macedonia* the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruine of that design, and the ruine of the *Persian* empire was the consequence of it. For *Darius* having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore having nothing now to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, he drew them all together at *Babylon*, to the number, saith *Plutarch*, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which *Alexander* hearing of, made haste through *Cilicia* to take possession of the streights which led from that countrey into *Syria*, purposing there to expect and fight the *Persian* army. For within those streights there not being room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battel array, the *Macedonians* could there bring all their men to fight, and the *Persians* scarce the twentieth part of theirs, and therefore should it there come to a battel, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the *Greeks* who followed *Darius*, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of *Mesopotamia*, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battel; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice. For he was made believe that *Alexander* was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him while entangled in those streights, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew *Darius* to fight in those streights, where being able to extend his front no longer than the *Macedonians*, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole *Persian* army into disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout, and the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes, being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight, but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children, (which according to the usage of the *Persian* Kings were carried with him in the campaign) fell into the enemies hands, and above an hundred thousand *Persians* were left dead upon the field of battel. This battel was fought at *Issus* in *Cilicia* towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our *November*, and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of *Alexander* was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all *Syria* to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was *Damascus*. Thither *Darius* before the battel had sent his

^r Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian, lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

treasure,

treasure, and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All these, with the town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of *Darius*, betrayed unto *Alexander*, and *Parmenio* was sent to take possession of the place; where besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty nine of *Darius's* concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives and daughters of the principal nobility of *Persia*, whom he made all captives. And among them was *Barsena* the Widow of *Memnon*, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of *Alexander*, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his bed had a son by her called *Hercules*, who at the age of seventeen being called for by the *Macedonians* to be their King, was murdered by the treachery of *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* to prevent it.

WHILE *Parmenio* took in *Damascus* and *Cæle-Syria*,¹ *Alexander* marched with the main of his army along the sea coasts towards *Phœnicia*. As he advanced all yielded to him, and none more readily than the *Sidonians*. Eighteen years before *Ochus* had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into *Persia*, those who by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned, and again built their city. But ever after detesting the *Persians* for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to *Alexander* on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to *Tyre*, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the *Tyrians* sent ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army; but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as a master, when he would have entered their city, they denied him admittance; which *Alexander*, now flush'd with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they on the other hand resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it upon the brink of the sea of one hundred and fifty foot in height; and the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave *Alexander* no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it. For the city being so situated, (as I have said) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

An. 332.
Darius 4.

AND therefore having resolved at any rate to take that city, he resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished with unwearied labour in seven months time, and by means thereof at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have con-

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 2. Joseph. lib. 11. cap. 8. Justin. lib. 11.

duced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success every where else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application at last carried his point. To make this bank, or causey, the town of old *Tyre*, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish, (for he pulled it all down for this purpose) and mount *Libanus*, which is so famous in scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank, or causey, is there still remaining, even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile, whereby what was formerly an island, at that distance from the shore, was thenceforth made a *Peninsula*, and so it hath ever since continued.

THE *Carthaginians* having troubles at home, the *Tyrians* could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore when *Alexander* sent to them ambassadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to *Carthage*. They had in their city a brazen statue, or *Colossus* of *Apollo*, of a great height: This formerly belonging to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* having taken *Gela* in the year 405, sent it to *Tyre* their mother-city, where it was set up and worshipped by the *Tyrians*. During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had to this purpose, that *Apollo* was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*; for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destined them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of *Tyre* by *Isaiah* (chap. xxiii.) and by *Ezekiel* (chap. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.) was in part verified in the destruction of that city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For *Nebuchadnezzar's* devastation reached no farther than old *Tyre*, those who were in the island escaped that ruine. But the desolation of both is plainly threatned in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island, as well as that which was on the continent, and this *Alexander* only effected. Old *Tyre* he wholly demolished to make his causey to the new, by the means of which having taken that new town, he burnt it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the inhabitants. Eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the town, and two thousand of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to *Carthage* escaped this ruine, and a great number were saved by the *Sidonians*, and secretly conveyed away in their ships on the taking of the

* See Maundrel's journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48, 49, 50.

lib. 13. p. 390.

thousand.

* The number of those who were thus saved, Curtius tells us, were fifteen

† Diodor. Sic.

place; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves. The cruelty to the two thousand who were crucified, was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This *Alexander* did to gratifie his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted; but afterwards, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them for their murdering their masters, and that being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story. For some ages before the slaves of *Tyre* having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night, (save only *Strato*, whom his slave secretly saved) and marrying their mistresses continued masters of the town; and from them the present *Tyrians* being descended, *Alexander* pretended thus to revenge on them the murder committed by their progenitors some ages before; and to make it look the more plausible, he saved all the family of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them *Azelmelic* their King, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again re-peopled the place. For having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.

ON his taking this city he unchained *Apollo*, rendred thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to *Hercules*, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days, and then marched towards *Jerusalem*.

FOR the *Tyrians* being wholly given to merchandise, and neglecting husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours, and ^w *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished, *Alexander*, when he sat down before *Tyre*, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters; and therefore sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The *Jews* ^x pleaded their oath to *Darius*, by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, as long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly anger'd *Alexander*, who in the flush of his late victories thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore, as soon as he had done with *Tyre*, he marched against *Jerusalem*, with intention to punish the *Jews* as severely as he had the *Tyrians*, for not obeying his commands. In this distress *Jaddua* the high-priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the *Persians*, being in great perplexity, and all *Jerusalem* with him, they had no other course to take but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore in order hereto, they made their devout addresses to him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God being moved to compassion towards them, directed *Jaddua*, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. *Jaddua*, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with

^v Justin. lib. 18. cap. 3.

^w Acts xii. 20.

^x Joseph. lib. 11. cap. 8.

the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advancing to a place called ¹ *Sapha* (an eminence without *Jerusalem*, which commanded a prospect of all the countrey round, as well as of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*) there waited the coming of *Alexander*, and on his approach met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the King saw the high-priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and hastening forward bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprize of all that attended him, especially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing less than that *Alexander* should have destroyed this people as he had the *Tyrians*; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, *Parmenio* asked the King the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the *Jewish* high-priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the *Persians*, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into *Asia*, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the *Persians*; and that therefore, on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at *Dio*, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly by his assistance conquer *Darius*, and overthrow the *Persian* empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high-priest, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon turning again to *Jaddua*, he kindly embraced him, and entered *Jerusalem* with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where *Jaddua* having shewn him the prophecies of *Daniel*, ² which predicted the overthrow of the *Persian* empire by a *Grecian* King, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendring him kindly affected to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their countrey-laws, and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, *Alexander* readily granted them all this request, which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

¹ It was so called from the Hebrew *Zapha*, which signifyeth to see as from a watch tower, or any other eminence.

² That is, what is written in *Daniel* of the ram and he-goat, chap. viii. where that he-goat is interpreted to be the King of *Græcia*, who should conquer the *Medes* and *Persians*, (ver. 21) and also what is written by the same prophet of the said *Grecian* King, chap. xi. 3. For both these prophecies foretold the destruction of the *Persian* empire by a *Grecian* King.

FOR he was scarce gone out of *Jerusalem*, but ^a he was accosted by the *Samaritans*, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence. These are *Josephus's* words, and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited *Alexander* to, must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the siege of *Tyre*, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him while at that siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of *Tyre* lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to *Jerusalem*. The same *Josephus* indeed tells us, that *Alexander* from *Tyre* went immediately to *Gaza*, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to *Jerusalem*. But herein he must be again ^b mistaken. For *Jerusalem* lying in the way from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, it's by no means likely that *Alexander* should from *Tyre* go directly to *Gaza*, then passing by *Jerusalem*, and afterwards return three or four days march with all his army back again to that city, or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of *Gaza*, while such a city as *Jerusalem* was left untaken behind him: And moreover, all that write of the life and actions of *Alexander* tell us, that from the taking of *Gaza* he went directly into *Egypt*. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progress was from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to *Gaza*, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above-mentioned, for the building of this temple, the siege of *Gaza* lasting no longer, and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the *Jews* refused to obey that summons which *Alexander* sent them from *Tyre* to submit to him, ^c these *Samaritans* readily complied with it, and to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that siege; and valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the *Jews*, and therefore finding how well the *Jews* had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him; and in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the eight thousand *Samaritans* that were in *Alexander's* army joined with them herein. *Alexander* answered them kindly, telling them, that he was hastning into *Egypt*, and had not then time to spare, but that when he should come back again he would comply with their desires, as far as his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon *Alexander* asked them whether they were *Jews*, for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were *Hebrews*, who observing the same law the *Jews* did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having for this reason granted the *Jews* this immunity, they desired of him, that having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. *Alexander* not being then at leisure to make full enquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to *Gaza*.

^a Joseph. ibid.^b Vide Usserii annales sub anno mundi 3673.^c Joseph. ibid.

ON his arrival at that city, ^d he found it strongly garrison'd under one of *Darius's* eunuchs, named *Betis*, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigor and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost *Alexander* and all his army two months time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that on his taking the place, he treated the commander, and all else that he found in it, with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery; and when *Betis* was brought to him, (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn thorough them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* hath it, thus dragged *Hector* round the walls of *Troy*. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation. For it was only *Hector's* dead carcass that *Achilles* dragg'd round *Troy*; but *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master, in the post committed to his charge, which was deserving of reward, even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and *Alexander* would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of *Homer*, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror having the *Iliads* of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore finding *Achilles* to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after-ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he liv'd. But the folly of mankind, and the error of historians is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums, and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's countrey, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapin, and every one is to be detested as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those are only true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries,

^d Joseph. *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Alexandro.* Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Arrian, lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war, are the scourges of God, the *Attila's* of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought as such to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who having broke through treaties, leagues and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturb'd, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as *Alexander* had finished the siege of *Gaza*, and settled a garrison there, he * marched directly for *Egypt*, and on the seventh day after arrived at *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of the *Egyptians*, who thither flocked to him, to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him. For their hatred to the *Persians* was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity, with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad soever any religion may be (and a worse than that of the *Egyptians* could scarce any where be contrived) yet as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it, and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis* in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them or their religion; and the *Persians*, whom he left to govern the countrey, carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner, which raised their indignation against them to so great an height, that when *Amyntas* came thither a little before but with an handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the *Persians* out of the countrey. This *Amyntas* having revolted from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the mercenary *Greeks* at the battel of *Iffus*, † from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, and seized that place. For coming thither under pretence of a commission from *Darius* to be governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Sabaces* the former governor, who was slain at *Iffus*, he by this means got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* thence; and great numbers of the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for *Memphis*, the capital of that kingdom; and in the first battel which he had with the *Persians* he got the victory, and shut

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

† Arrian, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 587, 588.

them

them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, *Amyntas* permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the countrey, the *Persians* took the advantage of falling upon them while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and *Amyntas* with them. However this did not quell the aversion which the *Egyptians* bore the *Persians*, but rather encreased it. So that when *Alexander* enter'd that countrey, he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the countrey, and make their submission to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from *Amyntas*, and therefore on his approach, they immediately, without reserve, all declared for him; whereon *Mazeus*, who commanded at *Memphis* for *Darius*, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a power, submitted also, and opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him, whereby without any farther opposition he became forthwith master of the whole countrey.

FROM *Memphis* he projected a journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was situated among the sands and desarts of *Libya*, at the distance of two hundred miles from *Egypt*. For ^e *Ham* the son of *Noah*, as he was the first planter of *Egypt* and *Libya* after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles breadth of firm land among those desarts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the *Greeks* called *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptians*, *Ammon*. And hence it is, that the city in *Egypt* which the scriptures call ^a *No Ammon*, (that is, the city of *Ham* or *Ammon*) is by the *Greeks* called *Diospolis*, (that is, the city of *Jupiter*.) After-times did put the *Egyptian* name and the *Greek* name both together, and called him *Jupiter Hammon*. *Alexander's* journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and according to the religion of those times altogether as impious. For finding in *Homer*, and other fables of ancient times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other; and aiming to be celebrated an hero as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also, and having chosen *Jupiter Hammon* to be his father in this farce, he sent messengers before to corrupt the priests, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

IN his way thither ^k observing a place over-against the island of *Pharus* on the sea coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built *Alexandria*, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom. For it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the *Nile* and the red-sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the east and the west, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out

^e Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1. ^h Jerem. xlv. 25. Ezek. xxx. 25. Nahum. iii. 8.
ⁱ Justin, lib. 11. cap. 11. Orosius, lib. 3. cap. 16. ^k Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4.
 cap. 8. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 590.

of a way to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, it is¹ now degenerated into a poor village, by the *Turks* called *Scandaria*, remarkable for nothing else, but that it still shews some of the ruins of what it anciently was. *Alexander* in the building of this city made use^m of *Denocrates* for his architect, whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which had been burnt by *Erostratus*; and having by his advice drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. It was from thence at the distance of sixteen hundred furlongs, (that is, two hundred of our miles) and most of the way was through sandy deserts, in which he did run two great hazards, the first of being over-whelmed by the sands, and the other of perishing for want of water. By the former *Cambyfes* lost an army of fifty thousand men in these deserts, (as hath been above related) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over, had not providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them for the bringing to pass of those events which he was designed for. Having on his coming to the temple there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being *Jupiter's* son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth in all his letters, orders and decrees, stiled himself *King Alexander Son of Jupiter Hammon*, giving it out, that this god begot him on *Olympias* his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to affect the being thought a god himself, till in the conclusion, when providence had no more for him to do, his death shewed him to be a mortal like other men.

IN his return he came again to *Alexandria*, andⁿ took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the *Jews*, to whom he gave^o great privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the *Macedonians* themselves, whom he planted there, and then departing from thence he returned to *Memphis*, and wintered in that place.

IT is remarked by *Varro*, that at the time that *Alexander* built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the use of the *papyrus* for writing on was first found out in that countrey. The *papyrus*^p in its proper signification is a sort of great *bulrush* growing in the marshes of *Egypt* near the *Nile*. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen foot, and is usually a foot

¹ See *Thevenot's Travels*, Part 1. Book 2. Chap. 1, 2.

^m *Plin.* lib. 5. cap. 10. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 22. cap. 16. *Strabo*, lib. 14. p. 641. *Solinus*, cap. 32, 40.

ⁿ *Q. Curtius*, lib. 4. cap. 8.

^o *Josephus contra Apionem*, lib. 2. & *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 36.

^p *Plin.* lib. 12. cap. 13. *Guilandinus de Papyro*. *Panciroli*. Part 2. lit. 13. *Salmuth in eundem*. *Parkinson's Herbal*, Tribe 13. ch. 39.

and half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These when separated and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it, they called also *papyrus*. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the xith and xiith chapters of the thirteenth book of *Pliny's* natural history, and the book entitled, *De Papyro*, which *Guilandinus* hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given us by *Salmasius*, in his comment on the life of *Firmus* in *Vopiscus*, who was one of the writers of the *Historia Augusta*. From this *papyrus* it is, that ^a what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *paper*, though of quite another nature from the ancient *papyrus* of the *Egyptians*. Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. *Pliny* ^r tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm-tree. Afterwards they made use ^f of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose; which inner bark being in *Latin* called *liber*, and in *Greek* βιβλα; from hence a book hath ever since in the *Latin* language being called *liber*, and in the *Greek* βιβλα, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks. And the *Chinese* still make use of such inner barks or rinds of trees to write upon, as some of their books brought into *Europe* plainly shew. Another way made use of among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and which was as ancient as *Homer*, (for he makes mention of it in his poems) was to write ^r on tables of wood covered over with wax. On these they wrote with a bodkin or *style* of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax, and hence it is, that the different ways of mens writings or compositions are called different *styles*. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in *Latin* called ^r *tabellæ*, and the carriers of them ^r *tabellarii*. When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who cutting the string opened and read them. But on ^v the invention of the *Egyptian papyrus* for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded, no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore when ^w *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts of books into it, he caused them to be all copied out on this sort of paper. And it was exported also for the use of other countries, till *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* endeavouring to erect a library at *Pergamus*, which should outdo that at *Alexandria*, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportation of that commodity. For the ^w *Ptolemy* that then reigned in *Egypt*, not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to *Eumenes's* emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *papyrus* out of *Egypt*, thinking that without it he could no farther multiply his books. This put *Eumenes* upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterwards put into his

^a Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

^r Lib. 13. cap. 11.

^f Vide Vossii

Etymologicon in voce *Liber*.

^r Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Tabula*.

^v Vide

Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

^w Plin. lib. 13. cap. 11.

library, and hence ^x it is that parchment is called *pergamena* in *Latin*, that is, from the city *Pergamus* in *lesser Asia*, where it was first used for this purpose among the *Greeks*. For that *Eumenes*, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment, cannot be true; for in ^y *Isaiah*, ^z *Jeremiah*, ^a *Ezekiel*, and other parts of the holy scriptures, many ages before the time of *Eumenes*, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged that the authentic copy of the law, ^b which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, and sent to King *Josiah*, was of this material, none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature as to last from *Moses's* time till then, (which was eight hundred and thirty years.) And it is said by ^c *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Persians* of old wrote all their records on skins. And ^d *Herodotus* tells us of sheeps skins and goats skins, made use of in writing by the ancient *Ionians*, many hundreds of years before *Eumenes's* time. And can any one think that these skins were not dressed, and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the after-times, tho' perchance not so artificially? It's possible *Eumenes* might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at *Pergamus*, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough from *Pergamus* to call them *pergamena*. These are found so useful for records and books, by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have are written in them. But from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags, is that which hath been generally made use of both in writing and printing, as being the most convenient for both, and the use of parchment hath been mostly appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper, Mr. Ray puts very late. For he tells us, ^e in his *Herbal*, that it was not known in *Germany* till the year of our Lord 1470; that then two men, named *Anthony* and *Michael*, brought this art first to *Basil*, out of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, and that from thence it was learnt and brought into use by the rest of the *Germans*. But there must be a mistake in this, there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a book ^f called *Catholicon*, written by *Jacobus de Janua*, a monk, printed on paper at *Mentz* in *Germany*, anno 1460; and therefore the *Germans* must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith. And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several registries within this realm, where the dates of the instruments, or acts registred, prove the time. There is in the bishop's registry, at *Norwich*, a register-book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it begun in *Germany*. And

^x Vid. Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Pergamena*.

^y Chap. viii. 1.

^z Chap. xxxvi.

^a Chap. ii. 9. and Chap. iii. 1, 2, 3.

^b 2 Kings xxii.

^c Chron. xxxiv.

^e Lib. 2. p. 84.

^d Herodot. lib. 5.

^f Lib. 22. cap. 2.

^f This book is in the library collected by

Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely. See the Oxford catalogue of the manuscripts of England and Ireland. Tome 2. part 1. p. 379.

I have seen a registration of some acts of *John Cranden*, prior of *Ely*, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King *Edward II.* that is, *Anno Domini 1320.* This invention seems to have been brought out of the *East.* For most of the old manuscripts in *Arabic*, and the other oriental languages which we have from thence, are written on this sort of paper, and some of them are certainly much ancients, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It's most likely the *Saracens* of *Spain* first brought it out of the *East* into that countrey, of which *Gallicia* being a province, it might from thence, according to *Mr. Ray*, have been first brought into *Germany*; but it must have been much earlier than the time that he says.

PTOLEMY the astronomer, being an *Egyptian*, and a native of *Alexandria*, begins the reign of *Alexander* over the *East*, from the building of this city, and here ends the reign of *Darius* and the *Persian* empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the Time of CHRIST.

BOOK VIII.

An. 331.
 Alexander I.



ALEXANDER, while he wintered at *Memphis*, settled the affairs of *Egypt*. The ^a military command he entrusted only with his *Macedonians*, dividing the countrey into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous countrey into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in *Doloaspes* an *Egyptian*. For his intentions being, that the countrey should still be governed by

^a Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And ^b that the finishing of his new city *Alexandria* (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed *Cleomenes* to be his supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in ^c *Justin* he is said to be the founder of that city. He was ^d of *Naucratis*, a *Grecian* city in *Egypt*, there built by a colony ^e of the *Milesians* in times long before past. *Alexander* did also set him over the tribute of *Arabia*, but being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death. For *Ptolemy*, after he had possessed himself of *Egypt*, finding him plotting against him for the interest of *Perdiccas*, ^f caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of *Alexander's* to him of a very odd nature. For therein commanding him, on the death of *Hephestion*, to build two temples to that favourite, one in *Alexandria*, and the other in the island of *Pharus* adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon, as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, ^g of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance, which providence at length by the hand of *Ptolemy* brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

WHEN *Alexander* had thus disposed of all matters in *Egypt*, the spring drawing on, he hastened towards the east to find out *Darius*. In ^h the way on his returning to *Palestine*, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him. On his going from that countrey into *Egypt*, he had made *Andromachus*, a special favourite of his, governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*; on ⁱ whose coming to *Samaria* to settle some matters there, the *Samaritans* mutinied against him, and rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burnt him to death. This it is supposed they did out of a rage and discontent, that those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the *Jews*; whereas by their services to *Alexander*, especially at the siege of *Tyre*, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. *Alexander* being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the city of *Samaria*, planting there instead of them a colony of his *Macedonians*, and giving ^j their other territories to the *Jews*. Those that survived this calamity, retired to *Shechem* under mount *Gerizim*; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the *Samaritan* sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight thousand *Samaritans* had joined him at *Tyre*, and followed his camp ever since, that they might not on their return revive this mutinous temper of their countrey-men, to the creating of new disturbances, ^k he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest province of *Egypt*, and settled them on such lands, as he there caused to be divided unto them.

^b Arrian & Q. Curtius. *ibid.* Aristotelis *Oeconom.* lib. 2. ^c Justin, lib. 13. c. 4.

^d Arrian, lib. 3.

^e Strabo, lib. 17. p. 801. Stephanus & Suidas in *Naucratic.*

^f Pausanias in Atticis.

^g Arrian, lib. 7.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

Eusebii Chron.

nicon. p. 177. Cedrenus.
lib. 11. cap. 8.

ⁱ Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 2.

^k Joseph. Antiq.

ON *Alexander's* return into *Phœnicia*,¹ he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries, which he was to leave behind him, before he did set forward to acquire more. And when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to *Thapsacus*, and having there passed the *Euphrates*, directed his course towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius*, in the interim, having solicited *Alexander* for peace three several times, and finding by his answers that none was to be expected from him, but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applyed himself to provide for another battel; in order whereto he got together at *Babylon* a numerous army, it being^m by one half bigger, than that with which he fought at *Iffus*, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards *Niniveh*; thither *Alexander* followed after him, and having passed the *Tigris*, got up with him at a small village called *Gaugamela*, where it came to a decisive battel between them, in which *Alexander* with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battel) vanquished the vast army of the *Persians*, which was above twenty times as big; and this in an open plain countrey, without having the advantage of streights to secure his flanks, as in the battel of *Iffus*, and hereby the fate of the *Persian* empire was determined. For none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror, and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that empire, in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the *Persian* Kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the propheciesⁿ of *Daniel* was foretold concerning him. This battel happened in the month of *October*, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battel of *Iffus* two years before, and the place where it was fought was *Gaugamela* in *Assyria*, but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battel from so contemptible a place, but called it the battel of *Arbela*, because that was the next town of any note, tho' it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

DARIUS, after this defeat,^o fled into *Media*, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther tryal of his fortune in another battel. *Alexander* pursued him as far as *Arbela*; but before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treasure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment, after the fatigue of the battel, he marched towards *Babylon*. *Mazeus* was governor of that city, and the province belonging to it, and had been one of *Darius's* generals in the late battel; where after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the *Persians* as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But on *Alexander's* approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him, but going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to

¹ Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^m *Darius had in this battel about eleven hundred thousand men.* ⁿ Dan. vii. 6. and viii. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21. and x. 20. and xi. 3.

^o Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

him ; and *Bagaphanes*, the governor of the castle, where the greatest part of *Darius's* treasure was kept, did the same ; and both acted herein, as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master, and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that city, he continued *Mazæus*, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province, but placing a *Macedonian* in the command of the castle, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched to *Susa*, and from thence after the taking of that city, to *Persepolis*, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at *Persepolis* about the middle of *December*, he gave the city to be sack'd by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities, which in this case use to be acted by soldiers let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to *Greece*, he did this (he said) to execute the revenge of *Greece* upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving *Parmenio* and *Craterus* in the place, with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to *Persepolis* after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

WHILE *Alexander* lay at this place^p he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them, one of which was *Thais* a famous *Athenian* courtesan, and then miss to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to *Alexander* the burning down the city and palace of *Persepolis*, for the revenging of *Greece* upon the *Persians*, especially for the burning of *Athens* by *Xerxes*. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause, and *Alexander* himself, in the heat of his wine running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed, with him at their head, and setting fire to the city and palace, burnt both to the ground ; which *Alexander*, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of, but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, was destroyed by this drunken King, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this of *Persepolis* was such, the ruins of it sufficiently shew, ^q which are still remaining even to this day, at a place called *Chebet-Minar*, near *Shiras* in *Persia*. The name ^r signifieth in the *Persian* language *forty pillars*, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

IN the interim *Darius* being fled to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, ^s there gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of ano-

^p Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 11. ^q See the travels of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin. ^r Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113. ^s Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Curtius, lib. 5.

ther army. But *Alexander* having by the beginning of the spring settled all his affairs in *Persia*, made after him into *Media*. Of this *Darius* having received intelligence left *Ecbatana*, with intentions to march into *Bactria*, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far, ere he altered his purpose. For fearing lest *Alexander* should overtake him before he could reach *Bactria*, he stopp'd his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battel with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men horse and foot. But while he was preparing for it, *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*,¹ another *Persian* nobleman, confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and making him their prisoner put him in chains, and then shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him toward *Bactria*, purposing, if *Alexander* pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war. *Alexander*, on his coming to *Ecbatana*, found *Darius* was gone from thence about eight days before; however, he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to *Rages*, a city of *Media* often mentioned² in *Tobit*, and which was the place where *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Assyria* is said, in the book³ of *Judith*, to have slain *Arphaxad* King of *Media*. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after *Darius* any farther, he staid in this place some days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of *Media*. Of which having made *Oxidates*, a noble *Persian*, governor, he marched into *Parthia*; where having received intelligence of *Darius's* case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him, with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of *Craterus* to follow after him. And after several days hard march, he at last came up with the traitors. Whereon they would have persued *Darius* to mount on horse-back for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him a dying in his cart. *Philistratus*, one of *Alexander's* soldiers, found him in this condition, but he expired before *Alexander* himself came up to him. When he saw his corps he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a spectacle; and having cast his cloke over it, he commanded it to be wrapp'd up therein, and carryed to *Sisigambis* at *Susa*, (where he had left her with the other captive ladies) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying place of the Kings of *Persia*, and allowed the expences necessary for it. And this was the end of this great King, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* two hundred and nine years. After this fact, *Nabarzanes* fled into *Hyrkania*, and *Bessus* into *Bactria*; and there he declared himself King by the name of *Artaxerxes*.

*ALEXANDER*⁴ was not stayed by the death of *Darius* from still pursuing after the traitor *Bessus*, but finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into *Parthia*; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into *Hyrkania*, and received that countrey under his

¹ Chap. i. 14. and iv. 1.

Arrian. Q. Curtius, & Justin, ibidem.

² Chap. i. 15.³ Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic.

subjection

subjection. After that he subdued the *Mardans, Arians, Drangians, Arcausians*, and several other nations; over which he flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of *Darius* of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of *Daniel* some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude ^v of a panther or leopard with four wings: For he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies compared to an ^w he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the King of *Media* and *Persia*, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

WHILE *Alexander* was among the *Drangians*, ^x discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidents, being found to be the head, was put to death for it with all his accomplices. And whether *Alexander* thought *Parmenio* to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to *Ecbatana*, where he had left him with part of his forces to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this *Alexander*, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as mount *Caucasus*, where having built a city, which from his name he called also *Alexandria*, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

EARLY the next spring ^y he made after *Bessus*, and having driven him out of *Bactria*, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into *Sogdiana*, the countrey now called *Cowaresmia*, where he was retired. This province being separated from *Bactria* by the river *Oxus*, which was large and deep, *Bessus's* chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it. For having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought *Alexander* could not possibly get over it to pursue him any farther. But no difficulty being unsurmountable to that conqueror, he found means by stuff'd skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over; whereon *Bessus's* followers despairing of his case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to *Alexander*, who gave him into the hand of *Oxatres* the brother of *Darius*, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his King. For after the death of *Darius* this *Oxatres* sur-

^v Daniel vii. 6. ^w Daniel viii. 5. ^x Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.
Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 7, 8, 9, &c. ^y Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus
in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

rendred himself to *Alexander*, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And *Oxatres* having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

SOGDIANA breeding a great number of horses, ^a *Alexander* came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry. For by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either kill'd or spoiled most of the horses of his army. But notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here, as in other provinces. For he had not now to do with the effeminate *Persians* and *Babylonians*, but with the *Sogdians*, *Dahans*, and *Massagets*, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work, before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the *Caspian* sea, between the river *Oxus* on the south, and the river *Orxantes* on the north; the last of these *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian* call *Tanais* very erroneously. For the river *Tanais* is much more to the west, and dischargeth it self not into the *Caspian* but into the *Euxin* sea, and is the same which we now call the *Don*. *Pliny* ^a takes notice of this mistake, and tells us, it proceeded from *Alexander's* soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called *Silyis*. The capital of this province was *Maracanda*, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same, which being now called *Samarcand*, is the chief city of the *Usbeck* Tartars. While *Alexander* lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter, ^b he basely in a drunken fury murdered *Clitus*, one of the best of his friends; which afterwards he condemned himself for, as much as every body else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued the *Sogdians*, and reduced such of the *Bactrians* as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in *Nautaca*, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

An. 328.
Alexander 4.

WHILE he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, ^c he fell in love with *Roxana*, the daughter of *Oxyathres* a noble *Persian*, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterwards by her actions, especially in the murder of *Darius's* daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That *Alexander's* marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his *Macedonians*, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found enclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the *Persian* ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters, was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feasting upon them.

BUT while these things were a doing in the camp, ^d *Alexander's* head was busy in projecting an expedition into *India*; his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprize, was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old *Grecian* fables, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*,

^a Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian, lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^a Lib. 6. cap. 16.

^b Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 1. Arrian, lib. 4.

lib. 8. cap. 4. Arrianus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

^c Q. Curtius,

lib. 8. cap. 5, 9, 10, &c. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 12. cap. 7.

^d Arrian, lib. 4. Q. Curtius,

two of *Jupiter's* sons, had made this expedition into *India*, and he would fain in emulation of them do the same. For having been declared *Jupiter's* son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded, that all that were admitted to make addressees unto him, should adore him as formerly they had the *Persian Kings*. All his old friends misliked this conduct in him, and none more than *Callisthenes* the philosopher. He ^e was a kinsman of *Aristotle*, *Alexander's* master, and had been sent by him to attend this young conqueror on his first entering on the *Persian* war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since, and being a very wise and grave man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses, which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But *Alexander* not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of *Clitus*, is that which of all his other actions bore hardest upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two: For he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by sawcy and abusive language, when he slew *Clitus*; but *Callisthenes* he did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies, which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

BUT before ^f he went on this *Indian* expedition, he very providently took care to secure all in quiet behind him, and therefore while he lay in those quarters at *Nautaca*, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his authority, in any parts of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men, of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war.

ON his marching into *India*, ^g his army, with these augmentations, consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, *Grecians* and *Persians*, besides fifteen thousand which he left with *Amyntas* in *Bactria*, to keep those parts in quiet. Many nations on this side the river *Indus* were then reckoned to be of *India*, and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. ^h Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him as the third son of *Jupiter* that had come among them, meaning *Bacchus* and *Hercules* for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain

^e Laertius in vita Aristotelis.
Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5.
Plutarchus in Alexandro.

Plutarchus in Alexandro & in Sylla.
^g Q. Curtius, ibid.

^f Arrianus, lib. 4.
^h Arrian, lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8.

conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god. Among those whom he subdued by force were the *Affacans*. But *Cleophis*, the Queen of that nation, being a very beautiful Woman, redeemed her kingdom by prostituting her body to his lust, whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the *Indians*, that they afterwards called her by no other name than that of the *royal whore*. By this concubinage she had a son, whom from the name of his father she called *Alexander*, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and if *Paulus Venetus* may be believed, there were in a certain province of *India*, which he calls *Balascia*, Kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

An. 327.
Alexan-
der 5.

EARLY the next spring he passed the river *Indus*, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the river *Hydaspes*. Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of *Taxiles*, who submitted to him. But beyond the *Hydaspes* lay the kingdom of *Porus*, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progress. This, on *Alexander's* passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them, wherein, after a fight of eight hours, *Porus's* army was vanquished with a great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune so took with *Alexander*, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For after his having passed the river *Acesinis*, which terminated *Porus's* kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river *Hydraotes*, he added this also to *Porus's* dominions. After this passing the *Hydraotes*, he marched to the *Hyphasis*, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on the *Ganges*. But his soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the *Hydaspes*, where having at the place where he vanquished *Porus* built a city, which he called *Nicaea*, in memory of that victory; and another not far from it, which he called *Bucephala*, in memory of his horse *Bucephalus*, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the *Indus* and the southern parts of *India*, purposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to *Babylon*.

An. 326.
Alexan-
der 6.

THIS fleet^{*} he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the *Indus*, and it had been ever since a making ready for him in the several places that he had appointed, which when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to *Nearchus*, and then putting his army on board, he sailed down the *Hydaspes* into the *Acesinis*, and through that into the *Indus*. For the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way he had to do with two very valiant nations, the *Oxidracians* and the *Mallians*. The former of these inhabited where the *Hydaspes* fell into the *Acesinis*, and the other where *Acesinis* fell into the *Indus*. Both these he

ⁱ Plutarchus, & Curtius, *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian, lib. 5.
Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarchus in *Alexandro*.

^{*} Arrian, lib. 6.

forced

forced into a submission, tho' not without great difficulty. And while he besieged one of the cities of the *Mallians*, he was very near losing his life; for being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, e'er any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the *Indus* as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the *Indus* into the southern ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed, and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his *Indian* conquests, he sent *Nearchus*, with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way to the *Persian* gulph, and up through that into the *Euphrates*, and meet him at *Babylon*; and then he with his army marched over land towards the same place.

THE¹ way that he took in his march thither, was through the southern provinces of *Persia*; a great part of which being a very barren country, An. 325. Alexander 7. and full of sandy deserts, he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions; and the scorching heat of the climate added to the calamity, which grew so great that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into *India*. When he arrived in the province of *Carmania*, (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called *Kerman*) he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days together through that province, in way of triumph for his *Indian* conquests. For it seems he had heard that *Bacchus* returned in this manner after his like expedition into that country: For he much affected to imitate *Bacchus* and *Hercules* in all this expedition; and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.

NEARCHUS having coasted along all the countries, from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Persian* gulph, arrived at the isle of *Harmuzia*, (now called *Ormuz*) where hearing that *Alexander* was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, as he had appointed.

WHILE *Alexander* was in *Carmania*, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in *India*. For reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the soldiers, who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers, whom he after that found in the same abuses, which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

¹ Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus, *ibid.*

BEING exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that *Nearchus* had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the *Persian* gulph to sail round *Arabia* and *Africa*, and return by the mouth of the *Streights* (then called *Hercules's* pillars, now the *Streights of Gibraltar*) into the *Mediterranean* sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, at the command of *Neco* King of *Egypt*, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, for a fleet of ships fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the *Euphrates*, especially at *Thapsacus*, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on mount *Libanus*, and carried thither for this purpose. This shews the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quash'd by his death.

ON his coming to *Pasargada*, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of *Cyrus*, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of *Persepolis*) it had been broken up and robb'd. The *Magians*, who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the malice of *Bagoas*, a beloved eunuch of *Alexander's*, the whole guilt was charged upon *Orsines*, the governor of the province. This *Bagoas* was a very beautiful young eunuch; *Nabarzanes*, who conspired with *Bessus* in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death of *Darius*, presented him unto *Alexander* for the service of his lust, and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use; and by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble *Persian* to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude: For he had very much served him, especially in that province; for *Phraortes*, the governor of it, dying while *Alexander* was in *India*, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of *Alexander* to the time of his arrival thither; and on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But when he presented the rest of *Alexander's* friends and favourites, taking no notice of *Bagoas*, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the King's friends, not to his catamites*; this so angered the eunuch, that to work his revenge, he contrived that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of *Cyrus* was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses, to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with *Alexander* to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

FROM *Pasargada* he marched to *Persepolis*, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards *Susa*;
in

in his way thither he met *Nearchus* with his fleet. For ^m *Nearchus*, according to his orders, had sailed up the *Persian* gulph into the *Euphrates*, but there hearing *Alexander* was on his march towards *Susa*, he sailed back again to the mouth of the *Pisitigris*, and from thence up that river to a bridge which *Alexander* was to pass. And there the land-army and the sea-army meeting, they both joined together; for which *Alexander* offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicings in his camp; and high honours were there given to *Nearchus*, for his successful conduct of the fleet, and bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

WHEN *Alexander* came to *Susa*, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, ⁿ he took to wife *Statira* the eldest of *Darius's* daughters, and gave the younger, called *Drypetis*, to *Hephestion* his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about an hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the *Persian* empire, he hoped by these marriages to make such a union of the *Grecians* and *Persians* together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And for five days together these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies *Alexander* paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents, *Justin* and *Arrian* say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of *Darius*. For out of them he laid up in his treasury at *Ecbatana* only ^o an hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at *Babylon*, and in other treasures through the empire.

THESE nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of *Hephestion*, ^p and with the rest went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the *Euleus*, (in ^q *Daniel* called the *Ulai*) on which *Susa* stood, and sailed down that river into the *Persian* gulph, and from thence passed up the *Tigris* to the city *Opis*, where *Hephestion* met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he ^r caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those *Macedonians*, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into *Greece*, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them, but it being taken by another handle, as if

^m Arrianus de rebus Indicis. ⁿ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, & in libro de fortuna Alexandri. Arrianus, lib. 7. where by mistake this daughter of Darius is called Barfina. For Barfina was the concubine, not the wife of Alexander, and the daughter of Artabazus, not of Darius. She was first married to Memnon, and after his death being taken into the bed of Alexander, she had a son by him called Hercules. ^o Justin, lib. 12. cap. 1. This amounts to above thirty five millions and a half of our money, according to its lowest calculation. But according to Dr. Bernard's computation, it comes to near forty millions. ^p Arrian, lib. 7.

^q Chap. viii. 2, 16. ^r Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrianus, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.

he were weary of his *Macedonians*, and dismiss them only to make room for the new recruits, which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed, telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father *Hammon* might alone wage his wars for the future, they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the *Persian* manners and habit, his marrying a *Persian* lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered countries, into the *Macedonian* militia, and the advancing of many *Persians* to places of honour and trust, both in the army, and in the provinces, equally with the *Macedonians*. For he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the *Persians* with them; and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his *Asiatic* soldiers, excluding the *Macedonians*, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, chusing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers, which soon brought them to a better temper. For seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour; this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

FROM *Opis*, he marched by several stations to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. While he was there^f he lost his favourite *Hephestion*. For having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For *Alexander* having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them; and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far, that forty persons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expences, and also with as extravagant cruelty. For he caused his physician to be crucified for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who by all manner of excesses

^f Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. cap. 12. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Ælianus histor. var. lib. 2. cap. 41.

^t Athenæus, lib. 10.

did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the patient himself baffled all that the physician prescribed for his recovery. For when to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities, as soon put it beyond the power of physick to give him any relief; and thus by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murtherer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often upon reflection bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance, and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws, as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

ALEXANDER, to divert his grief after this loss, * led his army <sup>An. 324. Alexan-
der 8.</sup> against the *Cossæans*, (a warlike nation in the mountains of *Media*, which none of the *Persian* Kings could ever bring into subjection to them) and having in a war of forty days wholly subdued them, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched towards *Babylon*. On his approach near that place, the *Magians* and other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place; where he found ambassadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them, as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

WHILE he continued at *Babylon* (which was near the space of a whole year) he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of *Africa*, another for the making of a full discovery of the *Caspian* sea, and of all the nations round it; and for both these he had provided fleets. Another was to conquer the *Arabians*, and a fourth to make war against the *Carthaginians*, and carry on his conquests to the pillars of *Hercules*, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the *Grecian* poets. And besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of *Babylon*. For finding it not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the *East*, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire, and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by *Cyrus's* breaking down the banks of the *Euphrates* at the head of the canal called *Pallacopa*, I have above shewn. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place, whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the *Babyloni-*

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

ans, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he failed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it, which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon, was to repair the temple of *Belus*. This *Xerxes* destroyed in his return from *Greece*, (as hath been above related) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to " build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish; but finding the *Magians*, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them; and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the *Jews*, who then served *Alexander* among his *Asian* recruits, to labour in this work, " they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it, arguing that their religion being against idolatry, it forbade them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous temple, and to this resolution they all firmly stood; so that tho' several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it, whereupon *Alexander* admiring their constancy dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own countrey.

BUT the greatest part of the time that *Alexander* lay in *Babylon*, was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking, which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite *Hephestion* had before him.

THIS happened about the middle of the spring, * in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, which fell in the year before *Christ* 323. At his death there went a general report that he died of poison; and the same hath been said of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking bout was immediately invited to another, at which there being twenty in company, " he drank to every one of them in their order and pledged each of them again, and then " calling for the *Herculean* cup, (which held six of our quarts) he drank this full to *Proteas* a *Macedonian* who was one of the guests; and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup he dropp'd down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fix'd and lasting opinion among the *Macedonians*; and there were

" Arrian, lib. 17. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. " Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. * Arrian, lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.
 " Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 11. & lib. 12. cap. 18. " Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Seneca. Ep. 83. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 5. cap. 21. Athenæus, lib. 11. cap. 17.
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such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the cup that kill'd him. ^aThe sons of *Antipater* were charged to be the authors of this treason, and the common report was, that *Cassander* the eldest of them brought the poison out of *Greece*, and that *Iollas* his brother, who was cup-bearer to *Alexander*, gave it to him, and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worse cause of his death. *Alexander* a little before this time having dismissed ten thousand of his veterans, who were past service, sent *Craterus* to conduct them into *Greece*, with commission to succeed *Antipater* in his government of *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and *Thessaly*; and ordered *Antipater* to come to him to *Babylon*, to take *Craterus*'s place in the army. But *Antipater* being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many male-administrations he had been guilty of in his government, did by the hands of his sons execute this treason upon the life of *Alexander* to save his own. And the death of *Alexander* happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And it is certain *Cassander* could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the *Macedonians* as long as he lived. *Pausanias* in his *Arcadis*, tells us of a fountain ^b in *Arcadia* called *Styx*, whose waters are so exceeding cold as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that *Alexander* drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distills from the rock *Nonacris*, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks thorough all vessels, into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from *Greece* to *Babylon*, for the executing of this villainous murder.

AND here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had, for twelve years and an half together, (for so long he reigned from the death of his father;) in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the *Adriatic* sea to the *Ganges*, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And altho' most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the *Persians*, in passing the *Granicus* with only thirty five thousand men, against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success creating a panic fear of him through all the *Persian* empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards obtained. For no army after that, though twenty times the number of his, (as was that of *Arbela*) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory

^a Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic lib. 17. Justin, lib. 12. cap. 13, 14. Pausanias in *Arcadicis*. Q Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Plin. lib. 30. cap. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3.

^b Curtius by mistake placeth this fountain in *Macedonia*. But Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3. Plutarch in the life of *Alexander*, Strabo, lib. 8. p. 391. put it in the same place where Pausanias doth, that is in the mountain *Nonacris* in *Arcadia*, and tell us, that *Alexander* was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he and others relate.

was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly fleered him through all his actions. And the old *Greek* ballads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag *Betis* round the walls of *Gaza*, as *Achilles* had *Hector* round those of *Troy*. This made him make that hazardous expedition into *India*; for *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through *Carmania* on his return, which is above-mentioned. For *Bacchus* was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of *Jupiter*. For most of the *Grecian* fables making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this as well as not in any thing else to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet *Daniel* foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishing it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his hand. For he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had outlived the thirty third year of his age.

AFTER his death^c there arose great confusions among his followers about the succession. But at length, after seven days contest, it came to this agreement, that *Arideus*, a bastard brother of *Alexander's*, should be declared King; and that if *Roxana*, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and *Perdiccas* should have the guardianship of both. For *Arideus* being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving *Perdiccas* at *Babylon* to take care of *Arideus*, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors, but at length took that of Kings, as they had the authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were *Cassander*, *Lysimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Seleucus*, and they divided the whole empire between them. *Cassander* had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus* *Thrace*, and those parts of *Asia* as lay upon the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, and *Cæle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And hereby^d the prophecies of *Daniel* were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great horn of the *Macedonian* Empire, that is, *Alexander*, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four Kings of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them; and the manner how they did so, will in the future series of this history be fully declared.

ARIDÆUS being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to^e that of *Philip*, and from hence the *Philippean Era* hath its original, which the *Egyptians* computing from the first day of that year in which

^c Curtius, lib. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 9. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 1--4.

^d Daniel vii. 6. viii. 8, 21, 22. xi. 4. Ptolemæus in Canone.

^e Justin, lib. 13. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

Alexander dyed, that is, from the first day of their *Thoth* preceding, (which fell in the twelfth of our *November*) *Ptolemy* the astronomer doth the same in his canon, tho' contrary to the method hitherto observed by him. For in all other descents preceding this he begins the reign of the successor from the *Thoth* following, and not from the *Thoth* preceding the death of the successor.

SISTGAMBIS the mother of *Darius*, though she had born with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers slain by *Ochus* in one day, and since that the death of her son and the ruine of his family, yet^f could not bear the death of *Alexander*. He had shewn great kindness to her, and not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity; and therefore on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished her self to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also^g of her two grand-daughters, *Statira* the widow of *Alexander*, and *Drypetis* the widow of *Hephestion*. For *Roxana* having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of *Perdiccas*, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared *Statira* might be with child, and if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one, and therefore thus made her away to prevent it, and her sister with her. And^h not long after she was delivered of a son, who was called *Alexander*, and his name, with that of *Aridæus* or *Philip*, was afterwards joined in the government of the empire; tho' neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those, who had divided the provinces among them.

IN this division of the provinces, ¹ *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* were assigned to *Eumenes*, who had been secretary of state to *Alexander*; but these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the *Macedonian* dominion. For *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, still held those countries, and *Alexander* having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore he being first to be conquered, before *Eumenes* could be put in possession of his government, *Perdiccas* sent to *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the greater *Phrygia*; and the latter, that of the lesser *Phrygia* and the *Hellepont*. But they having both of them other designs in their heads, for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what *Perdiccas* ordered. *Leonnatus* was then marching into *Greece*, under pretence of carrying assistance to *Antipater*, governor of *Macedonia*, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the *Greeks* against him, but in reality to seize *Macedon* and *Greece* for himself: But he being slain in battel against those *Greeks*, this did put an end to all his designs. When *Eumenes* came to him with *Perdiccas's* order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and in

An. 322
Philip 2.

^f Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8. ^g Plutarchus in Alexandro. ^h Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis & Bæoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. ⁱ Plutarchus in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 4. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

order hereto communicated to him his whole scheme. But *Eumenes* liking neither the man, nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon *Leonnatus* would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which *Eumenes* being aware of, fled to *Perdiccas*, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was on other accounts very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best headpiece of all *Alexander's* captains. And therefore *Perdiccas*, to gratify him, taking the two Kings along with him, marched into *Cappadocia*, and having vanquished *Ariarathes*, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, settled *Eumenes* in the quiet possession of his government; and afterwards having subdued *Isaurus* and *Laranda*, two cities of *Pisidia*, that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched into *Cilicia*, and there took up his winter quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of *Nicaa*, the daughter of *Antipater*, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander the Great*, in her stead. She had been wife to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, but he having been slain in his wars in *Italy*, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; thither *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* to propose the match, and court her to it: For she being in great credit and esteem with the *Macedonians*, as sister to *Alexander* both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire. *Antigonus* getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who were then making war with the *Ætolians*, and discovered to them the whole plot; whereon, clapping up a peace with the *Ætolians*, they immediately marched to the *Hellepont* to watch these designs, and took *Ptolemy*, governor of *Egypt*, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This *Craterus* was one of the eminentest of *Alexander's* captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into *Macedonia* ten thousand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service, with orders to take upon him the government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom he had called to *Babylon*, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of *Alexander*, these provinces having been assigned to him, in joint authority with *Antipater*, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he did in this, which the discovery of *Perdiccas's* designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon *Neoptolemus*, governor of *Armenia*, which lay next him: For *Perdiccas* had some suspicion of him, and not without cause as it will afterwards appear.

An. 321. In the beginning * of the next spring, *Perdiccas* having assembled all his
Philip 3. forces together in *Cappadocia*, deliberated with his friends whether he

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

should march immediately into *Macedonia* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, or else into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*. Should he march first into *Macedonia*, the fear was, that *Ptolemy*, who had made himself very strong in *Egypt*, should take the advantage to seize all the *greater Asia*. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave *Ptolemy* at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and that in the interim *Eumenes* should be left with part of the army to guard the *Asian* provinces against *Antipater* and *Craterus*. For the executing of which resolutions, *Perdiccas* gave unto *Eumenes* the provinces of *Caria*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia*, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the *Hellepont* to mount *Taurus*, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then by the way of *Damascus* and *Palestine* marched into *Egypt*, carrying the Kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

EUMENES, to make good his charge, lost no time in providing himself with an army to withstand *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who had passed the *Hellepont* to make war upon him. They in the first place made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he being a steady man, would not on any terms be wrought upon to break his faith with *Perdiccas*. But they had better success with *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus*: For they prevailed with the former, tho' the brother of *Perdiccas*, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them; but while he was on his march to join their army, *Eumenes* fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battel, took from him all his baggage, and *Neoptolemus* himself difficultly escaped with three hundred horse only to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battel, taking service under *Eumenes*. Whereon *Antipater* marched into *Cilicia*, from thence to pass into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Ptolemy*, if his affairs should require it, and sent *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* with the rest of the army into *Cappadocia* against *Eumenes*, where it coming to a battel between them, *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were both slain, and *Eumenes* gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battel: For whereas the *Macedonians* generally had that love for *Craterus*, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, *Eumenes* ordered the matter so, that none of the *Macedonians* that were in his army, knew that *Craterus* was with the enemy till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim ^a *Perdiccas* entered *Egypt*, and there waged war against *Ptolemy*, but not with the same success. For *Ptolemy*, since his having entered on the government of *Egypt*, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the *Egyptians*, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of *Greece* and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government, which added great encrease to his strength. And the army of *Perdiccas* were so well affected to him, that they went with

¹ Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 8. Arrianns in excerptis Photii. ^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis.

great unwillingness to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him; all which made against *Perdiccas*, and at last ended in his ruine: For having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the *Nile*, which made an island in it over-against *Memphis*, he had a thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the *Macedonians* who followed him to that degree, that rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent, and most of his friends and confidants with him. About two days after came the news of *Eumenes's* victory. Had it been known two days sooner it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterwards followed in favour of *Ptolemy*, *Antipater*, and those of their party. The next day after the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* passed over the *Nile* into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the *Macedonians*, that he turned them all over to him; and when the news of *Crate-rus's* death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them by a publick decree to declare *Eumenes* and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the *Macedonian* state; and by the same decree, *Antipater* and *Antigonus* were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the guardianship of the Kings in the room of *Perdiccas*, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending *Pithon* and *Aridæus* to this charge; and by his interest it was, that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of *Alexander* through all his wars, and followed the party of *Perdiccas* till his late misfortune at the *Nile*, when in dislike of his conduct he deserted from him, and went over to *Ptolemy*. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till on the death of *Alexander* he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time spent herein, he carried the corps in great solemnity from *Babylon* into *Egypt*, and there deposited it in the city of *Memphis*, from whence it was afterwards translated to *Alexandria*. A prophecy having been given out, that wherever *Alexander* should be buried, that place of all others should be the most happy and prosperous; this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife, which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. *Perdiccas*, out of love to his country, would have it carried to *Ægæ* in *Macedonia*, the usual burying place of the *Macedonian* Kings, and others elsewhere. But *Ptolemy* prevailed to have it brought into *Egypt*, where *Aridæus* having carried it not long before the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office. But *Eurydice*, the wife of King *Aridæus*, (now called *Philip*) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the *Macedonians* favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the army to *Tripadisus* in *Syria*, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on *Antipater*, who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*, and restored all of the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution, *Seleucus* had the government of *Babylon* conferred on him, who from this beginning afterwards grew up to be the greatest of all *Alexander's* successors,

as will hereafter be related. *Antipater* having thus settled affairs, sent *Antigonus* to make war upon *Eumenes*, and then returned into *Macedonia*, leaving his son *Cassander* with *Antigonus* in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

THIS year *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, ^a *Onias* his son succeeded him in that office, and lived in it one and twenty years.

EARLY the next spring ^b *Antigonus* marched out of his winter quarters against *Eumenes*, and at *Orcynium* in *Cappadocia* it came to a battle^{Philip 4.} between them, in which *Eumenes* lost the victory, with eight thousand of his men. This was caused by the treachery of *Apollonides*, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who being corrupted by *Antigonus*, deserted to him in the battle. However the traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved, for *Eumenes* having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this *Eumenes* shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of *Nora*, which was situated in the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy* finding how convenient *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Judea* lay for him, both for the defence of *Egypt*, as well as for the invading from thence the island of *Cyprus*, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were in the first partition of the provinces of the empire granted to *Laomedon* the *Mytellenian*, one of *Alexander's* captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by *Antipater* at *Triparadisus*, and he had accordingly from the death of *Alexander* to this time been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. *Ptolemy*, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but not prevailing this way, he sent *Nicanor*, one of his captains, with an army into *Syria* against him, while he with a fleet invaded *Phœnicia*. *Nicanor* having vanquished *Laomedon* in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and *Ptolemy* had the same success on the maritim; so that hereby he made himself master of all those provinces; and *Antipater* being returned into *Macedonia*, and *Antigonus* otherwise engaged against *Eumenes*, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, tho' both disliked it.

BUT when all other parts of this country, after the vanquishing of *Laomedon*, readily yielded to *Ptolemy*, ^c the *Jews* alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till over-power'd by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon *Ptolemy* marched into *Judea*, and laid siege to *Jerusalem*. The place being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the *Jews* had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum. Eusebius in Chronico.

^b Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

Plutarchus in Demetrio. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Appian in Syriacis. Pausanias in Atticis.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which *Ptolemy* having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took in it the assault, because none of them would, on that day, defend their walls against him. *Josephus* being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the *Greeks* for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his antiquities, as if *Ptolemy* were admitted into *Jerusalem* upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but other historians, and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter. For it appears from the book of the *Maccabees*, that till *Mattathias*, and those with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the *Jews*, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

WHEN *Ptolemy* had thus made himself master of *Jerusalem*, and all *Judea*, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants. For he carried above an hundred thousand of them captives into *Egypt*. But afterwards reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the *Cyrenian Jews*, of whom was *Jason*, who wrote the history of the *Maccabees* in five books, (of which the second book of *Maccabees*, which we now have, is an abridgement) and of whom also was *Simon*, that bore *Christ's* cross at his crucifixion, and others, that are mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

An. 319.
Philip 5.

ANTIPATER, being worn out with age, dyed in *Macedonia*, and at his death appointed *Polysperchon*, who was the oldest of *Alexander's* captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the Kings, and governor of *Macedonia*, in his stead; which *Cassander* resented with great indignation. For he could not bear, that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust. And therefore he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in *Greece* and *Macedon*, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of this design, he sent to *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus*, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten, and that of the other was to possess himself of all *Asia*; and they thought, if the *Macedonians* were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them with the greater ease obtain

Agatharcides apud Josephum, libro primo contra Apionem. Vide etiam Aristeam.

1 Maccab. ii. 41.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Aristas.

2 Maccab. i.

Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

Ch. ii. 10. and vi. 9.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Phocione.

their

their designs. For no sooner was *Antipater* dead, but *Antigonus* finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all *Alexander's* captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all. For he was left by *Antipater* generalissimo of all the *lesser Asia*, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of seventy thousand men, besides thirty elephants, which was a force which no other power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads, who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove *Arideus* out of his government of the *lesser Phrygia* and the *Hellepont*, and *Clytus* out of that of *Lydia*, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the *lesser Asia*. But his greatest difficulty was to master *Eumenes*, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, tho' he had then been for a whole year shut up, and besieged by him in the castle of *Nora*. And therefore he would make trial again to draw him over to him, and sent his countreyman *Jerom* of *Cardia*, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose, with whom *Eumenes* managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that *Antigonus* intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby *Eumenes* was to swear to it, being according to the form sent by *Antigonus*, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Antigonus*, he altered the form, putting it, That he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Olympias* and the Kings, as well as to *Antigonus*; and then referred it to the *Macedonians*, that lay at the siege, to judge which form was properest; who still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore *Eumenes* having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege and departed. But when *Antigonus* had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately dispatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution. For *Eumenes*, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the fortress, and with the five hundred men that bore the siege with him marched into *Capadocia*, and there got together of his old soldiers about two thousand more, and made all other preparations for the war, which he knew would be again renewed against him.

In the interim the defection of *Antigonus* from the interest of the Kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to *Eumenes*, in the name of the Kings, from *Polyspercon* their guardian constituting him captain-general of all the *lesser Asia*, with orders to *Ten-tamus* and *Antigenes*, commanders of the *Argyraspides*, to join with him, and under his command to make war against *Antigonus*. And those who

^y Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. *ibid*.
Cornelius Nepos, *ibidem*.

^x Diodor. Plutarchus &

had the keeping of the Kings treasures were commanded every where to supply him with money for this war; and letters were sent every where from *Olympias* to the same purpose. Hereon *Eumenes* set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations, which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But before he could get together an army sufficient for it, *Menander*, one of *Antigonus's* captains, coming upon him into *Cappadocia* with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste, with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having by long marches gotten over mount *Taurus* into the country of *Cilicia*, he was there met by the *Argyraspides*, who, according to the orders received from the Kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thousand men. These were the remainders of the old soldiers of *Alexander*, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, ^a when they marched with him into *India*, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the *Argyraspides*, i.e. the silver-shielded, (for so that name signified in the Greek language.) And they were eminent above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, *Eumenes* could do no more at that time, than enter into winter-quarters with them in that country.

^{An. 318.} ^{Philip 6.} WHILE he lay there ^b he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commissions so successfully, that in the ensuing spring he took the field with an army of twenty thousand men horse and foot, which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore *Ptolemy*, for the crushing of him, came with a fleet upon the coasts of *Cilicia*, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the *Argyraspides* from him; and *Antigonus* endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into *Eumenes's* camp for this purpose; but both miscarried herein. For *Eumenes* carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

AND therefore having his army thus firmly fixed to him, ^c he marched with them into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of these provinces, which against all right he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and *Polysperchon* by sea. For could he have gotten the naval strength of the *Phœnicians* into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of *Polysperchon*, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require; and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of *Polysperchon* being, through the folly of *Clitus* who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by *Antigonus*, this baffled the whole project. For *Antigonus*, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army to find out *Eumenes* and fall upon him; of which *Eumenes* having received intel-

^a Justin lib. 12. cap. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5.
^c Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. ^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus
^c Diodor. Sic. ibid.

ligence,

ligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as *Antigonus* was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming, but forthwith withdrew out of *Phœnicia*^d and marching thorough *Cœle-Syria*, passed the *Euphrates*, and wintered at *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*. This was ^d the ancient *Charan*, or *Haran* of the holy scriptures, where *Abraham* dwelt before he came into the land of *Canaan*, and where after that *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham*, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations. And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendred famous for the ^e great battel there fought between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, wherein the former received that signal overthrow, in which *Crassus*, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The *Turks* now call it ^f *Harran* by the old name, and it was in late ages famous for ^f being the prime seat of the *Sabians*, a noted sect in the east, of which I have above spoken. Hence those of this sect were called *Harranites*, as well as *Sabians*, in those parts.

EUMENES, while he lay at *Carrhæ*, ^g sent to *Pithon* governor of *Media*, and *Seleucus* governor of *Babylon*, to join with him for the aiding of the Kings against *Antigonus*, and caused the orders of the Kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the Kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a publick enemy by the *Macedonians*. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of *Eumenes*. For the intention of most of *Alexander's* commanders, who after his death had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns each in the countrey which he had seized: And it was with a view to this, that on the death of *Alexander*, they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him; that under so weak a government they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and all these measures they thought would be broken if *Eumenes* got the ascendant; and therefore all of them, that were for these measures, were against him. But whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of *Alexander*, is uncertain. His professions always were for the family of *Alexander*, and whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all *Alexander's* captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; tho' he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

FROM *Carrhæ* ^h *Eumenes* marched in the beginning of the spring towards *Babylon*; in which march he had like to have lost all his army by a stratagem of *Seleucus* upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the *Euphrates*, *Seleucus* by cutting the banks of the river overflowed the place where he lay. But *Eumenes* having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after having found out a way again to drain

^d Gen. xi. 31, 32. *Cb.* xii. 4. and *Cb.* xxix. 4.

^e Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747.

^g Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

^h Ibid.

^f Plutarchus in *Crasso*. Appian in *Par-*

^f Vide *Golii* notas ad *Alfraganum*, p. 249, 250.

off the over-flowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it; whereon *Seleucus* prayed truce with him, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to *Susa*, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of *Asia* to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the Kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them the speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against *Pithon* governor of *Media*, which they had just then finished. For *Pithon* playing the same game in those provinces of the upper *Asia*, that *Antigonus* did in the lower, had put *Philotas* to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself. Which being discerned, they all joined under the command of *Pucestes* governor of the province of *Persia*, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battel, they drove him out of *Media*, and forced him to flee to *Babylon*, to crave of *Seleucus* the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when *Eumenes*'s messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to *Susa*, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about five and twenty thousand men horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for *Antigonus*, who was then on his march after him; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the *Tigris*, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in *Mesopotamia*, where *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

IN the interim¹ a great change happened in *Macedonia*. For *Olympias*, the mother of *Alexander*, having formerly fled out of *Macedonia* into *Epirus*, with *Alexander* her grandson, and *Roxana* his mother, for fear of *Antipater*, now after his death was again returned, and having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put *Aridæus* the nominal King (whom they called *Philip*) to death, with *Eurydice* his wife, after he had born the title of King six years and seven months. And with him she slew also *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents; which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after. For then *Cassander* coming upon her with an army besieged her in *Pydna*, and having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterwards caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of *Aridæus*, *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* alone bore the title of King, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jail. For *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pydna*, shut up him and his mother in the castle of *Amphipolis*, till at length he murdered them both to make way for himself to be King of *Macedon*, as will hereafter in its proper place be more fully related.

An. 316.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 1.

ANTIGONUS in the beginning of the spring^{*} marched to *Baby-*

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Justin, lib. 14.
in Eumene.

^{*} Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos

Ion, where having joined the forces, which *Pithon* and *Seleucus* had there got ready for him, he passed the *Tigris* to find out *Eumenes*; and on the other hand, *Eumenes* was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter him, being now superior to him in the number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct; not that the other was defective herein. For next *Eumenes*, he was certainly the best general, and the wisest politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which *Eumenes* lay under was, he commanded a voluntier army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces who had joined him; and every one of these would have the general command. And *Eumenes* not being a *Macedonian*, but a *Thracian* by birth, there was not one of them, but thought himself for this reason preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that *Alexander* appeared to him in a dream, and shewed him a royal pavilion richly furnished with a throne in it, and told him, that if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings, upon which they should enter in his name; and having wrought the superstition which they had for *Alexander* into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected, as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and placing a crown and scepter in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of *Alexander*, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior, which quell'd all farther strife about this matter. For hereby a priority was yielded to none; and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities, which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However the army had that confidence in the great abilities of *Eumenes*, that in time of battel, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And by the wisdom of his management he brought it to pass in all other cases, that tho' in outward shew he seem'd to wave all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the royal command to all the keepers of the publick treasuries, being to give out unto *Eumenes* all such sums, as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else. For hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them, which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties when this year's war begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all *Media* and *Persia* became the field of it. For they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other; and all manner of stratagems and tryals of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But *Eumenes* having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour. For he had worsted *Antigonus* in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of *Gabiene*, and forced *Antigonus* to march northward, to seek for his in the countrey of *Media*, at the distance of twenty five days march from him.

But

An 315.
Alexan-
der
Ægus 2.

BUT the licentiousness of *Eumenes's* soldiers being such, ¹ that they would not be kept together, but for the sake of a more luxurious plenty scattered themselves all over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody; *Antigonus* on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute victory over him. But *Eumenes*, who was never wanting in any precaution necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of *Antigonus* some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a stratagem which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost. For getting up upon those mountains which lay towards the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them the next night to kindle fires in such manner, as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by *Antigonus's* scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that *Eumenes* was there with all his army ready to encounter him. And therefore not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh army, he stopp'd so long to refresh them, that *Eumenes* had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after this brought on a battle between them, wherein *Eumenes* got the victory, which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance; of which *Antigonus* taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of *Eumenes's* army before they could be perceived, whereby he gained the main point, tho' he lost the victory. For *Eumenes's* soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore having seized and bound him, sold him to *Antigonus* to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him, which absolutely determined the war for the interest of *Antigonus*. For immediately hereon he became master of all *Asia*, from the *Hellepont* to the river of *Indus*. *Eumenes* being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him; he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under *Alexander*, the remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life, and *Demetrius* his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length reflecting on his immoveable fidelity to *Alexander's* family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account,

¹ Diodor. Sic. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos, *ibid.*

and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life; and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of *Alexander*, but in every thing else far exceeded him. For he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle which he fought with *Antigonus* in *Cappadocia*, and by this means only was it, that he was at last undone in *Gabiena*. After his death, *Antigonus*, with all his army, in the solemnest manner attended his funeral pile, and shewed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into *Cappadocia*. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it shewed that even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit, as deserved a much better fate.

ANTIGONUS now looking on the whole empire of *Asia* as his own, for the better securing of it to him made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead; and such as he thought dangerous he cut off; of this number were *Pithon*, governor of *Media*, and *Antigenes*, general of the *Argyraspides*; and he had marked out *Seleucus*, governor of *Babylon*, for the same destruction, but he being aware of it fled into *Egypt*, and there under the protection of *Ptolemy*, saved his life. And as to the *Argyraspides*, who were those that betrayed *Eumenes*, he sent them into *Arachosia*, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to *Sibyrtius*, the governor of it, by all ways and means to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into *Greece*. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

IN the interim ^a *Seleucus* being got safe into *Egypt*, he so effectually represented to *Ptolemy* the formidable power of *Antigonus*, as he also did to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. *Antigonus* being aware that *Seleucus* on his flight might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them embassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastened out of the east into *Cilicia*, and having there taken care for the recruiting and re-inforcing of his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of *lesser Asia*, as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*.

HIS intentions in entering into these provinces were to dispossess *Ptolemy* of them, and make himself master of their naval force. For find-

An. 314.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 3.

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis.
Appianus, ibid. Justin, lib. 15.

[•] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

[•] Diodor. &

ing that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright, that without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the *Phœnician* ports and shipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, *Ptolemy* having carried away all the *Phœnician* shipping into *Egypt* before his arrival; neither did he easily make himself master of the ports: For *Tyre*, *Joppa* and *Gaza*, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but *Tyre* endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from mount *Libanus*, and causing them to be carried to the several ports where the ships were a building; in which work several thousands of hands were employed; and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which soon gave him the mastery of the Seas. That which chiefly edged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet, was an affront offered him by *Seleucus*. For while he lay encamped near *Tyre* on the sea shore, *Seleucus* came thither with an hundred sail of *Ptolemy's* fleet, and *Antigonus* not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the coast where he was encamped in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army; which very much disheartning his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and did let them know that even that very summer he would be on those seas with a fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

An. 313.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 4.

BUT *Antigonus* finding, that while he was intent upon these affairs in *Phœnicia*, *Cassander* grew upon him in the *lesser Asia*, he marched thither with one part of the army, and left *Demetrius* his son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty second year of his age) with the other part, to defend *Syria* and *Phœnicia* against *Ptolemy*. By this time *Tyre* was reduced to great extremities: For *Antigonus's* fleet being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them, which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of *Ptolemy* to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For *Andronicus*, who then commanded at the siege for *Antigonus*, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege. For it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that *Alexander* had destroyed this city, in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself, yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of *Alexander's*. This shews the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and the west did then centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

ANTIGONUS * on his coming into *lesser Asia* soon reduced the growing power of *Cassander*, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* for assistance, and went on with the war, which detained *Antigonus* longer in those parts than he intended, and in the interim gave *Ptolemy* the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the east.

FOR * having with his fleet sailed to *Cyprus*, he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent first upon the *upper Syria*,^{Ar. 312. Alex- ander} and next upon *Cilicia*, where having taken great spoils, and many cap-^{Ægus 5.}tives, he returned with them into *Egypt*. And there having, by the advice of *Seleucus*, formed a design for the recovery of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to *Gaza*, he there found *Demetrius* ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them; in which *Ptolemy* gained the victory, having slain five thousand of *Demetrius's* men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced *Demetrius* to retreat, first to *Azotus*, and from thence to *Tripoly*, a city of *Phœnicia*, as far back as the confines of the *upper Syria*, and quit all *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Cœle-Syria*, to the victor. But before he left *Azotus*, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, *Ptolemy* not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents and furniture, with all his friends, family and servants, without any ransom; which kindness *Demetrius* had the opportunity of returning, when a while after he got the like advantage of *Ptolemy*. All the other captives he sent into *Egypt*, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the sea coast of *Phœnicia* forthwith surrendered unto him, excepting only *Tyre*. For *Andronicus*, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time. But at length the garrison soldiers falling into mutiny against him, delivered the place to *Ptolemy*, and him with it.

AFTER these successes, *Seleucus* having obtained of *Ptolemy* a thousand foot and three hundred horse, marched eastward with them to recover *Babylon*. With so small a force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the *Macedonians* that were there in garrison to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to *Babylon*, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him. For remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of *Antigonus*, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him re-instated in his former command over them; and therefore on his approach to the city, he found the gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those, who were of the party of *Antigonus*, retired into the castle; but *Seleucus* having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress, and with it again received his children, friends and servants, whom, on his flight into *Egypt*, *Anti-*

* Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 1. Hecataeus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.
† Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Appianus in Syriacis.

gonus had there shut up in prison, and then applied himself to get together such an army, as might enable him to keep what he had gotten. For he had not long been in possession of this city, e'er *Nicanor* (who was governor of *Media* for *Antigonus*) put himself upon the march with an army to drive him thence. *Seleucus*, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the *Tygris* to meet him, and having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon *Nicanor*, with some few of his friends, fled through the desarts to *Antigonus*; and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of *Antigonus*, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great army under him, he seized *Media*, *Susiana*, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts; which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity and humanity which he practised towards all that were under it; and by these means, from so low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all *Alexander's* successors.

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, began the famous æra of the *Seleucideæ*, made use of all over the east, by heathens, *Jews*, christians and mahometans. It is called by the *Jews* the æra of contracts, because, after they fell under the government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that till a thousand years after Christ, they had no other way whereby to compute their time but this æra of contracts only. For it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the east, they continued in the eastern usage of computing by the æra of contracts, (as they called it) but when about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the east, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in *Spain*, *France*, *England* and *Germany*, they learned from some of the christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this æra, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the *Julian* period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to *Scaliger's* computation, was one hundred and eighty nine years, and according to others, two hundred and forty nine years higher up than where this æra of the *Jews* placeth it. However, the æra of contracts is not at this time out of use among those people: For they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The *Arabs* call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The æra of the two horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from *Alexander*, who is in the alcoran and other *Arabic* books frequently called, *The two horned*. And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams horns on his head, *Alexander* might cause him-

* Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium aliosq; Chronologos de hac Æra.

† Vide Vorstii Zemach David, p. 61. & Dissertationem R. Azariae apud eundem in observationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247, 248, &c.

‡ Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57, 58. & Alfraganum ipsum, cap. 1. § De Æris, p. 6.

• Vide

self to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his son. But this æra hath no relation to *Alexander*, although it hath been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The æra of Alexander*. For *Alexander* was dead twelve years before it began; and its commencement only was from the recovery of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this *Arabic* name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from *Seleucus*; and * *Appian* gives us in him a sufficient reason for it. For he tells us, that *Seleucus* being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn he could stop him in his full career, the statuarios for this reason usually made his statues with two bulls horns on his head. And therefore it is most likely that he, and not *Alexander*, was first meant by *the two horned* in the *Arabic* name of this æra: For it was from him, and not from *Alexander*, that it had its origin. It is in the books of the *Maccabees* ¹ called, *The æra of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the first book of the *Maccabees* begins the years of this æra from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the *Syrians*, *Arabs* and *Jews*, and all others that anciently did, or now do use this æra, excepting the *Chaldeans*. For they not reckoning *Seleucus* to be thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon* till the spring in which *Demetrius* made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this æra till from the spring, and for the same reason reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that whereas all other nations, that computed by this æra, began it from the autumn of the year before *Christ* 312, it had not its commencement among the *Chaldeans* till from the spring of the year next after following.

IN the interim, * *Ptolemy* having again made himself master of all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, sent *Cilles*, one of his generals, to take possession of the *upper Syria* also, and drive *Demetrius* thence, who was then retreated thither. But *Cilles*, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, *Demetrius*, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march came upon him before he was aware, and surprizing him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at *Gaza*, again ballanced the matter between him and *Ptolemy*; and also put it in the power of *Demetrius* (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to *Ptolemy* of the kindness he had before received from him. For after this victory, he sent back unto him *Cilles*, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as *Ptolemy* had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at *Gaza*.

ANTIGONUS receiving an account at *Celene* in *Phrygia* (where he then resided) of this victory of his son's over *Cilles*, hastened thence into *Syria*, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and having passed mount *Taurus*, joined his son in the *upper Syria*; whereon *Ptolemy* finding him-

* In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amstelodami, p. 201.

z Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

y 1 Maccab. i. 10.

a Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid.

self not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled *Ace*, *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and *Gaza*, and retreated again into *Egypt*, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of the inhabitants of the countrey. Whereon all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, returned again under the power of *Antigonus*.

THE^b inhabitants of those countries, whom *Ptolemy* carried with him into *Egypt*, on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion. For he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shewn great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange countrey, than tarry the coming of *Antigonus* in their own, (from whom they expected a contrary treatment) and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by *Ptolemy*, to invite them to this removal. For his mind being then much set upon the making of *Alexandria* to be the capital of *Egypt*, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here *Ptolemy* planted all those that followed him in this retreat, among whom were a great number of the *Jews*.^c *Alexander* had planted several of that nation there before; and *Ptolemy*, after his first irruption into *Judea*, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoy'd the benefit of a plentiful countrey, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into *Judea*, excited in many others there a desire to follow them, and accordingly many did so on this occasion. For *Alexander* had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with his *Macedonians*, and *Ptolemy* had continued the same to them. By which means the *Jewish* quarter in that city encreased to the number of several thousands of families; and^d many *Samaritans*, as well as *Jews*, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

AMONG those that followed *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* on this occasion, one was^e *Hezekias*, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests. *Hecateus* the historian being then with *Ptolemy*, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learn'd from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the *Jews*, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this *Hezekias* had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of *Moses*. And, I doubt not, it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the *Jews*, and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them. For he composed a particular history of the *Jews*, therein treating of them from *Abraham* down to his time; in which he speaks so honourably of

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. & lib. 2.

Apionem, lib. 2.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1.

^e Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^d Euseb. præp. evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. & contra Apionem, lib. 2.

them.

them, and their religion, that ^e *Origen* tells us, *Herennius Philo*, ^h an heathen writer, who flourished about the time of *Trajan* the *Roman* emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of *Hecataeus* or no; making this inference from hence concerning it, that either it was composed by some *Jew* under the name of *Hecataeus*, or else if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the *Jewish* religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (tho' I see no necessity for it) the latter is as possible as the other. This *Hecataeus* was of *Abdera*, a *Grecian* city in *Thrace*, which had been famous for the birth of *Democritus*, *Protagoras*, and other learned men. He was bred up with *Alexander*, and followed him in all his wars, and after his death put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy*, and lived with him in *Egypt*; where having from the conversation which he had with this learned *Jew*, and others of that nation, who followed *Ptolemy* thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them which I have mentioned. Out of which *Josephus* hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against *Apion*; but the book it self is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name, but he was a *Milesian*, and lived long before, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

JOSEPHUS ^k tells us of another *Jew* called *Mosollam*, who about this time followed *Ptolemy*, and had listed himself an horseman in his army, and out of the same *Hecataeus* gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of *Hecataeus* are as followeth: "As I was travelling towards the *Red Sea*, there was in company with us a certain *Jew* called *Mosollam*, " one of a *Jewish* troop of horse, that was sent to be our convoy, a very " valiant man, and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* of his time. As several of us " were travelling on in this journey together, a certain soothsayer, who " took upon him to foretel the fortune of our journey, bad us all stand still, " and we did so. Whereon this *Jew* asked us what we stood for? Look " ye, answered the cunning man, and shewed him a bird: If that bird " stands, said he, ye are to stand, and if he riseth and flies on, you are to " go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you " must all go back again. The *Jew* hereat, without a word speaking, " lets fly an arrow and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of " the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outrageous " terms. Why certainly, saith the *Jew* to them, are ye not all mad to " make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched " creature pretend to foreshew us our fortune, that knew nothing of its " own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would " have kept out of this place for fear of being slain by the arrow of *Mosollam* the *Jew*." Thus far *Hecataeus*, who it is plain tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the *Jews*, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

ANTIGONUS having thus recovered all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, An. 311.

^e Contra Celsum, lib. 1.

^h Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 10.

ⁱ Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 10.

^k Contra Apionem, lib. 1.]

Alex-
ander
Ægus 6.

out of the hands of *Ptolemy*, ¹ sent *Athenæus*, one of his lieutenants, with an army against the *Nabathæan Arabs*. They being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them; and to be revenged of them for it, *Antigonus* sent these forces against them. The chief city of those *Arabs* was *Petra*, which standing on an high rock in the desarts, was from thence called by the *Greeks* *Petra*, by the *Hebrews* ^m *Sela*, and by the *Arabs* *Hagar*. For ⁿ *Hagar* signifieth the same in *Arabic* that *Sela* doth in *Hebrew*, and *Petra* in *Greek*, that is, a rock. And hence it is, that *St. Paul* ^o calls mount *Sinai Hagar*. For that was all a rocky mountain, which beginning at the *Red-Sea*, runs a great way into *Arabia*, and on part of it the city of *Petra* was built. There ^p being a certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood, the *Nabathæans* having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods under a guard at *Petra*, were gone to this mart. *Athenæus* craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches got to *Petra* in their absence, and having surprized the place flew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this returning to *Petra*, they from thence wrote letters to *Antigonus* in the *Syriac* language, accusing *Athenæus* of the wrong he had done them. To which *Antigonus*, temporising with the present necessity, returned such an answer, as disowned the enterprize of *Athenæus*, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he ^q sent his son *Demetrius* with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers, which the other failed of. Who having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the countrey, which immediately brought them all together to *Petra*, where they having left a strong garri-son, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the desarts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that *Demetrius*, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and after a march of three hundred furlongs, (which is about thirty six of our miles) he came to the lake *Asphaltites*, and there encamped. This was also called by some *the sea of Sodom*, by others the *dead sea*, and in scripture ^r *the salt sea*. It was called *the sea of Sodom*, because there *Sodom* once stood; *the dead Sea*, because it is a stagnated water, without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.^m Isaiah xvi. 1. ² Kings xiv. 7.ⁿ Vide Bocharti

geographiam sacram, part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27.

^o In the epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv. ver. 25.^p Diodor. ibid.^q Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. ibid.^r Gen. xiv. 3.

Numb. xxxiv. 3, 12. Deut. iii. 17. Josh. iii. 16.

found;

found; *the salt sea*, because of its exceeding saltness, and *Asphaltites*, from the Greek word *Asphaltus*, which signifieth *bitumen*; ^f which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the *Greeks* and *Latins* called it. At present the adjacent inhabitants ^g call it the lake of *Lot*. It ^h extends from north to south, about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place. On the east side of it anciently lay the land of *Moab*; and on the west side, that part of the land of *Canaan* which was the portion of the tribe of *Judah*; and towards the south it abutted upon the land of *Edom*. The rivers *Jordan* and *Arnon* run into it at the north end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but like the *Caspian sea*, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea, or lake of *Tiberias*, (called ⁱ *the sea of Galilee*, and ^j *the lake of Genesaret* in the gospels) on which our Saviour was so conversant. For that as it receiveth the river *Jordan* at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the lake *Asphaltites*, it is there absorbed and no more heard of. *Demetrius*, on his encamping on this lake, ^k observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the *bitumen* which it yielded, gave *Antigonus* an account of it on his return. *Antigonus*, tho' no way pleased with the peace which he had made with the *Nabathæans*, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made, of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the *bitumen* of this lake; and immediately sent thither *Jerom the Cardian* to take care of it. But when he had, according to his Instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the *bitumen* of the lake, to carry it all to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of *Antigonus*, the *Arabs* to the number of six thousand men fell upon him, and having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This ^l *Jerom* being a fellow-citizen of *Eumenes*, followed his party to the time of his death; but being then taken prisoner by *Antigonus*, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this he was ^m governor of *Syria*, for *Antiochus Soter* the son of *Seleucus*. For he lived to a great age, ⁿ being an hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he served. He wrote the history of *Alexander* and his successors, and their posterity, down to the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and beyond it; but tho' he had lived long in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, first under *Antigonus*, and afterwards under *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus* his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the *Jews*, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them, yet he passed them over in a total silence, not speaking as much

^f Plin. lib. 5. cap. 16.

^g Baudrandi geographia sub voce *Asphaltites*.

^h See Maundrel's journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's travels, part 1. book 2. chap. 41.

ⁱ Matth. iv. 18. Ch. xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1.

^j Luke v. 1.

^k Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

^l Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.

^m Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. Where observe the translators here put *Antigonus* instead of *Antiochus*, by a wrong variation from the Greek text.

ⁿ Lucianus de Longævis.

as one word of them. For which he is * faulted by *Josephus*, as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

ANTIGONUS receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the successes of *Seleucus* in the east, ^b sent *Demetrius* his son with an army to *Babylon* to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the maritim parts of *lesser Asia*, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to *Babylon*. *Demetrius*, according to his father's order, having gathered his forces together at *Damascus*, marched thence to *Babylon*; and *Seleucus* being then absent in *Media*, he entered that city without opposition. For *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter *Demetrius*, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens; where being surrounded with rivers, ditches and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessableness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the *Tigris*, and others retreating into the deserts, and others in other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retreated. *Demetrius* finding the city deserted, laid siege to the castles. For there were two of them in that city well garrison'd, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the *Euphrates*, and the other on the other side, just over-against it. One of these he took, and having expelled the garrison of *Seleucus*, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out to the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore leaving *Archelaus*, one of his principal commanders, with a thousand horse and five thousand foot to continue the siege, he marched back with the rest of his army into *lesser Asia*, to the assistance of his father, having first plunder'd the whole province of *Babylon* of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from *Antigonus*, and firmly united them to *Seleucus* and his interest ever after. For even those, who had till then been for *Antigonus*, concluding, that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with *Seleucus*, and all went without any farther reserve entirely over to his interest. So that on his returning to *Babylon* after the retreat of *Demetrius*, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle which he had garrison'd, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the *Babylonians* began the *Epocha* of his kingdom, tho' all the other nations of *Asia* placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

DEMETRIUS * on his return into *lesser Asia*, having raised the

* Libro primo contra Apionem.

† Diodor. & Plutarchus, *ibid*.

† Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

siege of *Halicarnassus*, which was besieged by *Ptolemy*, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and *Antigonus*; in which it was agreed, that *Cassander* should have the command of all in *Macedonia*, till *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* should be grown up; that *Lysimachus* should have *Thrace*; *Ptolemy* *Egypt*, and the adjacent parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*; and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; and that all the *Grecian* cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long. For many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of *Antigonus*, and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

ALEXANDER the son of *Roxana* being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, ^{an. 310.} *Cassander* thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer. For he being resolved to seize ^{Alexander} the kingdom of *Macedon* for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of *Amphipolis*, where he had for several years shut up him and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However *Ptolemy* in his canon continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of *Alexander* among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves Kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of. ^{Egus 7.}

POLYSPERCHON, who governed in *Peloponnesus*, hearing of the death of *Roxana* and her son, ^{*} laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against *Cassander* for the fact, accusing him every where for the villainy of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the *Macedonians* against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of *Alexander*; and to make the greater shew hereof, he sent for *Hercules* the other son of *Alexander*, which he had by *Barsina* the widow of *Memnon*, and having gotten him and his mother to him from *Pergamus*, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the *Macedonians* the instating of him in his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying *Cassander*, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms, and when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed, for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by *Cassander* to cut off this son of *Alexander's* also. And therefore the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villainous manner, as *Cassander* had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that after their death they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

PTOLEMY ^f having renewed the war against *Antigonus* for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in *Cilicia* and elsewhere. But *Demetrius* soon dispossessed him again of all in *Cilicia*; and other of *Antigonus's* lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in *Cyprus*, *Ptolemy* having, by the cutting off

^a Diodor. lib. 19. Pausanias in Bæoticis.

^f Diodor. ibid.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pausanias in Bæoticis.

of *Nicocles* King of *Paphos*, extinguished all the interest that *Antigonus* had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

THIS year ^a *Epicurus* being thirty two years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy. He first taught it at *Mitylene* in the isle of *Lesbus*, and afterwards at *Lampsacus* on the *Hellepont*, and after that at *Athens*, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty seventh year of his age, and there kept his school in a garden, till the sixty third year of his age, in which he died. According to him all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also that there is no future state, but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here is the highest good that man is capable of, and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, tho' our modern Infidels build their impious doctrines upon *Epicurus's* philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way, whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of this impious school have sprung the *Sadduces* of the *Jews*, the *Zendichees* of the *Akabs*, and the *Deists* of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state. For they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore they received the law of *Moses*, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go thorough stich with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

AN. 309.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 8.

PTOLEMY, to make himself amends for his losses in *Cilicia*, ^b invaded *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and other maritim parts of *Asia*, and divested *Antigonus* of *Phaselis*, *Caunus*, *Mindus*, and several other cities, which he before held on those coasts.

AN. 308.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 9.

AND then ⁱ sailing into the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, he took in the island of *Andrus*, and from thence passing to the continent, there possessed himself of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and several other places. While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondence with *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*. She was the same that was married to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, at the time when her father *Philip* was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in *Italy*) lived a widow, and for several years past had her residence at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; but being there ill used by *Antigonus*, under whose power that city was, *Ptolemy* took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with *Antigonus*. But when she had put her self upon the journey to go to him, *Antigonus's* lieutenant, who governed for him at *Sardis*, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her a little after, by the order of *Antigonus*, private-

^a Laertius in vita Epicuri. See Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, Part. 13.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. *ibid.*

^b Diodor. lib. 20.

ly to be put to death. Whereon *Antigonus* coming himself to *Sardis*, condemned to death those women of her retinue, by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts, which they are contrived to disown, and rather encrease than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But *Antigonus* being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever; and therefore according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every person, was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till at length that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it; and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses.

OPHELLAS, prince of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, * being slain by *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, *Ptolemy* again recovered these provinces. *Ophellas* was a soldier of *Alexander's*, and after his death followed the fortune of *Ptolemy*, and went with him into *Egypt*. From thence he was sent by him to reduce *Libya* and *Cyrene* to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to *Ptolemy*, as well as *Egypt* and *Arabia*, on the division of the empire; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for *Ptolemy* of these countries, he seized them for himself; and *Ptolemy's* other engagements, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But *Agathocles* being now in *Africa* making war against the *Carthaginians*, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited *Ophellas* into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the empire of all *Africa* for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by *Ophellas*; and therefore having gotten together an Army of twenty thousand men, after a long march he joined *Agathocles* with them, in the territories of the *Carthaginians*. But the wicked tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off *Ophellas*, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to shew how *Ptolemy* after this again recovered the provinces of *Libya*, and *Cyrene*. For *Ophellas*, being thus slain, and this ill projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of *Ptolemy* without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of *Egypt* for several ages after. And under the protection of those princes, the colony of the *Jews*, which had been there planted by this first *Ptolemy*, (as hath been above-mentioned) encreased, and grew to a great number. For ¹ in the time of *Vespasian*, no fewer

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 22. cap. 7.
cap. 31.

¹ Josephus de bello Judaico, lib. 7.

than three thousand of them were put to death in that countrey for one mutiny; and yet within a few years after, ^m under the reign of *Trajan*, they mastered the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This *Ophellus* ⁿ had for his wife *Eurydice*, a fair *Athenian* lady, of the descendants of *Miltiades*. On the death of her husband she returned to *Athens*, where *Demetrius* meeting her the next year after fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

An. 306.
Alex-
ander
Ægus II.

FOR *Demetrius* ^o came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of *Greece*; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of *Cassander*, and depress his power in those parts; which having fully effected, by driving *Demetrius Phalereus* out of that city, he returned again to his father.

THIS *Demetrius Phalereus* ^p had governed *Athens* under *Cassander* ten years. And never were the *Athenians* under a ^q more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness, than while he presided over them; and in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him ^r as many statues in that city, as there were days in the year, and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place; and of all this, and much more, was he well deserving. For he was not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree, through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to *Cassander*, and after his death went into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, and is said there ^s to have had the chief management of *Ptolemy's* library, and to have procured for it that translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures into *Greek*, which we now call the *septuagint*; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

DEMETRIUS, on his return from *Athens*, ^t was sent by his father, with a great fleet and army, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of the island of *Cyprus*; and therefore sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at *Carpasia*; and having taken that city and *Urania*, he marched to *Salamine*, the capital of the whole island. *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy*, who was then chief commander for him in *Cyprus*, being at that time with most of his forces in *Salamine*, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but being overborn by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of a thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence *Ptolemy* having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes, in which *Demetrius* having obtained the victory, *Ptolemy* was forced to take his flight back into

^m Xiphilin in Trajano.
ⁿ Plutarchus in Demetrio.

^o Plutarchus in Demetrio.

^p Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

^q Laertius in vita Demetrii Phalerei. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

^r Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. & in oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3. cap. 17.

^s Laertius, ibid. Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. Plutarchus in libro de Reipublicæ gerendæ Præceptis.

^t Aristæas. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12.

cap. 2.

^u Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 2.

Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror; whereon the whole island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping and magazines, that *Ptolemy* had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiscus* the son of *Ptolemy*, being among the captives, *Demetrius* sent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much encreased his military strength, both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

ANTIGONUS, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth assumed the title of King, and wore a crown; and sent another crown to *Demetrius*, and gave the title of King to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, that *Ptolemy*, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title. This example being followed by *Lysimachus* *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, they also about the same time assumed the title of Kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

By this time *Seleucus* was grown very great in the *East*. For having slain *Nicanor* in battel, who was sent against him by *Antigonus*, he not only secured to himself hereby *Media*, *Assyria*, and *Babylon*, but carrying his arms farther, reduced under him *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrkania*, and all the other provinces on this side the *Indus*, which *Alexander* had before made himself master of.

ANTIGONUS, to pursue the blow which *Demetrius* had given *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*, drew together into *Syria* an army of near an hundred thousand men for the invading of *Egypt*, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him, as he had at *Cyprus*, and so dispossess him of that countrey also. While he marched thither with his bulky army, *Demetrius* his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both to *Gaza*, where having concerted matters between them, *Demetrius* failed to make a descent upon the countrey at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, while *Antigonus* invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that *Antigonus* passed the desarts, that lay between *Palestine* and *Egypt*, and when he was arrived in *Egypt* he found much greater. And *Demetrius* met with no less at sea. For storms had much shattered his fleet; and *Ptolemy* had so well guarded all the mouths of the *Nile*, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them; neither could *Antigonus* make any better progress with his army at land. For *Ptolemy* had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where; and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For *Ptolemy* having sent boats to several places on the river,

* Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.

† Appian in *Syriacis*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, & 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

where *Antigonus's* soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from *Antigonus's* army, if he were a common soldier he should have * two mina's, and if a commander † a talent; whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to *Ptolemy*. For *Antigonus* being a crabbed ‡ old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, *Ptolemy*, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his human and courteous carriage to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. *Antigonus* therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the out-skirts of *Egypt*, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on *Ptolemy*, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that countrey, was forced to return back into *Syria* with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon *Ptolemy* wrote to *Lysimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, of his success, and having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore *Ptolemy* the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of *Alexander Ægus*, tho' he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new *epocha* after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of *November*, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*.

An. 304.
Ptolemy
Soter 1.

THE † *Rhodians* subsisting chiefly by their trade with *Egypt*, for this reason adhered to the interest of *Ptolemy*; and when sent to by *Antigonus* for the assistance of some of their shipping in the *Cyprian* war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. *Antigonus* therefore, as soon as the *Egyptian* expedition was over, sent *Demetrius* with a fleet and army to reduce that island to his obedience. But after a year's time spent in the siege of *Rhodes*, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they should associate with *Antigonus* in all his wars, except only against *Ptolemy*. For it being chiefly by the assistance of *Ptolemy* that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* about it, they consecrated unto him a grove; and, for his greater honour, made it a very sumptuous work. For it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately *portico* on every side, and from his name called it *the Ptolemeum*; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they

* i. e. About six pound five shillings of our money.
pound of our money.

Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

† He was now about eighty years old.

‡ i. e. About one hundred eighty eight

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

paid divine honours unto him; and in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war,^b they gave him the additional name of *Soter*, that is the saviour; by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other *Ptolemies* that after reigned in that country.

SELEUCUS having secured himself in the possession of all the countries, from the *Euphrates* to the river *Indus*,^c made war upon *Sandrocottus*, for the making of himself master of *India* also. This *Sandrocottus*^d was an *Indian* by birth, and of a very mean original; but giving out that he would deliver his country from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence got together an army, and by degrees having encreased it to a great number, took the advantage, while *Alexander's* successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the *Macedonians* out of all those *Indian* provinces which *Alexander* had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had by this time brought all *India* under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants, managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power, and therefore coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from *Sandrocottus* five hundred of his elephants, he should on that consideration quit to him all his pretensions in *India*; and on these terms peace was made between them. And *Seleucus* having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against *Antigonus*; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this peace with *Sandrocottus*.

FOR *Demetrius*, after he had ended his war with the *Rhodians*, failed a second time with a great fleet and army into *Greece*, under the same pretence of freeing the *Grecian* cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of *Ptolemy* and *Cassander* in those parts, and there dispossession'd *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and most of the other places which he held in *Greece*, and pressed so hard upon *Cassander*, that he was forced to sue to him for peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, he and *Lyfimachus* having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the designs of *Antigonus* were to suppress all the other successors of *Alexander*, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his over-growing power. And therefore *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastened *Seleucus* out of *India* back again into *Assyria*, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus* having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in *Europe* to make a stand against *Demetrius* in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared

^b Pausanias in Atticis.

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Appianus in Syriacis

^d Justin. Diodor. Appian, ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16

Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Deme-

trio. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

from both their territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of *Antigonus* in *Asia*. And accordingly *Lyfimachus* passed the *Hellepont* with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, and most of the countries from the *Propontis* to the river *Meander* under his power. *Antigonus* was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by him in the upper *Syria*, and was there celebrating solemn games, which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and dismissing the assembly forthwith, set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and as soon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in those parts, he hastned with them over mount *Taurus* into *Cilicia*; and having, at *Quinda* in that province, taken out of the publick treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. *Lyfimachus* not finding himself strong enough to encounter *Antigonus*, stood upon the defensive only, till *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* should come up to his assistance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter quarters.

An. 301.
Ptolemy
Soter 4.

IN the beginning of the next year, ^f *Seleucus* having gotten together a great army at *Babylon*, marched thence into *Cappadocia*, for the pursuing of the war against *Antigonus*. Of which *Antigonus* having notice, sent for *Demetrius* out of *Greece* to his assistance; who immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to *Ephesus*, and recovered again that city to *Antigonus*, and many other adjacent places, which on the coming of *Lyfimachus* into *Asia* had revolted from him.

PTOLEMY, on *Antigonus*'s leaving *Syria*, took the advantage of his absence to invade that countrey, and soon recovered again all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, excepting only *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being well garrison'd, held out against him for *Antigonus*. For the reduction of them he first laid siege to *Sidon*; but as he was carrying of it on, being informed that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report, and therefore forthwith making a truce with the *Sidonians* for five months, raised the siege, and returned into *Egypt*.

IN the mean time the forces of the confederated Princes being got together, under the command of *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus* on the one hand, and *Demetrius* having joined *Antigonus* on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battel, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in *Phrygia* called *Ipsus*; in which *Antigonus* being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. *Antigonus* was pass'd eighty years old, some say pass'd eighty four, when he thus fell. *Demetrius* finding the battel lost, and his father slain, made his escape to *Ephesus*, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were all

^f Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Appian in Syriacis.

the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thousand men, with which he and his father entered the field of battel. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of *Greece*. And shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad; and altho' he still retained some territories in *Greece* and elsewhere, and afterwards for some years reigned in *Macedonia*, yet he could never recover his father's empire; but for the seventeen years which he afterwards lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it; till at length falling into the hands of *Seleucus*, he died in the prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battel, were *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the island of *Cyprus*.

AFTER the death of *Antigonus*,^f the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them, and hereby the whole empire of *Alexander* became parted, and settled into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; *Cassander*, *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus*, *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other of the provinces beyond the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And these four were the ^g four horns of the he-goat, mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet *Daniel*, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn. That first horn^h was *Alexander* King of *Grecia*, who overthrew the kingdom of the *Medes* and *Persians*; and the ⁱ other four horns were these four Kings who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard,^k spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the same prophet, the kingdom of the mighty King (*i. e.* of *Alexander*) should be broken, and divided towards (*i. e.* according to the number of) the four winds of heaven, among those four Kings, who should not be of his posterity, as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the empire of *Alexander*, were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of *Alexander*. But this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms among Kings; and therefore of this only can these prophecies be understood. For it's plain, they speak of the four successors of *Alexander's* as ^l of four Kings; where they are represented by four horns, they are ^m expressly called so; and where they are represented by ⁿ four heads, the very symbol speaks them so. For who are heads of kingdoms, but the Kings that reign over them? The leopard in that prophesy was the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the four heads were the four Kings, that after *Alexander* divided it into four kingdoms, and as Kings reigned over them. But none of *Alexander's* successors were Kings, till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first indeed there were five Kings of these successors. But *Antigonus* not being King above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only, who conquered him. And

^f Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appian in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5.

^g Dan. viii. ^h Dan. viii. 21. xi. 3. ⁱ Dan. viii. 22. xi. 4. ^k Dan. vii. 6.

^l Dan. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4. ^m Dan. viii. 21. ⁿ Dan. vii. 6.

it is farther to be observed, that tho' *Antigonus* and the other four called themselves Kings three years before the battel of *Ipsus*, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But after this battel there being a league made between the four survivors, who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions set out to them into so many kingdoms, and each of them were authorized by the consent of all to govern them as Kings independent of all superiors, from this time only can their respective divisions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as Kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their successors afterwards had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called Kings; and they were four only, that is, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus*, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

*An. 300.
Ptolemy
Soter 5.*

ONIAS, the first of that name, high-priest of the *Jews*, being dead, he was succeeded in the high-priesthood by *Simon* his son, who from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called *Simon the Just*. He was the first of that name that was high-priest, and lived in that office nine years.

SELEUCUS, after his victory over *Antigonus*, having seized the upper *Syria*, there built *Antioch*, on the river *Orontes*, which afterwards for many ages became the Queen of the *East*. For here the *Syrian* Kings had the seat of their empire, and here the *Roman* governors who presided over the affairs of the *East* had their residence; and when christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the *Asian* churches. It was situated on the river *Orontes*, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place, where it falls into the *Mediterranean sea*. It is reckoned to be in the mid way by land, between *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each. He called it *Antioch*, say some, from the name of his father, others from the name of his son, and others from that of both. For *Antiochus* was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built sixteen other cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in *Pisidia*, of which mention is made in the scripture; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* was the most remarkable of them. *Antigonus* had not long before built a city in the neighbourhood, which from his name he called *Antigonia*, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire. This *Seleucus* rased to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the *Orontes*, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He built also several other cities in that coun-

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. Chronicon. Alexandrinum. Eusebii Chron. Syncellus ex Africano. ^b Johannes Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750, &c. Appian in Syriacis. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Diodor. lib. 20. Julianus in Misopogone. ^c Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia magna. ^d Acts xiii. 14. ^e Strabo, & Diodorus Siculus, ibid. ^f Strabo, ibid.

treys, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called *Seleucia* from his own name; another *Apamia* from *Apama* his wife, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*; and the third *Laodicea*, from *Laodice* his mother. *Apamia* and *Seleucia* stood upon the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. And upon the same coast, towards the south, lay *Laodicea*. For the sake of these four cities, the countrey in which they stood had the name of *Tetrapolis*, i. e. *the countrey of the four cities*, not but that there were several other cities in it. But these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that countrey, and indeed it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was *Seleucis*: This *Seleucus* gave it from his own name, and it extended southward as far as *Cæle-Syria*. For *Syria* was divided into three parts, *Syria* properly so called, *Cæle-Syria*, or the hollow *Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, which I call the *upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain *Amanus* on the north, to the mountain *Libanus* on the south, and was afterwards called *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Anti-Libanus*, including *Damascus* and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was for this reason called *Cæle-Syria*, i. e. *the hollow Syria*. From *Anti-Libanus* to the borders of *Egypt* was *Syria Palestina*, and the maritim parts of the two latter, from *Aradus* to *Gaza*, was that which the *Greeks* called *Phœnicia*. But not only *Seleucis*, but *Antioch* it self, was also called *Tetrapolis*, but from another reason; that is because it consisted of four quarters as of so many cities; the first of them only was built by *Seleucus*, the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and were also enclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the *East*, till at length, *anno domini* 1265, it was taken from the western christians by *Bibars* sultan of *Egypt*, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that *Aleppo* hath succeeded in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. * All the walls are still remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their enclosures. It is now called *Anthakia*, but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The * patriarchal see, which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to *Damascus*. But he that hath at present the title of patriarch of *Antioch* in that place, scarce reacheth the figure formerly born by the meanest deacon of that church; to so low a condition is the state of christianity now sunk in those parts.

* Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281.

* Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 280.

* Golius, ibid.

DAPHNE ^y was reckoned a suburb of this city, tho' at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove which was ten miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to *Antioch*, that *Baia* was to *Rome*, and *Canopus* to *Alexandria*; that is, the place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For ^z it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of *Cypress* trees in the grove, and the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight; which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment, ^a was there to be had in the utmost excess; and the *Antiochians*, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that tho' the place had been consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was by the *Antiochians* in reality wholly devoted to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. to live after the manners of *Daphne*, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And *Cassius* the *Roman* general, on his coming to *Antioch*, by publick proclamation prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashier'd, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this *Antioch*, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called *Antioch* on the *Orontes*, so was it as often called *Antioch* ^b ἐν Δαφνῇ, i. e. *Antioch near Daphne*.

An. 299.
Ptolemy
Soter 6.

LYSIMACHUS, to strengthen himself in his kingdom, ^c made a strict alliance with *Ptolemy*, and for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife *Arfinoe* one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to *Agathocles* his son. *Seleucus* following this example, contracted the like alliance with *Demetrius*, and married his daughter *Stratonice*, which he had by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. She being a very beautiful lady, *Seleucus* on the fame of it desired her in marriage, and *Demetrius* being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from *Greece*, where he had still some towns, carried her with the whole fleet that he had then remaining into *Syria*. In his way thither he made a descent upon *Cilicia*, which was then held by *Plistarchus* brother of *Cassander*, by the gift of the four kings after the death of *Antigonus*. Hereon *Plistarchus* went to *Seleucus* to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without consent of the other Kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. *Demetrius* having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to *Quinda*, where the publick treasury of the countrey was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to *Orassus*, a maritim town in *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride; and after some days there spent

^y Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750.
in Babylam Martyrem.

^z Procopius Persicorum, lib. 2.
^b Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719.

^a Chrysostomi sermo
^c Plutarchus in Demetrio.

into nuptial feasts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he failed back again into *Cilicia*, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent *Phila* his wife to *Cassander* her brother to excuse the matter.

By this means the power of *Demetrius* began again to grow in those parts; for he had there on this acquisition all the province of *Cilicia*, the whole island of *Cyprus*, and the two strong and wealthy cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which making *Seleucus* jealous of his neighbourhood, he would have bought him out of *Cilicia* for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase. But *Demetrius* not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about *Tyre* and *Sidon*, demanding them of him in great anger, as cities belonging to *Syria*, of which he was King. To which *Demetrius* returned as angry an answer, telling him, that tho' he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate, and immediately hereon failed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which *Seleucus* then had of taking them from him. So that *Seleucus* got nothing hereby but an ill name. For he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unsatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean* sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes.

ABOUT this time flourished *Megasthenes*, who wrote an history of *India*. For he was a confidant of *Seleucus's*; and having been employed by him in his transactions with *Sandrocottus* King of *India*, and resided with him some time in that countrey, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterwards composed his book. Some fragments of it are preserved by *Josephus*, and *Eusebius*, wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the greatness of his power. And he is often quoted by *Strabo*, and other ancient writers, as *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*. But the Book itself is not now extant. *Annianus*, a lying monk of *Viterbo* in *Italy*, who was born anno 1437, and flourished towards the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Megasthenes*, whom he calls *Metasthenes* out of a mistake, which he was led into by *Rufinus's* Latin version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose name they bore, but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are *Inghiramius's* *Etruscan* antiquities, and *Jeffrey of Monmouth's* *British* history. For all these are no other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication, and they have truly done so. For they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise, than under the style of infamous impostors.

^d Plutarchus in Demetrio.

^e Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.

^f Arrian de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. & de rebus indicis.

^g Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11.

& contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^h Præp. evang. ex Abydeno, lib. 9.

ⁱ Lib. 15. p. 687.

Where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

CASSANDER¹ having governed *Macedon* from the death of his father nineteen years, dyed of a dropsy; leaving behind him, by *Theffalonice* his wife, one of the sisters of *Alexander the Great*, three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. *Philip*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contested for between his two brothers that survived.

An. 297.
Ptolemy
Soter 8.

PYRRHUS, the famous King of *Epirus*,^m being in *Egypt*, there married *Antigone* one of *Ptolemy's* family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by *Neoptolemus* an usurper, followed *Demetrius* in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battel of *Ipsus*, and after that continued with him till the marriage of *Seleucus*, with *Stratonice*. Then, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, peace and reconciliation having been made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, *Pyrrhus* was delivered to *Ptolemy* as an hostage on the part of *Demetrius* for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into *Egypt*; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice* his best beloved wife. *Ptolemy* had another wife called *Eurydice*, who was the daughter of *Antipater* and sister to *Cassander*. When *Antipater* sent this lady into *Egypt* to be married to *Ptolemy*, he sent with her for a companion *Berenice*, she being then the widow of one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, newly deceased, by whom she had this *Antigone*. On her arrival in *Egypt* she soon grew so much into the liking of *Ptolemy*, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore on *Pyrrhus's* having married her daughter, she prevailed with *Ptolemy* to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

An. 296.
Ptolemy
Soter 9.

DEMETRIUS from *Tyre* made an inroad upon the *Samaritans*, and wasted *Samaria*; so saithⁿ *Eusebius*; and it's certain, that at this time *Demetrius* was in possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; but it is more likely that this was done by *Demetrius's* lieutenants in those parts, than by *Demetrius* himself in person. For according to all other histories, *Demetrius's* wars in *Greece* detained him there all this year, and also the next.

An. 295.
Ptolemy
Soter 10.

FOR^o the *Athenians* having revolted from *Demetrius*, after the reduction of the *Messenians* (which had been the work of the former year) he employed a whole year in the siege of *Athens*, and at length, by famine, forced them to a surrender.

AFTER *Demetrius* had settled his affairs at *Athens*,^o he formed a design for the subduing of the *Lacedemonians*, and having overthrown them in two battels, would certainly have succeeded in the enterprize, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of *Lacedemon*, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that *Lysimachus* having with a great army invaded his territories in *Asia*, had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts; and immediately after that another, that *Ptolemy* had made a descent upon *Cyprus*, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of *Salamine*, into which

¹ Dexippus & Porphyrius in Chronico Eusebii, p. 57, 59, & 63.
Pausanias in Atticis.

ⁿ In Chronico.

^m Plutarchus in Pyrrho.
^o Plutarchus in Demetrio.

his mother, his wife and children were retired, and that he pressed that place with an hard siege. All these grievous tidings, coming one upon the back of the other, drew back *Demetrius* from *Lacedæmon* to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account, that *Salamine* was also lost. But *Ptolemy* was so generous, that on his mastering the place he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismissal. And when *Ptolemy* had thus made himself master of *Cyprus*, then most likely was it, that *Tyre* and *Sidon* fell into his hands also; it not being possible, that after the loss of *Cyprus*, *Demetrius* could any longer keep them.

AT the same time it seems most likely *Demetrius* also lost *Cilicia* to *Seleucus*. For from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province, and all the cities in it. And no time seems more proper for *Seleucus* to have seized it, than when this declension of *Demetrius's* fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

THE contest ^p going on between *Antipater* and *Alexander*, the sons of *Cassander*, about the kingdom of *Macedon*; and *Thessalonice*, the mother of both, favouring the younger son, this so exasperated *Antipater*, the eldest of them, against her, that in an impious rage he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of *Demetrius*. For *Alexander*, the other brother, to be revenged on *Antipater* for this horrid fact, called in *Demetrius* to his assistance; which opened him a way to the throne of *Macedon*. For the wicked parricide of *Antipater*, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time *Demetrius* had with his army reached the borders of *Macedon*, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into *Thracia*, where he soon after perished in banishment. *Alexander* being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of *Demetrius* also; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off; which *Demetrius* having notice of, was beforehand with him, and first cut off *Alexander*, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as *Alexander* had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got to be King of *Macedon* in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

BY the death of *Thessalonice* and her two sons, the whole royal family of *Philip* King of *Macedon* was utterly extirpated, as that of *Alexander* had been before in the death of *Alexander* *Ægus* and *Hercules* his sons. And so these two Kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars had made many tragedies in other princes families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of providence, brought home to their own, both *Philip* and *Alexander*, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

^p Plutarchus in *Demetrio & Pyrrho*. Justin, lib. 16. cap. 1. Pausanias in *Boeoticis*.

An. 393.
Ptolemy
Soter 12.

ABOUT this time ^a *Seleucus* built *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from *Babylon*. It was placed on the western side of that river, over-against the place where now *Bagdad* stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For *Pliny* ^r tells us, it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thousand more in *London*, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of *Nankin* in *China*) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, the country near *Babylon* being drowned, and the branch of that river which passed thorough the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendred unnavigable, this made the situation of *Babylon* by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*, and the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as *Antioch* was for the other provinces which were on this side that river; for the sake of these advantages the *Babylonians* in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to *Seleucia*. And besides, *Seleucus* having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the east, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a farther invitation to the *Babylonians* to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of *Seleucia*, *Babylon* became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore ^r *Pliny* tells us, *That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end.* And ^r *Strabo* saith the same, as doth also *Pausanias* in his *Arcadicis*, where he tells us, *That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had in his time* (i. e. ^v about the middle of the second century) *nothing left but its walls.* These remained long after. For the space within being made a park by the *Parthian* Kings for the keeping of wild beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the enclosure; and in this state it was in *Jerom's* time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us, ^w *That excepting the walls, which were repaired for the enclosing of the wild beasts that were there kept, all within was desolation:* And in ^x another place, *That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chase for wild beasts kept within the compass of its ancient walls for the hunting of the King; that is of Persia.* For after the *Parthians*, there reigned in *Jerom's* time over those countries a race of *Persian* Kings, and continued there to the time of the *Saracen* empire, by which they were extinguished. When or how those walls became demolish'd, is no where said, no writer for several hundred years after *Jerom's* time speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote near six hundred years

^a Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738, & 743. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26.

^r Ibid.

^r Lib. 6. cap. 36.

^v Lib. 16. p. 738.

^v For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. See Vossius de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 14.

^w Comment. in Esaïæ, cap. 14.

^x Comment. in

Esaïæ, cap. 13.

since, (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173) tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he^y saith, *Some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then in the place.* Texeira, a Portuguese,^z in the description of his travels from India to Italy, tells us, *That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only some few footsteps of it, and that there was no place in all that countrey less frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly stood.* And Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. ^a His words are as followeth. "The village of *Elugo* lieth on the place where formerly old *Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, did stand. The harbour lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those use to go, that intend to travel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which is situated farther to the east on the river *Tigris*, at a day and a half's distance. This countrey is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful countrey of *Sinar*) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable—Just before the village of *Elugo*, is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of *Babylon*.—This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venomous reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these reptiles there are chiefly some in the *Persian* language called *Eglo* by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous. They are bigger than our lizards", &c. All which ruins here mentioned by Rauwolf, are no doubt the same which Benjamin of Tudela saith were the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the old palace which stood on the eastern side of the river. For it is of that only, that Benjamin and Rauwolf speak. Of the ruins of *Babylon* on the western side, where the new palace stood, which Nebuchadnezzar himself built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together, shews how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that, which the prophet *Isaiah* prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it (*ch.* 13. *ver.* 19—22.) are as followeth. *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be dwelt in from generation to generation, neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their*

^y Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 76.
vols in English. Part 2. Chap. 7.

^z Cap. 8.

^a See Mr. Ray's Edition of these Tra-

folds there, but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyres shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged. Thus far *Isaiah*; and besides this, there are several other prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have been already taken notice of. It must be acknowledged, that there is mention made of *Babylon*, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as ^b in *Lucan*, ^c *Philostratus*, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find *Babylon* spoken of as a city in being after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, it must be understood, ^d not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*, but of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old *Babylon*, so also did it in its name. At first it was called *Seleucia Babylonica*, that is, the *Babylonic Seleucia*, or *Seleucia* of the province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from the other *Seleucia's* which were elsewhere, and after that ^e *Babylonia* simply, and at ^f length *Babylon*. That *Lucan*, by his *Babylon* in the first book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than *Seleucia*, or the new *Babylon*, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the vanquishing of the *Romans* at *Carrhae*, which can be understood only of the *Seleucian*, or new *Babylon*, and not of the old. For that new *Babylon* only was the seat of the *Parthian* Kings, but the old *Babylon* never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this *Babylon*, (*i. e.* book vi. ver. 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris* in the same manner as *Antioch* was by the *Orontes*: But it was the *Seleucian* or the new *Babylon*, and not the old, that stood upon the *Tigris*. And as to *Philostratus*, when he brings his *Apollonius* (the *Don Quixot* of his romance) to the royal seat of the *Parthian* King, which was at that time at *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old *Babylon*, and therefore ^g in the describing of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old *Babylon* in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places where they lay the scenes of their fables; and that the whole story of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, as written by *Philostratus*, is no more than a romance and a fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that *Bagdad* is now situated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* stood. For when *Bagdad* was first built, it ^h truly was upon the same plat of ground, where formerly *Seleu-*

^b Lib. i. ver. 10.^c Lib. i. cap. 17, 18, 19.^d Plutarch indeed, in the life of

Crassus, speaks of *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, as of two distinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in *Crassus*, that in his first irruption into *Mesopotamia*, he had not directly marched on to *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, and seized those two cities. And *Appian*, in his *Parthic's*, says the same thing. But *Plutarch* was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place, that is, *Seleucia*. For as to old *Babylon*, it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of *Crassus*. And as to *Appian*, he doth no more than recite the opinion of *Plutarch*. For he writes word for word after him as to this matter. ^e *Plin.* lib. 6. cap. 26. ^f *Stephanus Byzantinus* in *Βαβυλων*.

^g Lib. i. cap. 18.

^h *Bocharti Geographia sacra*, Part i. lib. i. cap. 8. *Golii Notæ ad Afraganum*, p. 121, 122. *Sionitæ Descriptio Bagdadi ad calcem Geographiæ Nubiensis*, cap. 2.

cia or new *Babylon* stood. For as old *Babylon* was exhausted by *Seleucia*, so afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Ctesephon* and *Almadayen*, and these two again by *Bagdad*; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduced to a desolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the times when *Abu Jaafar Almanfur*, caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign, (which was in the year of our Lord 754) it had nothing upon it, but the cell of a christian monk, called *Dad*, and a garden adjoyning to it. From whence it had the name of *Bagdad*, that is, in the language of that country, *the garden of Dad*. And uponⁱ this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of *Bagdad*. For the same *Almanfur* being resolved, out of dislike to *Hashemia*, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay, and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly *Seleucia* had stood, on the west side of the *Tigris*. But not long after it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands about three miles above the place where *Ctesephon* was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of *Almanfur*, was for many years the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and still remains a place of great note in the east: But they are much mistaken, who think it the same with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Bagdad* is upon the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from the place where that old city stood.

SELEUCUS built many other cities both in the *greater* and *lesser Asia*; ^k sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of *Antiochus* his father; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; six *Laodicea*, from the name of *Laodice* his mother; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from *Stratonice* his last wife; in all which he planted the *Jews*, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*: especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city, as they were at *Alexandria*. And from hence it was, that the *Jews* became dispersed all over *Syria*, and the *lesser Asia*. In the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, they had been settled before, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was *Seleucus Nicator* that first gave them settlements in those provinces of *Asia*, which are on this side the *Euphrates*. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the *Babylonish Jews* that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the *Jews* of *Palestine* being under *Ptolomy*, were not in a capacity to be serviceable to him. But *Babylon* being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power,

ⁱ Elmacini Historia Saracenica sub Anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Historia Dynastiarum Editionis Pocockianæ, p. 141. Eutychii Annales, Tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis, p. 204.

^k Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ.
& contra Apionem, lib. 2. Eusebius in Chronico.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

and the *Jews* in those parts being as numerous as the *Jews* of *Palestine*, if not more; it is most likely, that there they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them; and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation.

SIMON the Just, high-priest of the *Jews*, dying, after he had been nine years in that office, left behind him a son called *Onias*; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high-priesthood, *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon* was substituted high-priest in his stead. This *Simon*, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation both towards God and man, merited the surname of the *Just*; so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person, which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* sufficiently shews. There many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the *Jews*, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*. What was done herein by *Ezra* hath been above related. The books afterwards added, were the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Malachi*. That these could not be put into the canon by *Ezra* is plain. For four of those books are, upon just ground, supposed to have been written by himself, (that is, the two books of *Chronicles*, and the books of *Ezra* and *Esther*) and the book of *Nehemiah* was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of *Malachi* also. And therefore a later time must be assigned for their insertion into the canon, and none is more likely, than that of *Simon the Just*, who is said to have been ° the last of the men of the great synagogue. For what the *Jews* call the great synagogue, were a number of elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who succeeding some after others in a continued series, from the return of the *Jews* again into *Judea*, after the *Babylonish* captivity, to the time of *Simon the Just*, laboured in the restoring of the *Jewish* church and state in that countrey; in order where-to, the holy scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, compleated this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained further to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time, where those men of the great synagogue ended, that were employed therein, that is, in the time of *Simon the Just*, who was the last of them? And that especially since there are some particulars in those books, which seem necessarily to refer down to times, as late as those of *Alexander the Great*, if not later. For in the third chapter of the first book of *Chronicles*, we have the genealogy of the sons of *Zerubbabel* carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of *Alexander*; and in the xiith chapter of *Nehemiah* (ver. 22.) we

^m Eusebius in Chronico.

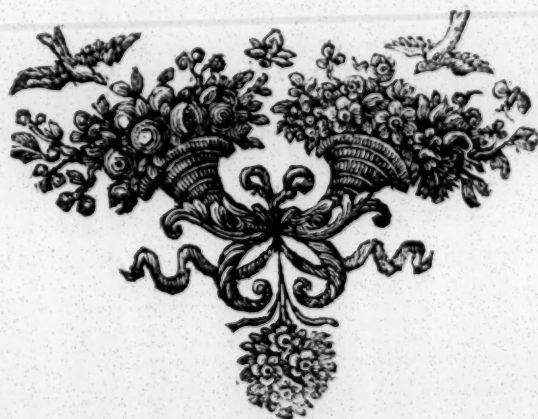
ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2.

^o See Maimonides

and the rest of the Rabbies, who all say that the men of the great synagogue were an hundred and twenty persons, and that *Simon the Just* was the last of them.

have the days of *Jaddua* spoken of, as of days past; but *Jaddua* out-lived *Alexander* two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of *Ezra*, and after the time of *Nehemiah*, (who were the writers of those books) by those who compleated the canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves, who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear. For then they must have lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to, but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say, that they were put in by any other than those, who by the direction of the holy Spirit of God, compleated the canon of the scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency. And therefore we must conclude, that since *Simon the Just* was the last of those that were employed in this work; it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the holy scriptures of the *Old Testament*, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the *Jewish* church. And thus far having brought down this history through the scripture times, till the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament* was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed ^r the *Mishnical* times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners, which God's people studied. But thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God it self, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the *Mishnah*, that is the second law, and those who delivered and taught them, were stiled the *Mishnical* doctors. From the death of *Simon the Just* their time begun, and they continued to be known by that name, till *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the *Mishnah*; which was done about an hundred and fifty years after *Christ*, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished till the time of *Christ*, shall be the subject of the second part of this history.

^r See David Gantz in *Zemach David* and the rest of the *Jewish* writers, by whom all those, who living after the men of the great Synagogue, are quoted in the *Mishnah* for any tradition, are called the *Mishnical* doctors.





A

Chronological Table

To the Foregoing

H I S T O R Y.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Notes.
3967	747	12	1	1	The beginning of the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon.
8	746	13	2	2	
9	745	14	3	3	
3970	744	15	4	4	
1	743	16	5	5	
2	742	1	6	6	Rezin King of Damascus, and Pekah King of Israel, make war against Ahaz, and besiege Jerusalem, but without success.
3	741	2	7	7	Ahaz vanquished, and Judah greatly oppressed by Rezin and Pekah.
4	740	3	8	8	Ahaz calls in Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria to his help, who slays Rezin, and leads part of Israel into captivity.
5	739	4	9	9	Ahaz revokes from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in Judah. Pekah slain by Hoshea.
6	738	5	10	10	
7	737	6	11	11	
8	736	7	12	12	
9	735	8	13	13	
3980	734	9	14	14	
1	733	10	1	15	
2	732	11	2	16	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Events
3983	731	12	1	17		
4	730	13	2	18		
5	729	14	3	19		Tiglath Pileser dies, and is succeeded by Salmaneser.
6	728	15	4	1		Salmaneser invadeth Palestine, and maketh Samaria tributary to him.
7	727	1. 16	5	2	1	Abaz dies, and is succeeded by Hezekiah. Sabacon, or So, the Æthiopian, made King of Egypt.
8	726	2	1	3	2	Hezekiah restor'd the true worship of God in Judah and Jerusalem.
9	725	3	2	4	3	Salmaneser lays siege to Samaria.
3990	724	4	3	5	4	
1	723	5	4	6	5	
2	722	6	5	7	6	
3	721	7	1	8	7	Salmaneser took Samaria, and extinguish'd the kingdom of Israel. Tobit led into captivity at the end of the sixth Jewish year of the reign of Hezekiah.
4	720	8	2	9	8	Salmaneser maketh war upon Tyre, and besiegeth it five years.
5	719	9	3	10	1	Sevechus succeedeth So in the kingdom of Egypt.
6	718	10	4	11	2	
7	717	11	5	12	3	
8	716	12	6	13	4	
9	715	13	7	14	5	Salmaneser dyeth, and is succeeded by Sennacherib.
4000	714	14	8	1	6	Sennacherib invadeth Judea. Hezekiah's sickness.
1	713	15	9	2	7	Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah. Sennacherib invadeth Egypt.
2	712	16	10	3	8	
3	711	17	11	4	9	
4	710	18	12	5	10	Sennacherib, on his return from Egypt, invadeth Judea, and loseth all his army, it being smitten by the hand of God.
5	709	19	1	6	11	The Medes revolt from Sennacherib, and make Deioces King.
6	708	20	2	7	12	
7	707	21	3	8	13	
8	706	22	4	1	14	Sennacherib being slain, is succeeded by Esarhaddon his son.
9	705	23	5	2	1	Tirbakah succeedeth Sevechus in the kingdom of Egypt.
4010	704	24	1	3	2	
1	703	25	2	4	3	
2	702	26	1	5	4	
3	701	27	2	6	5	
4	700	28	3	7	6	
5	699	29	1	8	7	
6	698	1	2	9	8	Hezekiah being dead, is succeeded by Manasseh his son.
7	697	2	3	10	9	
8	696	3	4	11	13	
9	695	4	5	12	10	
4020	694	5	6	13	11	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4021	693	6	1	14	13	17	
2	692	7	1	15	14	18	
3	691	8	2	16	15	19	
4	690	9	3	17	16	20	
5	689	10	4	18	17	21	
6	688	11	1	19	18	22	
7	687	12	2	20	1	23	On the death of <i>Tirhakah</i> ended the reign of the <i>Ethiopian</i> Kings in <i>Egypt</i> , and an <i>Interregnum</i> of two years succeeded.
8	686	13	3	21	2	24	
9	685	14	4	22	1	25	Twelve princes seize the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and govern it by a joint confederacy fifteen years.
4030	684	15	5	23	2	26	
1	683	16	6	24	3	27	
2	682	17	7	25	4	28	
3	681	18	8	26	5	29	
4	680	19	1	27	6	30	<i>Efarhaddon</i> , King of <i>Assyria</i> , is made King of <i>Babylon</i> .
5	679	20	2	28	7	31	
6	678	21	3	29	8	32	
7	677	22	4	30	9	33	<i>Efarhaddon</i> invadeth <i>Palestine</i> , planteth a colony of foreigners in <i>Samaria</i> , takes <i>Manasseh</i> prisoner, and carries him in chains to <i>Babylon</i> .
8	676	23	5	31	10	34	<i>Manasseh</i> is restored, and the <i>Cutheans</i> in <i>Samaria</i> are infested with lions.
9	675	24	6	32	11	35	
4040	674	25	7	33	12	36	
1	673	26	8	34	13	37	
2	672	27	9	35	14	38	
3	671	28	10	36	15	39	
4	670	29	11		1	40	<i>Psammitichus</i> , one of the twelve confederated princes of <i>Egypt</i> , having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.
5	669	30	12		2	41	
6	668	31	13		3	42	
7	667	32	1		4	43	<i>Efarhaddon</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Saosduchinus</i> in the <i>Assyrian</i> and <i>Babylonian</i> kingdoms.
8	666	33	2		5	44	
9	665	34	3		6	45	
4050	664	35	4		7	46	
1	663	36	5		8	47	
2	662	37	6		9	48	
3	661	38	7		10	49	
4	660	39	8		11	50	
5	659	40	9		12	51	
6	658	41	10		13	52	
7	657	42	11		14	53	<i>Deiaces</i> is kill'd in battel by the King of <i>Babylon</i> and <i>Assyria</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4058	656	43	12	15	1	<i>Phraortes</i> his son succeeds him.
9	655	44	13	16	2	<i>Holofernes</i> invadeth <i>Judea</i> , and is slain by <i>Judith</i> .
4060	654	45	14	17	3	
1	653	46	15	18	4	
2	652	47	16	19	5	
3	651	48	17	20	6	
4	650	49	18	21	7	
5	649	50	19	22	8	
6	648	51	20	23	9	
7	647	52	1	24	10	
8	646	53	2	25	11	
9	645	54	3	26	12	
4070	644	55	4	27	13	
1	643	1	5	28	14	<i>Manasseh</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Ammon</i> his son.
2	642	2	6	29	15	
3	641	3	7	30	16	<i>Ammon</i> is murther'd by his servants.
4	640	1	8	31	17	He is succeeded by <i>Josiah</i> his son.
5	639	2	9	32	18	
6	638	3	10	33	19	
7	637	4	11	34	20	
8	636	5	12	35	21	
9	635	6	13	36	22	<i>Phraortes</i> besieging <i>Niniveh</i> , is there slain.
4080	634	7	14	37	1	<i>Cyaxares</i> his son succeeds him.
1	633	8	15	38	2	<i>Josiah's</i> first reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> . The <i>Scythians</i> invade the upper <i>Asia</i> .
2	632	9	16	39	3	
3	631	10	17	40	4	
4	630	11	18	41	5	
5	629	12	19	42	6	<i>Josiah's</i> second reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> .
6	628	13	20	43	7	<i>Jeremiah</i> first called to the prophetic office.
7	627	14	21	44	8	
8	626	15	22	45	9	<i>Nabopolassar</i> rebels against the King of <i>Assyria</i> , and makes himself King of <i>Babylon</i> .
9	625	16	1	46	10	
4090	624	17	2	47	11	
1	623	18	3	48	12	<i>Josiah's</i> third reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> .
2	622	19	4	49	13	
3	621	20	5	50	14	
4	620	21	6	51	15	
5	619	22	7	52	16	
6	618	23	8	53	17	
7	617	24	9	54	18	<i>Psammetichus</i> , King of <i>Egypt</i> , dies.
8	616	25	10	1	19	Is succeeded by <i>Necus</i> his son, called <i>Pharaoh Necho</i> in the holy scriptures.
9	615	26	11	2	20	
4100	614	27	12	3	21	
1	613	28	13	4	22	
2	612	29	14	5	23	<i>Niniveh</i> destroyed by the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Babylonians</i> .
3	611	30	15	6	24	
4	610	31	16	7	25	<i>Josiah</i> slain in battel by <i>Necho</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	The Captivity of Judah.	
4105	609	1 <i>Jeboiakim.</i>	17	8	26		First <i>Jeboahaz</i> , and after him <i>Jeboiakim</i> succeeded in his stead.
6	608	2	18	9	27		
7	607	3	19	10	28		
8	606	4	20 <i>Nebuchadnezzar.</i>	11	29	1	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> takes <i>Jerusalem</i> , from whence begin the seventy years captivity of the <i>Jews</i> .
9	605	5	21	12	30	2	<i>Nabopolassar</i> , K. of <i>Babylon</i> , dies, and is succeeded by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> his son.
4110	604	6	1	13	31	3	<i>Daniel</i> interprets <i>Nebuchadnezzar's</i> dream. <i>Jeboiakim</i> rebels against <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .
1	603	7	2	14	32	4	
2	602	8	3	15	33	5	
3	601	9	4	16	34	6	
4	600	10	5	1	35	7	<i>Darius</i> the Median born.
5	599	11	6	2	36	8	<i>Cyrus</i> born. <i>Jeboiakim</i> slain.
6	598	1 <i>Zedekiah.</i>	7	3	37	9	<i>Jeconiah</i> carry'd into captivity, and <i>Zedekiah</i> made King in his stead.
7	597	2	8	4	38	10	
8	596	3	9	5	39	11	
9	595	4	10	6	40	12	
4120	594	5	11	1	1	13	<i>Ezekiel</i> call'd to the prophetic office. <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> .
1	593	6	12	2	2	14	<i>Zedekiah</i> confederates with <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> ,
2	592	7	13	3	3	15	And rebels against <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .
3	591	8	14	4	4	16	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> besiegeth <i>Jerusalem</i> .
4	590	9	15	5	5	17	Forceth <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> to retreat, who came to relieve it.
5	589	10	16	6	6	18	Takes the city, and utterly destroys it with the temple.
6	588	11	17	7	7	19	Returns to <i>Babylon</i> , and erects the golden image in the plains of <i>Dura</i> .
7	587		18	8	8	20	Comes again into <i>Palestine</i> , and besiegeth <i>Tyre</i> thirteen years.
8	586		19	9	9	21	
9	585		20	10	10	22	
4130	584		21	11	11	23	The remainder of the <i>Jews</i> and <i>Israelites</i> carried away by <i>Nebuzaradan</i> .
1	583		22	12	12	24	
2	582		23	13	13	25	
3	581		24	14	14	26	
4	580		25	15	15	27	
5	579		26	16	16	28	
6	578		27	17	17	29	
7	577		28	18	18	30	
8	576		29	19	19	31	
9	575		30	20	20	32	
4140	574		31	21	21	33	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	
4141	573	34. 32	22	22	34	26	Tyre taken, and Egypt invaded by Nebuchadnezzar.
2	572	35. 33	23	23	35	27	Nebuchadnezzar ravageth Egypt.
3	571	36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints Amasis King, and returns to Babylon.
4	570	37. 35	25	25	37	29	Pharaoh Hophra slain by Amasis.
5	569	38. 36	1	26	38	30	Nebuchadnezzar distracted.
6	568	39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567	40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566	41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565	42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564	43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563	44. 42	7	32	44	36	Nebuchadnezzar restored to his senses.
2	562	45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the thirty seventh year of Jeboiachin's captivity.
3	561	Evilmerodach. Neriglissar.	9	34	46		Jeboiachin released and advanced.
4	560		10	35	47		Evilmerodach slain by a conspiracy against him, and Astyages dies in Media.
5	559		11	Cyaxares, or Darius Medus.	48		Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon, and Cyaxares (the Darius Medus of the scriptures) in Media. Cyrus comes to the aid of the Medes against the Babylonians.
6	558	2	12		49		Great preparations made by the Medes and Babylonians, for war against each other.
7	557	3	13		50		
8	556	4	14	4	51		Cyrus being general of the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares, slays Neriglissar in battel. Laborosoarchod succeeds, and is slain.
9	555	Belshazzar.	15	5	52		Nabonadius (the Belshazzar of the scriptures) succeeds Laborosoarchod.
4160	554		16	6	53		
1	553		17	7	54		Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, Chap. viii.
2	552	4	18	8	55		
3	551	5	19	9	56		Belshazzar goes into lesser Asia, and there hires a great army against Cyrus, of which Cræsus takes the command.
4	550	6	20	10	57		Cyrus sends a spy into Cræsus's army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done.
5	549	7	21	11	58		Cyrus vanquisheth Cræsus at the river Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the city, and Cræsus in it.
6	548	8	22	12	59		Cyrus brings all the lesser Asia under his dominion.
7	547	9	23	13	60		
8	546	10	24	14	61		
9	545	11	25	15	62		
4170	544	12	26	16	63		Cyrus having settled all affairs in the lesser Asia, subdues Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.
1	543	13	27	17	64		

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	High-priests of Judah.	After the Captivity.	
4172	542	14	28	18	65			Cyrus marcheth into the upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his obedience.
3	541	15	29	19	66			Cyrus returns into Assyria, and lays siege to Babylon.
4	540	16	30	20	67			Cyrus takes Babylon and slays Belshazzar.
5	539	17	31	21	68			Cyrus places his uncle Darius on the throne at Babylon, and makes an expedition into Syria.
6	538	1	32	22	69			Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole empire.
7	537	2	33		70			
8	536	1	34		1	1	1	Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an end to their captivity after seventy years.
9	535	2	35		2	2	2	The Jews return to Jerusalem, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.
4180	534	3	36		3	3	3	The Samaritans obstruct them in it.
1	533	4	37		4	4	4	The Samaritans corrupt the officers of Cyrus to discourage the work.
2	532	5	38		5	5	5	
3	531	6	39		6	6	6	
4	530	7	40		7	7	7	Cyrus dies, being seventy years old.
5	529	1	41		8	8	8	Cambyfes his son succeeds in the empire.
6	528	2	42		9	9	9	
7	527	3	43		10	10	10	
8	526	4	44		11	11	11	He invadeth Egypt.
9	525	5	45		12	12	12	Vanquisheth Psamminitus, who newly succeeded Amasis his father in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.
4190	524	6	46		13	13	13	Makes an expedition against the Ethiopians, and returns with loss.
1	523	7	47		14	14	14	Slays the Egyptian god Apis, and commits many outrages among them.
2	522	8	48		15	15	15	Returns into Syria, and there dies. The Magians seize the kingdom.
3	521	1	49		16	16	16	The Magians slain, and Darius Hystaspis chosen King.
4	520	2	50		17	17	17	The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the Jews.
5	519	3	51		18	18	18	The Samaritans again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.
6	518	4	52		19	19	19	Which decree is brought to Jerusalem, and there executed.
7	517	5	53		20	20	20	The Babylonians revolting from Darius, are besieged by him.
8	516	6	54		21	21	21	Babylon taken by Darius, after a siege of twenty months.
9	515	7	55		22	22	22	The temple rebuilt and dedicated.
4200	514	8	56		23	23	23	The Jews obtain sentence from Darius against the Samaritans, about the tribute of Samaria.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	
4201	513	9	24	24	<i>Darius</i> passeth the <i>Bosphorus</i> and the <i>Danube</i> to make war against the <i>Scythians</i> , and returns with the loss of half his army.
2	512	10	25	25	Subdues <i>Thrace</i> , and returns to <i>Susa</i> .
3	511	11	26	26	
4	510	12	27	27	The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Chersonesus</i> .
5	509	13	28	28	<i>Darius</i> sends <i>Scylax</i> with a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> .
6	508	14	29	29	
7	507	15	30	30	<i>Scylax</i> returns by the way of the ocean, and the <i>Red-Sea</i> , and gives <i>Darius</i> an account of his discoveries.
8	506	16	31	31	<i>Darius</i> invades and conquers <i>India</i> .
9	505	17	32	32	
4210	504	18	33	33	
1	503	19	34	34	The <i>Persians</i> , under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> , make an attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> , and miscarry in it. <i>Tyre</i> restored.
2	502	20	35	35	<i>Aristagoras</i> and the <i>Ionians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> .
3	501	21	36	36	The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a confederacy with the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> .
4	500	22	37	37	They burn <i>Sardis</i> , which gave the first rise to the <i>Persian</i> war against the <i>Greeks</i> .
5	499	23	38	38	The <i>Persians</i> prevail against the <i>Ionians</i> . <i>Aristagoras</i> flees into <i>Thrace</i> . <i>Hestieus Milesius</i> returns into <i>Ionis</i> , and joins the revolters.
6	498	24	39	39	<i>Aristagoras</i> slain in <i>Thrace</i> .
7	497	25	40	40	<i>Miletus</i> taken; the <i>Ionians</i> reduced, and an end put to that war.
8	496	26	41	41	<i>Hestieus</i> taken by the <i>Persians</i> , and crucified.
9	495	27	42	42	The <i>Persians</i> reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and <i>Thracian Chersonesus</i> , and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee to <i>Athens</i> .
4220	494	28	43	43	<i>Mardonius</i> being sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against the <i>Greeks</i> , miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss.
1	493	29	44	44	<i>Darius</i> sends heralds to demand earth and water of the <i>Greeks</i> .
2	492	30	45	45	Two other generals sent against the <i>Greeks</i> in the place of <i>Mardonius</i> . <i>Zoroastres</i> appears at the <i>Persian</i> court.
3	491	31	46	46	The <i>Persians</i> invade <i>Attica</i> , and are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> .
4	490	32	47	47	<i>Darius</i> makes great preparations to invade <i>Greece</i> in person.
5	489	33	48	48	
6	488	34	49	49	
7	487	35	50	50	The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> .
8	486	36	51	51	<i>Darius</i> declares <i>Xerxes</i> his successor, and dies.
9	485	1	52	52	<i>Xerxes</i> confirms to the <i>Jews</i> all their privileges.
4230	484	2	53	53	Reduceth <i>Egypt</i> .
1	483	3	54	1	Resolves on a war with the <i>Greeks</i> , and makes great preparations for it.
2	482	4	55	2	Enters into a league with the <i>Carthaginians</i> against the <i>Greeks</i> .
3	481	5	56	3	Comes with a prodigious army to <i>Sardis</i> , and there winters.

Julian Period. nod.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	
4234	480	6	57	4	Passeth the <i>Hellepont</i> , marcheth into <i>Greece</i> , loseth the battel of <i>Salamis</i> , and returns with disgrace to <i>Sardis</i> . The <i>Carthaginians</i> vanquish'd in <i>Sicily</i> by <i>Gelo</i> .
5	479	7	58	5	The <i>Persians</i> vanquished at <i>Platæa</i> and <i>Mycale</i> on the same day.
6	478	8	59	6	<i>Xerxes</i> destroys the temple of <i>Bel</i> at <i>Babylon</i> .
7	477	9	60	7	<i>Pausanias</i> and <i>Aristides</i> pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> .
8	476	10	61	8	<i>Pausanias</i> , suspected of treason by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , is recalled.
9	475	11	62	9	Still carries on the treason for the betraying of <i>Greece</i> to <i>Xerxes</i> .
4240	474	12	63	10	Is tryed for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence.
1	473	13	64	11	Full discovery being made of his treason, he is put to death for it.
2	472	14	65	12	<i>Themistocles</i> being accused by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> of the same treason, is acquitted of it at <i>Athens</i> .
3	471	15	66	13	<i>Themistocles</i> being banished <i>Athens</i> for ten years, is again accused of the same treason by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , before the states of <i>Greece</i> , and thereby forced to flee into <i>Persia</i> .
4	470	16	67	14	<i>Cimon</i> , general of the <i>Athenians</i> , gains two victories over the <i>Persians</i> near the river <i>Eurymedon</i> on the same day, the first by sea, and the second by land.
5	469	17	68	15	He makes many other conquests for the <i>Athenians</i> on the <i>Hellepont</i> and elsewhere.
6	468	18	69	16	<i>Xerxes</i> discouraged by so many defeats, gives over the <i>Grecian</i> war.
7	467	19	70	17	
8	466	20	71	18	
9	465	21	72	19	<i>Xerxes</i> slain by the treason of <i>Artabanus</i> .
4250	464	1	73	20	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (the <i>Abasuerus</i> of the book of <i>Esther</i>) succeeds, and slays <i>Artabanus</i> .
1	463	2	74	21	He conquers his brother <i>Hystaspes</i> , and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the throne.
2	462	3	75	22	Hereon he makes a great feast for all his nobles, and divorceth <i>Vashti</i> his Queen.
3	461	4	76	23	A collection of virgins made for the King, of which <i>Esther</i> was one.
4	460	5	77	24	<i>Esther</i> pleaseth the King, and becomes his concubine. The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt, and make <i>Inarus</i> their King.
5	459	6	78	25	<i>Achæmenides</i> , brother of the King, being sent against the <i>Egyptians</i> , is vanquish'd and slain, and the remainder of his army besieged in <i>Memphis</i> .
6	458	7	79	26	<i>Ezra</i> sent to be governor of <i>Judea</i> . <i>Esther</i> is made Queen.
7	457	8	80	27	<i>Ezra</i> separated the <i>Jews</i> from their strange wives. <i>Mordecai</i> discovers the treason of <i>Bigthan</i> and <i>Tereb.</i>
8	456	9	81	28	<i>Artabazus</i> and <i>Megabysus</i> raise the siege of <i>Memphis</i> , defeat <i>Inarus</i> , and besiege him and his <i>Athenian</i> auxiliaries in the island <i>Prosopitis</i> .
9	455	10	82	29	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	
4260	454	11	83	30	They force <i>Protopitis</i> , take <i>Inarus</i> prisoner, drive the <i>Athenians</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , and again reduce all that countrey under the <i>Persian</i> King.
1	453	12	84	<i>Eliashib.</i> 1	<i>Haman</i> plotteth the destruction of the <i>Jews</i> .
2	452	13	85	2	<i>Haman's</i> plot defeated in his own destruction, and the feast of <i>Purim</i> instituted in remembrance of it.
3	451	14	86	3	
4	450	15	87	4	<i>Cimon</i> sent by the <i>Athenians</i> to <i>Cyprus</i> with a great fleet :
5	449	16	88	5	Where he beats the <i>Persians</i> both by sea and land, and then dies at <i>Citium</i> . <i>Artaxerxes</i> makes peace with the <i>Athenians</i> .
6	448	17	89	6	<i>Inarus</i> crucified, and <i>Megabyzus</i> rebels.
7	447	18	90	7	<i>Megabyzus</i> defeats the first army sent against him.
8	446	19	91	8	He defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the King.
9	445	20	92	9	<i>Nehemiah</i> sent governor to <i>Judea</i> , and rebuilds the walls of <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Megabyzus</i> banished to <i>Cyrtæ</i> on the <i>Red-Sea</i> .
4270	444	21	93	10	He re-peoples <i>Jerusalem</i> , and proceeds to reform church and state in <i>Judah</i> . <i>Ezra</i> publisheth his edition of the <i>Hebrew</i> scriptures.
1	443	22	94	11	
2	442	23	95	12	
3	441	24	96	13	
4	440	25	97	14	<i>Megabyzus</i> returns to the <i>Persian</i> court.
5	439	26	98	15	
6	438	27	99	16	
7	437	28	100	17	
8	436	29	101	18	
9	435	30	102	19	
4280	434	31	103	20	
1	433	32	104	21	<i>Nehemiah</i> goes from <i>Jerusalem</i> to the <i>Persian</i> court.
2	432	33	105	22	<i>Meto</i> begun his cycle.
3	431	34	106	23	The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war began. A great plague broke out in the <i>East</i> .
4	430	35	107	24	It came to <i>Athens</i> , and grievously afflicted that city.
5	429	36	108	25	About this time flourished <i>Malachi</i> the prophet.
6	428	37	109	26	<i>Nehemiah</i> comes again to <i>Jerusalem</i> with a new commission. <i>Plato</i> the philosopher born.
7	427	38	110	27	<i>Nehemiah</i> goes on farther to reform the <i>Jewish</i> church and state.
8	426	39	111	28	The plague again broke out at <i>Athens</i> , which produced a law there for polygamy.
9	425	40	112	29	
4290	424	41	113	30	<i>Artaxerxes</i> dying, <i>Xerxes</i> his son succeeds. He is slain by <i>Sogdianus</i> , and <i>Sogdianus</i> by <i>Ochus</i> , who with the crown assumes the name of <i>Darius</i> .
1	423	<i>Darius Notus.</i> 1	114	31	<i>Darius</i> (commonly called <i>Darius Notus</i>) begins his reign.
2	422	2	115	32	Vanquisheth <i>Artabazus</i> his brother, and puts him to death.
3	421	3	116	33	
4	420	4	117	34	
5	419	5	118	35	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	Amartyeus.	Pausanias.	Panmitichus.	Nepherus.	
4296	418	6	119	36						
7	417	7	120	37						
8	416	8	121	38						
9	415	9	122	39						
4300	414	10	123	40						
1	413	11	124	1						
2	412	12	125	2						
3	411	13	126	3						
4	410	14	127	4						
5	409	15	128	5						
6	408	16	129	6						
7	407	17	130	7						
8	406	18	131	8						
9	405	19	132	9						
10	404	1	133	10						
1	403	2	134	11						
2	402	3	135	12						
3	401	4	136	13						
4	400	5	137	14						
5	399	6	138	15						
6	398	7	139	16						
7	397	8	140	17						
8	396	9	141	18						
9	395	10	142	19						
4320	394	11	143	20						
1	393	12	144	21						
2	392	13	145	22						
3	391	14	146	23						
4	390	15	147	24						

Pisuthnes rebels against *Darius* in *lesser Asia*, and is vanquish'd and put to death by *Tissaphernes*, one of *Darius's* lieutenants

The *Egyptians* revolt from *Darius*, and make *Amyrtæus* their King.

Tissaphernes and *Pharnabazus* governors of *lesser Asia* for *Darius*.

The last act of reformation by *Nehemiah*, forty nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*, where end the first seven weeks of *Daniel's* prophecy.

The temple on mount *Gerizim* began to be built by *Manasseh*.

Cyrus, the younger son of *Darius*, sent to govern in *lesser Asia*.

Cyrus recalled to the *Persian* court. *Darius* dies, and *Artaxerxes Mnemon* succeeds him.

Athens taken, and the *Peloponnesian* war ended. *Cyrus* sent back again to his government in *lesser Asia*.

He designeth war against his brother, and lifts forces for this purpose.

He marcheth towards *Babylon*, is vanquished in battel, and slain.

Thimbro sent by the *Lacedæmonians* into *lesser Asia* to make war against the *Persians*. *Xenophon* brings home the *Greeks* that followed *Cyrus*, and joins him.

Dercillydas succeeds *Thimbro*: *Socrates* put to death by the *Athenians*.

Dercillydas vigorously carries on the war against the *Persians*.

Agésilas passeth into *Asia*, to carry on the war there against the *Persians*.

Vanquisheth *Tissaphernes*, who is thereon put to death by *Artaxerxes*.

Agésilas called home to defend his country against a confederacy of the *Greeks* against them. *Conon* wins the victory of *Cnidus*.

Conon rebuilds the walls of *Athens*, and again restores that city.

The *Lacedæmonians* renew the war in *Asia* against the *Persians*, but without success.

Artaxerxes makes great preparations for war against *Cyprus*.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High-priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4325	389	16	148	25	1	
6	388	17	149	26	2	The Athenians sent Chabrias to the assistance of Euagoras King of Cyprus, who reduceth the whole island to him.
7	387	18	150	27	3	The peace of Antalcidas made between the Lacedæmonians and the Persians.
8	386	19	151	28	4	The Persians invade Cyprus with three hundred thousand men,
9	385	20	152	29	5	And make an absolute conquest of that island.
4330	384	21	153	30	6	Artaxerxes invades the Cadusians with ill success. Aristotle born.
1	383	22	154	31	7	
2	382	23	155	32	8	
3	381	24	156	33	9	
4	380	25	157	34	10	
5	379	26	158	35	11	
6	378	27	159	36	12	
7	377	28	160	37	13	Artaxerxes resolves on a war to reduce Egypt.
8	376	29	161	38	14	Pharnabazus appointed general for this war.
9	375	30	162	39	1	He makes great preparations for it.
4340	374	31	163	40	2	Invades Egypt, and is forced to return with ill success.
1	373	32	164	1	3	
2	372	33	165	2	4	
3	371	34	166	3	5	The Lacedæmonians beaten at Leuctra by the Thebans.
4	370	35	167	4	6	
5	369	36	168	5	7	
6	368	37	169	6	8	
7	367	38	170	7	9	
8	366	39	171	8	10	Johanan, high-priest of the Jews, kills his brother Jeshua in the temple, for which the Persian governor lays a mulct upon the Jew for seven years.
9	365	40	172	9	11	
4350	364	41	173	10	12	
1	363	42	174	11	1	The battel of Mantinea, between the Lacedæmonians and the Thebans, in which the former lose the victory, and the latter their general Epaminondas.
2	362	43	175	12	2	Agefilas goes into Egypt with an army to assist Tachus.
3	361	44	176	13	1	He deserts Tachus, and makes Nectanebus King.
4	360	45	177	14	2	He vanquisheth the enemies of Nectanebus,
5	359	46	178	15	3	And fully settles him in the kingdom of Egypt. Artaxerxes dies.
6	358	1	179	16	4	He returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coasts of Africa. Great revolts in the Persian empire on the succession of Ochus.
7	357	2	180	17	5	
8	356	3	181	18	6	Alexander the Great born at Pella in Macedonia.
9	355	4	182	19	7	
4360	354	5	183	20	8	
1	353	6	184	21	9	
2	352	7	185	22	10	

<i>Julia, Pe- riod.</i>	<i>Years before Christ.</i>	<i>Kings of Persia.</i>	<i>After the Captivity.</i>	<i>High-priests of Judah.</i>	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i>	
+363	351	8	186	23	11	The Cyprians and Phœnicians revolting from Ocbus, are again reduced. Sidon taken and destroyed by Ocbus.
4	350	9	187	24	12	Ocbus invades Egypt, expels Nechtanebus, and reduceth the whole country. Mentor made governor of lesser Asia. Memnon his brother enters into the Persian service. Plato the philosopher dies.
5	349	10	188	25		
6	348	11	189	26		
7	347	12	190	27		
8	346	13	191	28		
9	345	14	192	29		
+370	344	15	193	30		
1	343	16	194	31		
2	342	17	195	32		
3	341	18	196	1		
4	340	19	197	2		
5	339	20	198	3		
6	338	21	199	4		Bagoas the eunuch poisoneth Ocbus, and maketh Arogus or Arses King in his stead.
7	337	1	200	5		Philip King of Macedon, after the victory of Cheronea, made general of Greece against the Persians.
8	336	2	201	6		Bagoas poisons Arogus, and Pausanias slays Philip King of Macedon: Darius succeeds the former, and Alexander the latter.
9	335	1	202	7		Darius puts Bagoas to death. Alexander destroys Thebes, and is appointed general of the Grecians against the Persians, in the place of his father.
+380	334	2	203	8		Alexander passeth into Asia, and wins the battel of Granicus.
1	333	3	204	9		He reduceth all lesser Asia, and wins the battel of Issus.
2	332	4	205	10		He destroys Tyre and Gaza, and conquers Egypt.
3	331	1	206	11		He passeth the Euphrates and the Tygris, wins the battel of Arbela, and takes Babylon, Susa, and Persopolis, and the provinces belonging to them.
4	330	2	207	12		Darius slain by Bessus: Alexander subdues the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several other nations: Puts Philotas and Parmenio to death.
5	329	3	208	13		He subdues the Bactrians and Sogdians, and puts Bessus to death.
6	328	4	209	14		He marries Roxana, passeth into India, and conquers all to the river Indus.
7	327	5	210	15		He passeth the Indus, vanquisheth Porus, and subdues all as far as the river Hyphasis.
8	326	6	211	16		He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the Indus, conquering several nations in his way.
9	325	7	212	17		Having passed down to the mouth of the Indus, he sends Nearchus with his fleet thorough the ocean to Babylon, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land.
+390	324	8	213	18		He conquers the Cossæans, and enters Babylon,

Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Syria.	The Era of Seleucus.	High-priests of Judah.	Kings of Persia.	Years before Christ.	Julian Pe- riod.	
				12	305	4409	<i>Antigonus</i> invadeth <i>Egypt</i> , and is repuls'd with loss.
1	8	9	17		304	4410	<i>Demetrius</i> besiegeth <i>Rhodes</i> without success.
2	9	10	18		303	1	<i>Seleucus</i> having made himself master of all the provinces of <i>Alexander's</i> empire beyond the <i>Euphrates</i> , invadeth <i>India</i> , and maketh peace with <i>Sandrocottus</i> .
3	10	11	19		302	2	<i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , <i>Cassander</i> , and <i>Lysimachus</i> , confederate against <i>Antigonus</i> .
4	11	12	20		301	3	They vanquish and slay him at <i>Ipsus</i> in <i>Phrygia</i> .
5	12	13	21		300	4	After this victory <i>Ptolemy</i> had <i>Judea</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Cœle-Syria</i> ; and <i>Seleucus</i> the upper <i>Syria</i> , where he builds <i>Antioch</i> .
6	13	14	1		299	5	<i>Demetrius</i> gives his daughter <i>Stratonice</i> in marriage to <i>Seleucus</i> , and seizeth <i>Cilicia</i> .
7	14	15	2		298	6	<i>Cassander</i> dies in <i>Macedonia</i> .
8	15	16	3		297	7	<i>Pyrrhus</i> marries <i>Antigone</i> the daughter of <i>Berenice</i> , <i>Ptolemy's</i> best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of <i>Epirus</i> .
9	16	17	4		296	8	<i>Samaria</i> wasted by <i>Demetrius's</i> soldiers from <i>Tyre</i> .
10	17	18	5		295	9	<i>Ptolemy</i> recovers <i>Cyprus</i> from <i>Demetrius</i> .
11	18	19	6		294	4420	<i>Demetrius</i> made King of <i>Macedon</i> , and there reigns seven years
12	19	20	7		293	1	<i>Seleucus</i> builds <i>Seleucia</i> on the <i>Tigris</i> .
13	20	21	8		292	2	<i>Simon the Just</i> , high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , dies, and is succeeded by <i>Eliezar</i> his brother.
	21		9				

The End of the First Part.



